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EUCHARISTERION:

Essays presented to
OMELJAN PRITSAK
on his Sixtieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

Edited by
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with the assistance of
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Preface

The decision to honor Omeljan Pritsak with a Festschrift was taken in April of 1978, and the editorial board met for the first time in the following August. On the day of his sixtieth birthday, April 7, 1979, Professor Pritsak received a mock-up copy — containing a title page and a list of contributors — from a group of well-wishers gathered at a private celebration. On December 12, 1980, the completed Festschrift was presented to him at a convocation attended by Harvard University officials, members of the university community, and many friends and guests from all over the country and from abroad.

The two parts of the Festschrift were both produced in two and a half years. These were rewarding years for the editor, for his task was made easy by the spontaneous support of people throughout the academic community. Francis W. Cleaves, Tibor Halasi-Kun, Edward L. Keenan, George Y. Shevelov, and Wiktor Weintraub promptly agreed to serve on the editorial board and to provide advice on general policy. A younger group, chaired by Frank E. Sysyn and consisting of George G. Grabowicz, Lubomyr A. Hajda, Edward Kasinec, Zenon E. Kohut, Uliana M. Pasicznyk, and Bohdan Strumins'kyj, took over the vital work of handling the individual contributions. When contributions required specialized knowledge beyond what the editors could supply, we were able to call upon the expert assistance of Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, Kevork Bardakjian, Joseph Fletcher, Richard N. Frye, Patricia K. Grimsted, Patricia Herlihy, Oleh Ilnytzkyj, Paulina Lewin, Ilse Lichtenstadter, Albert B. Lord, Donald Ostrowski, Oksana Procyk, Maria Subtelny, and Şinasi Tekin. We are especially indebted to Margaret B. Ševčenko and to Victor Ostapchuk for editorial work, to Brenda Sens for secretarial help, and to Brenda Jubin for the exemplary accuracy with which she performed the complicated task of setting the manuscript into type.

Lubomyr A. Hajda, one of Professor Pritsak's disciples, contributed the biographical sketch and the bibliography of his mentor. Professor Pritsak's friends will appreciate the warmth of the former, and the scholarly community will benefit from the precision of the latter — this informative bibliography will constitute a valuable tool of research.

Harvard Ukrainian Studies owes its existence to Professor Pritsak's energy and firmness of purpose, so it is only fitting that the *Studies* should

have offered its pages for these contributions in his honor. The two parts of the Festschrift together count as volumes three and four of the journal. Producing such a complex work entailed additional costs, and help toward covering them came from the donors and special subscribers listed in the *Tabula gratulatoria*. The largest single sum was provided by the Ukrainian Studies Fund, whose principal officers, Stephan Chemych and Bohdan Tarnawsky, once again proved their skill in organizing support for Ukrainian studies at Harvard.

That so many people should have shown so much enthusiasm in sharing the various tasks connected with producing the Festschrift was a response to Professor Pritsak's generosity as teacher, friend, and colleague. That seventy distinguished contributors from twelve countries should have kept various editors busy is a testimony to the respect with which he is held by the international community of scholars. That these seventy contributors should be dealing with an area extending from the Nile to the Yenisei and with languages ranging from Chuvash to Chinese reflects the depth of his erudition, the breadth of his interests, and the scholarly vision that has enabled him to perceive large structures where others only perceive an endless accretion of disparate phenomena.

At home in the Eurasian Steppe and in the Altai, Omeljan Pritsak has never ceased to enrich our knowledge of the history and culture of his native Ukraine. That is why we gave our Festschrift the title of *Eucharisterion,* or the Offering of Thanks. We borrowed this title from another Festschrift of sorts, the gratulatory tract written in Ukrainian and offered in 1632 to the Kievan metropolitan of Moldavian origin, Peter Mohyla, by the young men who had just completed their first year of study in the *Collegium Mohylanum* (later Academy) of Kiev, recently founded by him. In one sense, the identity of titles symbolizes Professor Pritsak's vital role in the creation of the Ukrainian Studies Program and the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard, the *Collegium Mohylanum*'s slightly younger contemporary. It is also to remind us how much outstanding individuals in a hospitable country — whether it is seventeenth-century Ukraine or twentieth-century New England — can contribute to the intellectual efflorescence of their adopted land.

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

Omeljan Pritsak: A Biographical Sketch

Omeljan Pritsak was born on April 7, 1919, in the town of Luka, near Sambir (now Ozerne, in Lviv oblast, Ukrainian SSR). The year of his birth witnessed the often conflicting strivings for statehood on territories of fallen empires. The place — the province of Galicia, lately under the Habsburg Monarchy — was in the midst of a violent struggle between Ukrainians and Poles. Omeljan's father, Osyp Pritsak, a mechanical engineer by profession, fought on the Ukrainian side, was taken captive and perished as a prisoner of war near Brest Litovsk in September 1919. His mother Emilia (née Kapko) was remarried in 1920 to Pavlo Saramaha, a merchant, who also participated in the struggle for Ukrainian independence. The property of both father and stepfather was confiscated by the Polish authorities, and in 1920 the family moved to Ternopil' to start a new life.

Disillusioned with the Ukrainian cause and anxious to ensure a better future for their child in the reconstituted Polish state, Omeljan's mother and stepfather decided to raise him as a Pole. In 1928, at the age of nine, Omeljan entered the First Gymnasium in Ternopil', a Polish-language high school with a classical curriculum on the old Austrian pattern that included both Latin and Greek. He was soon given permission to use the excellent teachers' library, and this gave him access to the classic works of history, of which he was enamored from early childhood, as well as more esoteric subjects, including Persian. By his third year at the gymnasium scattered facts from everyday life — the colloquial Ukrainian spoken at home, attendance at the Greek Catholic (Uniate) rather than Latin-rite church of his Polish friends, snatches of overheard conversation — combined with a curiosity about his family's history and genealogy led him to rediscover his Ukrainian roots. This growing awareness of his national identity was heightened by the growing tensions between Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia and the treatment he received from some of his teachers. In secret from his family, the young student learned literary Ukrainian and read voraciously about Ukrainian history and culture, especially Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj's multivolume *History of Ukraine-Rus'.* By the time he graduated from the gymnasium in 1936, he had decided that the study of Ukrainian history would be his vocation.

In the course of his reading, notably of Hruševs'kyj, Omeljan was struck by the underutilization of Islamic — Arabic, Turkish, and Persian — sources in Ukrainian historiography. For the history of the Ukraine, with its centuries-long links with the Middle East and the Eurasian steppe, this seemed a serious gap, and one he soon became determined to fill. The Turkish songs and phrases his mother learned during the war and taught him as a child, and his already budding interest in Persian, encouraged by Franciszek Machalski, his gymnasium teacher of Polish literature but an Iranian specialist by training, were an added impetus. When Omeljan Pritsak entered Lviv University, a major center for historical and Oriental studies, in the fall of 1936 it was with the goal of putting Islamic sources at the service of Ukrainian scholarship.

At Lviv University Omeljan Pritsak pursued a systematic study of Central Asian history and the Semitic, Iranian, and Altaic languages (later to be supplemented by others, from Finno-Ugric to Chinese) under the well-known Orientalists Władysław Kotwicz and Tadeusz Lewicki. In medieval and premodern European and Polish history his professors were such noted Polish scholars as T. E. Modelski, Adam Szelągowski, and Ludwik Kolankowski. He became active in Ukrainian scholarly circles as well, especially the historical commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1936–39), which brought him into association with such distinguished Ukrainian historians as Ivan Kryp"jakevyč, a student of Hruševs'kyj. From these years also date his earliest scholarly works — a monograph on the Skoropads'kyj family, other studies primarily on the period of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709), and an exhaustive bibliography on Mazepa, whose publication was prevented by the outbreak of World War II. A number of articles dealt with Ukrainian church history, an interest fostered by his friendship and cooperation with the scholar-monks of the Basilian Order, notably his older university colleague, Fr. Teofil Kostruba, and Fr. Roman Lukan'.

War brought the first Soviet occupation of Galicia and its incorporation into the USSR in 1939. It was under Soviet rule that Omeljan Pritsak received his university degree in 1939/1940 (M.A. in History and Oriental Studies) and became a "junior research worker" and "learned secretary" of the newly established Lviv branch of the Institute of Ukrainian History of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Soon, however, on the invitation of the renowned Ukrainian Arabist and Turkologist, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, Omeljan moved to Kiev to continue his graduate training (*aspirantura*). These studies lasted only a few short weeks, for in the fall of 1940 he was drafted into the Red Army. For some four months he was stationed in

the Bashkir ASSR, an experience that among other things brought him for the first time into contact with native Turkic speakers.

German victories over the Soviets soon ended Omeljan Pritsak's military service. For a while he found himself an *Ostarbeiter.* In October 1943, however, thanks to the intercession of the German Arabist Richard Hartmann, he was released to resume his studies, this time at the University of Berlin. From 1943 to 1945 under severe wartime conditions, which included daily Allied bombardment, he immersed himself in Islamic studies with Hartmann, the Turkologists Annemarie von Gabain and Helmuth Scheel, and the Iranist and Central Asian specialist, Hans Heinrich Schaeder. Schaeder's influence on his intellectual development was paramount, not only in Islamic studies but also in the formulation of his view of the universality of human history that has guided all of his subsequent work.

This fruitful, if extremely difficult, period ended with the collapse of Germany. In the destruction of Berlin all of Omeljan Pritsak's notes and library perished. After some months of wandering in devastated Europe, he managed to reestablish contact with Schaeder, now a professor at the University of Göttingen, and in 1946 resumed his studies there. These involved a fundamental reevaluation of the state system of the Karakhanid Empire (9th to 13th centuries) in Central Asia, which led to his dissertation, "Karachanidische Studien" (part of a more extensive work, as yet unpublished), for which in 1948 he received his doctoral degree summa cum laude in Turkology, Iranian, Islamic, and Slavic studies.

Dr. Pritsak's research on the Karakhanids led him to an investigation of Old Turkic and Uighur texts and thence to problems of Turkic linguistics. Philology, which he had long viewed merely as a handmaiden to historical analysis, he began to find fascinating in itself. The evolution from historian to philologist was epitomized in his *Habilitationschrift,* successfully defended in 1951, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker," in which he drew on data from linguistics to reconstruct the history of the steppe for periods lacking written sources. He now became *dozent* in Altaic philology and Central Asian history at Göttingen, where he had already been teaching a variety of courses since 1948. It was at Göttingen, too, that Omeljan Pritsak met Nina Moldenhauer, a lecturer in Russian at the University of Kiel. They were married in 1952. Their daughter, Irene, was born in 1953. Now Mrs. Douglas Wissoff, she is the mother of Omeljan and Nina Pritsak's two grandchildren.

The next fifteen years of Dr. Pritsak's life were devoted to Turkology and Altaic studies — teaching, research, writing, and, not least, organiza-

tional activities to promote and internationalize his newly chosen fields. With the eminent Hungarian specialist, Julius von Farkas, he helped found the international Societas Uralo-Altaica in 1951–52, and was its first secretary general and then, in the years 1958–65, president; in 1965 he was elected honorary member of the society. He expanded the membership of the society to include Japanese, Korean, and Mongolian scholars, and — especially difficult in the political climate of the times — Soviet and East European specialists. When the pre-war journal *Ungarische Jahrbücher* was revived in 1951–52 to serve as the organ of the society, under the more comprehensive title of *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, Dr. Pritsak was intimately involved in every aspect of the operation. In the years 1954–66 he served as editor. Much of his time was devoted to bringing to the attention of Western scholars the much neglected works in Altaic and Turkic linguistics published in Turkey and the USSR, especially in the Turkic and Mongolian union and autonomous Soviet republics. His reviews and notices of these works number several hundred. He was also editor of the monograph series *Ural-Altaische Bibliothek* and *Slavo-Orientalia*, and co-editor of the *Central Asiatic Journal*, *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, and the series *Uralic and Altaic Studies* published at the University of Indiana. Finally, to provide a forum for scholarly interchange, he founded, together with the Mongolian specialist Walther Heissig, the Permanent International Conference of Altaists (PIAC) in 1958.

Dr. Pritsak's own research was by then concentrated in two areas: historical Altaic linguistics and comparative grammar of Turkic languages. He was especially intrigued by the language of the Huns and their descendants, the Bulgars and Chuvashes. He devoted many articles to problems in this field as well as the ground-breaking monograph, *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*, which elicited a considerable debate when it appeared in 1954. His comparative work centered on the older stages of Turkic and the lesser-known Turkic tongues (Karaim, Karachai-Balkar, New Uighur, Altai and Yenisei Turkic, and others). In addition to numerous journal articles, he wrote at least a quarter of the entries for the monumental reference work, *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (vol. 1, 1959).

All this activity, of course, was in addition to his teaching. After a year at the University of Göttingen, he became *dozent* at the University of Hamburg in 1952, and was promoted to professor in 1957, a position he held until 1961. He was visiting professor at Cambridge University in 1954, at the universities of Cracow and Warsaw in 1959, and at Harvard

University in 1960–61. In 1961 he moved permanently to the United States, where he became professor of Turkology at the University of Washington in Seattle. He came to Harvard University as professor of linguistics and Turkology in 1964. There he developed a full curriculum of courses, covering all phases of historical linguistics, comparative grammar, individual languages like Chuvash and Yakut, and specialized seminars on selected topics. And ever mindful of the relationship between philology and other fields in the humanities and social sciences, he was instrumental in establishing the interdisciplinary standing Committee on Inner Asian and Altaic Studies, of which he became the first chairman.

After some fifteen years of almost total absorption in philology, his interest in linguistics began to wane, and Professor Pritsak finally turned his attention to his original design — expanding the source base for Ukrainian history to include data from Oriental materials. This plan had been dormant for many years, but had never been totally abandoned. In 1953 he published a major study on the alliance of Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj with the Ottoman Porte, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)." In the mid-1960s, he turned to an earlier period — Kievan Rus' — and undertook an analysis of the epic *Igor' Tale,* especially its Turkic elements, as a historical source. Immersion in this topic drew him ever more deeply into the past, and ultimately to an investigation of the origins of Rus', a work of monumental scope of which the first volume is in the final stages of publication, as is a monograph on Jewish Khazar documents, co-authored with Norman Golb of the University of Chicago.

Renewed involvement in Ukrainian history led him to reconsider the status and prospects for Ukrainian studies in the West. Convinced that only a permanent center combining both teaching and research possibilities at a leading university could ensure a rational scholarly framework, in 1967 Professor Pritsak proposed a bold plan to the Ukrainian community. He asked it to endow three professorial chairs in Ukrainian disciplines — one each in language, literature, and history — and a research institute along with them. As it happened, a group of Ukrainian-American students (incorporated as the Ukrainian Studies Chair Fund) had already been conducting a fund drive for some ten years to endow a single chair in Ukrainian studies at an American university. Now led by a more ambitious vision, they adopted the new plan. Fund-raising efforts were redoubled, and negotiations with Harvard University resulted in an agreement in 1968 that the proposed center would be established there. That same year an *ad hoc* (later standing) Committee on Ukrainian Studies was formed, and Omeljan Pritsak was appointed chairman. By

1973 the three chairs were fully endowed, and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute officially came into being with Omeljan Pritsak as director.

Although the fund drive for the institute continued, a firm foundation had been laid. A series of weekly seminars in Ukrainian studies allows for regular scholarly exchange on current research by students and faculty; their résumés have been published annually since 1970–71 as the *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies*. Scholarly conferences provide a forum for Ukrainian specialists in every academic field. A publication program for sources, original studies, and reprints of rare works — the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, of which Omeljan Pritsak is editor-in-chief — has been in operation since 1970. A cherished project, the scholarly journal *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, began its publication in 1977, with Omeljan Pritsak and Ihor Ševčenko as co-editors. The library collections have grown and multiplied under the care of a professional staff. It was in recognition of all these achievements that in 1975 Omeljan Pritsak was named the first Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj Professor of Ukrainian History at Harvard University. Since then he has maintained a heavy teaching load covering every aspect of Ukrainian history from general surveys to specialized topics in economic and social history, from Kievan Rus' to nineteenth- and twentieth-century intellectual currents.

In the course of his career Omeljan Pritsak has been honored many times. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and vice-president of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. He is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Shevchenko Scientific Society, a corresponding member of the Türk Dil Kurumu, the Société Fenno-Ougrienne and the Societas Orientalis Fennica in Helsinki, and other scholarly institutions.

His scholarly oeuvre and organizational feats are Omeljan Pritsak's most visible achievements, but to those who know him best, there is no doubt that teaching is his most satisfying accomplishment. His first goal has been to produce new generations of dedicated scholars, through rigorous training and the transmission of his own enthusiasm in the pursuit of intellectual inquiry. In paying tribute to Omeljan Pritsak on his sixtieth birthday, his colleagues, friends, fellow academicians, and admirers honor him as a distinguished scholar. His students have the privilege also of honoring him as a devoted teacher.

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The Bibliography of Omeljan Pritsak

compiled by

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Introductory Note

The first publication by Omeljan Pritsak appeared in 1935. This was a letter to the editor of the journal *Filomata* (Lviv, no. 71, pp. 470–472) which included Omeljan's own Polish translation of Horace's Ode 7. *Filomata* was a monthly devoted to promoting an interest among Polish secondary school students in the classical heritage of the Greeks and Romans and the cultural legacy of the Renaissance; its editor was Dr. Ryszard Ganszyniec, professor of classical philology at the University of Lviv. At the time Omeljan Pritsak was sixteen years old and in his seventh year at the First State Gymnasium in Ternopil'.

* * *

The present bibliography lists Omeljan Pritsak's scholarly works from 1937 through 1979. It is organized in five sections: I. Books and Articles; II. Unpublished Manuscripts; III. Reviews and Notices; IV. Résumés of Papers Delivered at Seminars and Conferences; and V. Obituaries. Within each section listings are by year of appearance and numeration is consecutive. For purposes of alphabetization diacritics are disregarded. An asterisk (*) indicates that the item could not be checked *de visu.*

Under each year books and separate publications are listed first, in alphabetical order by title, followed by articles and papers, also in alphabetical order. Popular articles are not included, with the exception of a few that deal with Ukrainian scholarly policy. Included among unpublished manuscripts are works whose publication was interrupted by World War II, as well as dissertations; unpublished works postdating 1951 are not included.

Omeljan Pritsak's scholarly works often presented new data, seminal

interpretations and provocative hypotheses, and have therefore received much attention from other scholars in the form of reviews or published discussions. These are listed (with the heading *Rev.* or *Disc.*) under the appropriate items. Many more references and analyses have appeared in substantive treatments of the diverse topics to which Omeljan Pritsak has made a contribution. The sheer volume of such works precludes their inclusion here.

A full evaluation of Omeljan Pritsak's impact on scholarship still remains to be written, but some specific aspects of his research are treated in the following:

S. Korybut, "Doslidžennja z džereloznavstva Sxidnoji Jevropy," *Naukovo-informacijnyj bjuleten' Arxivnoho upravlinnja URSR* (Kiev), 18:6 (68) (1964), pp. 81–83.

Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics,* Wiesbaden, 1965 (esp. pp. 119–120).

Denis Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale,* Wiesbaden, 1963.

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I. Books and Articles

1937

1. "Epiloh odnoho dotepu, abo avantjura Paseka z Mazepoju," *Ukrajins'ki visti* (Lviv), no. 275 (13 December).
2. "Roman Mazepy z Fal'bovs'koju," *Ukrajins'ki visti* (Lviv), no. 269 (6 December).

1938

3. *Rid Skoropads'kyx. (Istoryčno-geneal'ogična studija)* (Lviv), (2), 18 pp., 2 geneal. pl.

   For reprints, cf. nos. 5 and 58.
4. "Ivan Mazepa i Knjahynja Anna Dol's'ka," *Mazepa. Zbirnyk,* vol. 2 (= Praci Ukrajins'koho naukovoho institutu, vol. 46) (Warsaw), pp. 102–117.
5. "Rid Skoropads'kyx. (Istoryčno-geneal'ogična studija)," in: *Za velyč naciji. U dvadcjati rokovyny vidnovlennja Ukrajins'koji het'mans'koji deržavy* (Lviv), pp. 64–90, 2 pl.

   (Reprint of no. 3.)

   For subsequent reprint, cf. no. 58.
6. "Rid Skoropads'kyx. Joho zvjazky z Rurykovyčamy j Gedyminovyčamy," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 30 (1130) (24 April), pp. 17–18.
7. "Rolja kupectva v oxreščenni Rusy-Ukrajiny," *Torhovlja i promysl'* (Lviv), no. 18 (96) (15 September), p. 1.

*8. "Ukrajins'ko-arabs'ki vzajemyny u Seredni viky," *Literaturno-naukovyj dodatok do "Novoho času"* (Lviv) (July).

1939

9. "Jakiv Suša. Xolms'kyj epyskop i ukrajins'kyj istoryk (* 1610 +1687)," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 59 (1259) (6 August), pp. 6–7.

10. "Metodij Terlec'kyj. Joho misijna dijal'nist' v Karpats'kij Ukrajini i Juhoslaviji v rr. 1628–29," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 53 (1253) (16 July), pp. 6–7.

11. "Mukačiv. Hnizdo rebelijantiv i kul'turnyj centr," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 23 (1223) (26 March), pp. 6–7, and no. 25 (1225) (2 April), p. 6.

12. "Poxid Marvana Ibn-Muxammeda v Ukrajinu 735 r. Storinka z ukrajins'ko-arabs'kyx vzajemyn," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 26 (1226) (9 April), pp. 6–7.

13. "'Svityl'nyk Uniji'. Metodij Terlec'kyj, epyskop Xolms'kyj (1630–1649), osnovnyk ukrajins'koji akademiji v Xolmi. (Sproba biografiji)," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 29 (1229) (23 April), pp. 6–7.

14. "'Vozsoedinenie Unii' 1839 r. Storinka z martyrol'ogiji sv. Unijats'koji cerkvy," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 21 (1221) (19 March), pp. 6–7.

15. "Xto taki avtoxtony Karpats'koji Ukrajiny?," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 1 (1201) (1 January), pp. 15–16.

16. "Xust. Mynule stolyci Karpats'koji Ukrajiny," *Nova zorja* (Lviv), no. 15 (1215) (26 February), pp. 6–7, and no. 17 (1217) (4 March), p. 6.

1941

*17. "Anatema Mazepy," *Ukrajins'ke slovo* (Kiev) (November).

*18. "Nazvy Kyjeva v mynulomu," *Ukrajins'ke slovo* (Kiev) (October).
For reprint, cf. no. 19.

1942

19. "Nazvy Kyjeva v mynulomu," *Probojem* (Prague), 9:2 (103), pp. 99–102.
(Reprint of no. 18.)

1944

20. "Deščo pro naš istoryzm," *Bjuleten' NOUS-u* (Berlin), no. 4–5 (9–10), pp. 25–31.
For reprint, cf. no. 21.

21. "Deščo pro naš istoryzm," *Ukrajins'ka dijsnist'* (Berlin), no. 23 (10 August) and no. 24 (24 September).
(Reprint of no. 20.)

1946

22. "Šljaxy ukrajins'koji nezaležnosty," *Steži* (Innsbruck-Munich), 1:5–6, pp. 12–24.

23. "Žvanec'ke peremyr'ja (1653 r.) za turec'kym xronistom Najimoju," *UVAN. Bjuleten'* (Augsburg), no. 8–9, pp. 15–18.

1948

24. "Sojuz Xmel'nyc'koho z Tureččynoju 1648 roku," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenka* (Munich), 156, pp. 143–164.

1949

25. "Kul'tura. 1. Zahal'na xarakterystyka. Skladnyky kul'tury," *Encyklopedija ukrajinoznavstva* (Munich-New York), ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 694–708.
[Portions co-authored with Dmytro Čyževs'kyj.]

1950

26. "Karachanidische Streitfragen 1–4," *Oriens* 3:2, pp. 209–228.
Contents: Einleitung. Methode; 1. Arslan Xan Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ilig; 2. Wer war 'Alī Tigin?; 3. 'Ain ad-daula; 4. Zwei Karachanidische Kaganate.

1951

27. "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *ZDMG* 101, pp. 270–300, 1 map.

1952

28. "Āl-i Burhān," *Der Islam* 30:1, pp. 81–96.
29. "Bericht über die Gründung der Societas Uralo-Altaica (Göttingen, e.V.)," *UAJb* 24:3–4, pp. 116–122.
30. "The decline of the empire of the Oghuz Yabghu," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* (New York), 2:2(4), pp. 279–292.
(Translation of no. 40.)
31. "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker" [1], *UAJb* 24:1–2, pp. 49–104; "Nachtrag zum . . . ," ibid., p. 153.
Contents: Vorwort. Teil I: Morphologie. 1. Grundlagen der gesellschaftlichen Verfassung der altaischen Völker; 2. Kollektivum und Individualis in den altaischen Sprachen.
Rev.: Sinor, Denis, in: *JA* 240 (1952), pp. 425–426 [in review of *UAJb* 24: 1–2, ibid., pp. 424–428].
32. "Ural-altaische Arbeiten in den Jahren 1945–1951," *UAJb* 24:1–2, pp. 145–153.
33. "Ural-altaische Arbeiten in den Jahren 1951–52," *UAJb* 24:3–4, pp. 156–163.

1953

34. "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Societas Uralo-Altaica," *UAJb* 25:1–2, pp. 155–156.

35. "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Societas Uralo-Altaica," *UAJb* 25:3–4, p. 315.

36. "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)," *Oriens* 6:2, pp. 266–298.

37. "Die Karachaniden. (Mit einer genealogischen Tafel)," *Der Islam* 31:1, pp. 17–68, 2 pl.

For Turkish translation, cf. no. 38.

38. "Kara-Hanlılar 840–1212," *Islâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul), fasc. 58, pp. 251–273.

(Translation of no. 37.)

39. "Mahmud Kâşgarî kimdir?," *TM* 10, pp. 243–246.

40. "Der Untergang des Reiches des oġuzischen Yabġu," *60. doğum yılı münasebetiyle Fuad Köprülü Armağanı* (Istanbul), pp. 397–410.

For English translation, see no. 30.

Rev.: Cahen, Claude, in: *JA* 242:2 (1954), pp. 271–275 [in review of the Köprülü Festschrift, ibid., pp. 271–283].

41. "Ural-altaische Arbeiten in den Jahren 1951–53," *UAJb* 25:1–2, pp. 157–160; 25:3–4, pp. 316–320.

1954

42. *Julius von Farkas Bibliographie. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden), 27 pp., 1 pl.

43. "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Societas Uralo-Altaica im Wintersemester 1953/54," *UAJb* 26:1–2, p. 125.

44. "Bericht über die Mitgliederversammlung der Societas Uralo-Altaica in Cambridge [1954]," *UAJb* 26:3–4, pp. 254–255.

45. "Ein hunnisches Wort," *ZDMG* 104:1, pp. 124–135.

46. "Kultur und Sprache der Hunnen," *Festschrift für Dmytro Čyževs'kyj zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin), pp. 238–249.

47. "Mongolisch *yisün* 'neun' und *yiren* 'neunzig'," *UAJb* 26:3–4, pp. 243–245.

48. "Orientierung und Farbsymbolik. Zu den Farbenbezeichnungen in den altaischen Völkernamen," *Saeculum* (Munich), 5:4, pp. 376–383.

49. "Die sogenannte Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren," *UAJb* 26:1–2, pp. 61–77; 26:3–4, pp. 184–239.

Cf. also no. 53.

50. "Die 24 Ta-ch'ên. Studie zur Geschichte des Verwaltungsaufbaus der *Hsiung-nu* Reiche," *Oriens Extremus* (Hamburg), 1:2, pp. 178–202.

Disc.:

(1) Mori, Masao, "On 'Die 24 Ta-ch'ên' of Prof. O. Pritsak" (Jap.), in: *Shigaku Zasshi* 80:1 (1970).

(2) Mori, Masao, "Reconsideration of the Hsiung-nu State: A response to Professor O. Pritsak's criticism," in: *Acta Asiatica* (Tokyo), 24 (1973), pp. 20–34.

51. "Ural-altaische Arbeiten in den Jahren 1953–1954," *UAJb* 26:1–2, pp. 128–133.

52. (with Annemarie von Gabain), "Zum 60. Geburtstag Martti Räsänens (26.6.1893)," *UAJb* 26:1–2, pp. 124–125.

1955

53. *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (= Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, vol. 1) (Wiesbaden), 102 pp. 3 pl.

Rev. & Disc.:

(1) Benzing, Johannes, in: *ZDMG* 108:2 (1958), pp. 427–430.

(2) Beševliev, Veselin, in: *Istoričeski pregled* (Sofia) 15:1 (1959), pp. 122–124.

(3) Clauson, Gerard, in: *JRAS*, 1956:3–4, pp. 229–230.

(4) Eckmann, J., in: *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* (Istanbul) 8 (1958), pp. 153–157.

(5) Haussig, H. W., in: *Südost-Forschungen* (Munich), 16:1 (1957), pp. 241–246.

(6) Haussig, H. W., "Die protobulgarische Fürstenliste," in: Altheim, Franz, and Haussig, Hans-Wilhelm, *Die Hunnen in Osteuropa. Ein Forschungsbericht* (Baden-Baden, 1958), pp. 9–29.

(7) Jansky, Herbert, in: *Kratylos* (Wiesbaden), 6:2 (1961), pp. 212–213.

(8) Räsänen, M., in: *ZfSlPh* 29:1 (1960), pp. 230–231.

(9) Sinor, Denis, in: *CAJ* 4:3 (1959), pp. 222–224.

54. "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Societas Uralo-Altaica," *UAJb* 27:3–4, p. 256.

55. "Eine altaische Bezeichnung für Kiev," *Der Islam* 32:1, pp. 1–13.

56. "Die Oberstufenzählung im Tungusischen und Jakutischen," *ZDMG* 105:1, pp. 184–191.

57. "Qara. Studie zur türkischen Rechtssymbolik," *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan* (Istanbul), pp. 239–263.

58. "Rid Skoropads'kyx. (Istoryčno-geneal'ogična studija)," in: *Za velyč naciji. U dvadcjati rokovyny vidnovlennja Ukrajins'koji het'mans'koji deržavy* (New York), pp. 64–90, 2 pl.

(Reprint of no. 5.)

59. "Zur Religion der asiatischen Hirtenvölker [Schmidt, P. Wilhelm, *Die asiatischen Hirtenvölker . . . Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, vol. 9 (Fribourg, 1949)]," *UAJb* 27:3–4, pp. 254–256.

1956

60. "Der Titel Attila," *Festschrift für Max Vasmer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin), pp. 404–419.

61. "Vorwort des Herausgebers," in Braun, Maximilian, *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević von Konstantin dem Philosophen* (= Slavo-Orientalia, vol. 1) (The Hague-Wiesbaden), p. vi.

1957

62. (ed.) *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag am 8. August 1957* (Wiesbaden), 189 pp. 1 pl.

63. (ed.) *Tschuwaschische Ortsnamen* von Adalbert John Burghard (†), *Aus*

dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Omeljan Pritsak (= Slavo-Orientalia, vol. 2) (The Hague-Wiesbaden), 157 pp.

64. "Bericht über die Mitgliederversammlung der Societas Uralo-Altaica in München [1957]," *UAJb* 29:3–4, pp. 254–257.

65. "Bolgarische Etymologien I-III," *UAJb* 29:3–4, pp. 200–214.

    Contents: *1.* d.-bg. сасыг 1. 'Herd, Feueresse, Wolfsofen'; 2. 'irdener Topf'; *2.* d.-bg. твoлага 'junge Kuh, Kalb' und die Herkunft des türkischen Partizips Präteriti auf *-miš*; *3.* d.-bg. кγрилъ, корѣлъкъ ~ кγрѣлъкъ 'εἰκών, τυπος, τρόπος, σχῆμα, ὑπογραμμός usw.'

66. (with John R. Krueger), "Nikolaus Poppe Bibliographie," *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden), pp. 177–189.

67. "Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag," *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden), pp. 7–16.

68. (with Annemarie von Gabain) (ed.), M. Brynjovs'kyj, "Orts- und Zeitbesteichnungen im Wolgatatarischen," *UAJb* 29:1–2, pp. 45–80.

69. "Tschuwaschische Pluralsuffixe," *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden), pp. 137–155.

    Disc.:

    Egorov, V., in: *Jalav* (Cheboksary), 1960, no. 10, pp. 30–31.

1958

70. "Bericht über die Vorstandssitzung der Societas Uralo-Altaica," *UAJb* 30:3–4, p. 249.

71. "Die ursprünglichen türkischen Vokallängen im Balkarischen," *Jean Deny Armağanı* (Ankara), pp. 203–207.

1959

72. "Das Abakan- und Čulymtürkische und das Schorische. Anhang: Das Kamassische," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta,* ed. by Jean Deny et al., vol. 1 (Wiesbaden), pp. 598–640.

73. "Das Altaitürkische," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta,* ed. by Jean Deny et al., vol. 1 (Wiesbaden), pp. 568–598.

74. "Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica. Acht Noten zu den Wolga-Bulgarischen Grabinschriften des 13.-14. Jh.," *UAJb* 31, pp. 274–314, 5 pl.

    Contents: Einleitung; 1. W.-bg. distributives Konverb صر ; 2. W.-bg. Suffix 3. Sg. Imperativi طم- ; 3. Ist die W.-bg. Form -روى/-طوى ein Partizip? 4. W.-bg. Hilfsverben بل und اطن ; 5. W.-bg. بتلوى ; 6. W.-bg. Postposition اشِن ; 7. W.-bg. زيارة 'Grabstätte' und ропат-'Moschee'; 8. Kurze Einführung in die Wolga-Bolgarische Epigraphik.

    Disc.:

    Thomsen, K., "Zur Wolgabolgarischen Epigraphie," *AO Cop* 26:3–4 (1962), pp. 189–192.

75. "Julius von Farkas und die Ural-altaische Forschung," *UAJb* 31, pp. 20–23.

76. "Das Karaimische," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta,* ed. by Jean Deny et al., vol. 1 (Wiesbaden), pp. 318–340.

77. "Das Karatschaische und Balkarische," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed. by Jean Deny et al., vol. 1 (Wiesbaden), pp. 340–368.

78. "Kāšġarīs Angaben über die Sprache der Bolgaren," *ZDMG* 109:1, pp. 92–116.

79. "Das Kiptschakische. A. Mamluk-Kiptschakisch. B. Armenisch-Kiptschakisch," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed. by Jean Deny et. al., vol. 1 (Wiesbaden), pp. 74–87.

80. "Das Neuuigurische," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed. by Jean Deny et al., vol. 1 (Wiesbaden), pp. 525–563.

81. "Xun — der Volksname der Hsiung-nu," *CAJ* 5:1, pp. 27–34.

1960

82. "Die Herkunft des tschuwaschischen Futurums," *WZKM* 56, pp. 141–153.

83. (with Bertold Spuler; Annemarie v. Gabain; and Joachim Glaubitz), "Japanische Arbeiten über Zentralasien," *Der Islam* 35, pp. 126–141.

84. "Vorwort zum Nachdruck," in Wilhelm Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, vol. 1 (The Hague), pp. v–xxvii.

85. "Zum 60. Geburtstag Ahmet Caferoğlus," *UAJb* 32:1–2, pp. 88–89.

1961

86. "Die Ansprache des Herausgebers an die Jubilärin [Annemarie von Gabain] bei der Überreichung der Festschrift (Hamburg, den 4 Juli 1961)," *UAJb* 33:1–2, pp. 3–4.

87. "Die Herkunft der Allophone und Allomorphe im Türkischen," *UAJb* 33: 1–2, pp. 142–145.

1962

88. "Bericht über die III. Ordentliche Mitgliederversammlung der Societas Uralo-Altaica," *UAJb* 34:1–2, pp. 166–167.

1963

89. "Das Alttürkische," *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. by Bertold Spuler (Leiden-Cologne), 1:5:1, pp. 27–52.

Rev.:

(1) Doerfer, Gerhard, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 216:3–4 (1964), pp. 277–279 [in review of entire volume, ibid., pp. 272–279].

(2) Németh, Julius, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin), 61 (1966), col. 480 [in review of entire volume, ibid., cols. 479–482].

90. "Elements of the Ukrainian culture," *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Volodymyr Kubijovyč (University of Toronto Press), vol. 1, pp. 920–933.

91. "Nachwort des Herausgebers," *UAJb* 35A, p. 132.

92. "Nachwort des Herausgebers," *UAJb* 35B, p. 250.

93. "The names for the Ukrainian territory and people used by other peoples," *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Volodymyr Kubijovyč (University of Toronto Press), vol. 1, pp. 7–10.

94. (with John S. Reshetar, Jr.), "The Ukraine and the dialectics of nation-building," *Slavic Review* 22:2, pp. 224–255.

For reprints, cf. nos. 101, 136, and 145.

1964

95. *Zum Parallelismus im Alttürkischen* (=*SO* 28:6) (Helsinki), 8 pp.

96. (ed.) "Bücher- und Zeitschriftenschau," *UAJb* 35D, pp. 425–439.

97. "Der Flussname Kalka," *IJSLP* 8, pp. 61–66.

98. "Das Mogholische," *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. by Bertold Spuler (Leiden-Cologne) 1:5:2, pp. 159–184.

99. "Der 'Rhotazismus' und 'Lambdazismus'," *UAJb* 35D, pp. 337–349.

100. "Two names of steppe plants," *IJSLP* 8, pp. 37–45.

101. (with John S. Reshetar, Jr.), "The Ukraine and the dialectics of nation-building," in: *The Development of the USSR. An Exchange of Views*, ed. by Donald Treadgold (Seattle), pp. 236–267.

(Reprint of no. 94.)

1965

102. "Ananiasz Zajączkowski Sexagenarius," *UAJb* 36:3–4, pp. 229–233.

103. "Deremela = Brodnyky," *IJSLP* 9, pp. 82–96.

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[In 1951 the work was accepted for publication by the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu) in Ankara under the condition that it be translated into Turkish. This has delayed publication to date. One copy is in Ankara, the other in the author's archives. On this work are based nos. I-26, 27, 37, 57.]

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAH = *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.* Budapest.
AM = *Asia Major.* London.
AION = *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli,* Naples.
AO = *Archiv Orientální.* Prague.
AO Cop = *Acta Orientalia.* Copenhagen.
AOH = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.* Budapest.
Belleten = Türk Tarih Kurumu. *Belleten.* Ankara.
BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.* London.
CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal.* The Hague–Wiesbaden.
DSIJa = *Doklady i soobščenija Instituta jazykoznanija.* Moscow.
EV = *Èpigrafika Vostoka.* Moscow–Leningrad.
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.* Cambridge, Mass.
HURI = Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Mass.
HUS = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies.* Cambridge, Mass.
IAN-OLJa = *Izvestija Akademii nauk: Otdelenie literatury i jazyka.* Moscow–Leningrad.
IJSLP = *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics.* The Hague.
JA = *Journal Asiatique.* Paris.
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* London.
JSFOu = *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne.* Helsinki.
KSIE = *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta ètnografii.* Moscow.
KSIV = *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta vostokovedenija.* Moscow.
Minutes = *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University.* Cambridge, Mass.
MNy = *Magyar Nyelv.* Budapest.
PO = *Przegląd Orientalistyczny.* Warsaw.
RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny.* (Lviv)–(Cracow)–Warsaw.
SA = *Sovetskaja arxeologija.* Moscow–Leningrad.
SE = *Sovetskaja ètnografija.* Moscow–Leningrad.

SMAE = *Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i ètnografii.* Moscow–Leningrad.
SO = *Studia Orientalia.* Helsinki.
SV = *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie* [New Series]. Moscow.
TDAY Belleten = *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı. Belleten.* Ankara.
TIJa = *Trudy Instituta jazykoznanija.* Moscow.
TM = *Türkiyat Mecmuası.* Istanbul.
UAJb = *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher.* Wiesbaden.
UZIV = *Učenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija.* Moscow–Leningrad.
UZLGU = *Učenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta.* Leningrad.
UZTGPI = *Učenye zapiski Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta.* Tomsk.
VJa = *Voprosy jazykoznanija.* Moscow.
WI = *Die Welt des Islams.* Leiden.
WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Vienna.
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.* (Halle a.d.S.) –Wiesbaden.
ZfSlPh = *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie.* (Leipzig)–Heidelberg.

O tendencjach dehebraizacji leksyki karaimskiej i ich wynikach w *Słowniku karaimsko-rosyjsko-polskim*

MOSHÉ ALTBAUER

Ktokolwiek zechce zbadać elementy hebrajskie w leksyce karaimskiej na podstawie *Słownika karaimsko-rosyjsko-polskiego* (*SKRP*),[1] musi wziąć pod uwagę — obok różnych obiektywnych czynników (o czym niżej) — wyraźną tendencję dehebraizacji leksyki karaimskiej ze strony badaczy karaimskich, w przeciwieństwie do uczonych niekaraimskich, jak T. Kowalski, O. Pritsak, K. W. Menges, B. Munkácsi i wielu innych. Ta tendencja była widoczna już przed drugą wojną światową i wzmogła się w dużej mierze w latach powojennych. Na potwierdzenie tego zjawiska przytoczę kilka dowodów z przedwojennych i powojennych prac zmarłego w r. 1970 prof. Ananiasza Zajączkowskiego.

W wydanej przed wojną pracy "Przekłady Trenów Jeremiasza w narzeczu trockokaraimskim,"[2] A. Zajączkowski wybrał jako podstawę przekład Izajasza Rojeckiego z roku 1848, zaś w uwagach do tekstu podał wersję trzech innych przekładów, a między innymi nowszego przekładu Józefa Łobanosa z roku 1929. O tym przekładzie pisze Zajączkowski, co następuje: "Pod względem językowym przekład Ł[obanosa] różni się nieraz od poprzednich — powiedziałbym — zbytnią czystością. Tłumacz usiłuje zastąpić *wszystkie* [podkreślenie moje — M.A.] zapożyczenia hebrajskie i słowiańskie wyrazami rdzennie karaimskimi (tureckimi)" (t. 8, str. 188). W przypisie do tego zdania czytamy: "Że dotyczy to tylko zapożyczeń hebrajskich i słowiańskich, należy tłumaczyć tym, że inne zapożyczenia (arabskie, perskie) nie są odczuwane jako wyrazy obce" (t. 8, str. 188). Przypisywanie jednakowej roli zapożyczeniom hebrajskim i

[1] *Słownik karaimsko-rosyjsko-polski*, pod redakcją N. A. Baskakowa, S. M. Szapszała, A. Zajączkowskiego (Moskwa, 1974). Słownik przygotowano pod egidą Instytutu Językoznawstwa Akademii Nauk ZSSR, Instytutu Historii Litwy Akademii Nauk Lit. SRR i Zakładu Orientalistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

[2] A. Zajączkowski, "Przekłady Trenów Jeremiasza w narzeczu trockokaraimskim," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Lwów), 8 (1931–32): 181–92; 10 (1934): 158–78.

słowiańskim w leksyce karaimskiej[3] ma swoją wymowę i ilustruje stosunek badacza do wpływów hebrajskich w języku karaimskim.

[3] W latach pięćdziesiątych poświęciłem zagadnieniu zapożyczeń hebrajskich w dialekcie Karaimów litewskich artykuł w języku hebrajskim, w czasopiśmie Akademii Języka Hebrajskiego w Jerozolimie ("'Al ha'ivrīt šebefī Qarāej Līta we'al hayesōdōt hā 'ivriīm šebilšōnām [O hebrajszczyźnie w ustach Karaimów litewskich i o elementach hebrajskich w ich języku]," *Lešonenu* 21 (1957): 117–26; 22 (1958): 258–65 + 4 nlb. Opierając się głównie na monografii Tadeusza Kowalskiego (*Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki* [Kraków, 1929], omówiłem wpływy hebrajskie na leksykę Karaimów litewskich, ich przystosowanie do systemu fonologicznego i morfologicznego języka karaimskiego, ponadto na podstawie nagrań na magnetofonie omówiono wymowę hebrajszczyzny w ustach Karaimów litewskich. Omawiane zapożyczenia hebrajskie w leksyce karaimskiej podzielono na rozmaite dziedziny kultury duchowej i materialnej. Za Kowalskim omówiono wpływ karaimskich przekładów Biblii, naśladujących niewolniczo hebrajskie konstrukcje składniowe, na porządek wyrazów itp, co spowodowało zaburzenia w składni tureckiej Karaimów.

K. M. Musaev w swej książce, *Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka: Fonetika i morfologija* (Moskwa, 1964), ocenił mój artykuł zgodnie z tendencją dehebraizacji języka karaimskiego w duchu ideologii A. Zajączkowskiego. Przekręcając tytuł mego artykułu na: "Ob evrejax [!] — litovskix karaimax i ob evrejskix elementax v ix jazyke" (str. 32) w notce 57. do tego zdania autor pisze: "Avtor v sled za nekotorymi innostrannymi učenymi nazyvaet karaimov evrejami" i zarzuca mi niepopełnioną przeze mnie "zbrodnię." Zaznaczając słusznie, że podstawowy materiał artykułu jest oparty na "Tekstach" Kowalskiego, pisze Musaev m. in.: "Avtor sklonen pripisyvat' evrejskomu jazyku vse netjurkskie elementy v stroe karaimskogo jazyka . . . s čem nel'zja soglasit'-sja" (tamże).

O wpływie języka hebrajskiego na leksykę karaimską pisał K. W. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples: An Introduction to Turkic Studies* (Wiesbaden, 1968): "With a power similar to that by which Islamic words and terms were introduced into the Turkic languages, Hebrew ones were taken over by the Qarajīm language, especially in the translations from the Old Testament and canonical literature of Judaism, but also, to a lesser degree, in the popular language. In Qarajīm, too, the abstract terminology was preponderantly Hebrew" (str. 173). Zaś o wpływie hebrajszczyzny na składnię karaimską czytamy w książce Mengesa (str. 182): "While the morphology of all Uralo-Altajic languages is extremely resistant to both internal and external changes, the syntax is more vulnerable to influences and consequently to changes. This can be seen particularly in the case of translation literature, especially the translations of doctrinary or dogmatic texts, which for the sake of the greatest possible accuracy stick closely to the original, all too often at the expense of the language into which the translation has been made. This latter feature is so overwhelming in the Bible translation from Hebrew into Qarajīm that nothing of the Altajic syntax has been left in Qarajīm: the word order is exactly and literally that of Hebrew, even going so far as to imitate the Semitic word position of the genitive construction."

Wpływ składni hebrajskiej na składnię języka karaimskiego podkreśla również prof. O. Pritsak ("Das Karaimische," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, t. 1 [Wiesbaden, 1959], str. 338). Zarzuty Musaeva tyczą się zatem w równej mierze tych wielkich trzech uczonych, Kowalskiego, Mengesa i Pritsaka. W swoim artykule zaznaczyłem tylko, że jeśli chodzi o szyk wyrazów, to w językach słowiańskich, z którymi Karaimi byli w kontakcie, nie ma stałych reguł, natomiast w hebrajskim szyk jest stały: "głowa rodziny," a nie "rodziny głowa". W językach słowiańskich nie istnieje też kategoria determinacji składniowej, jak w hebrajszczyźnie, *ha-*, co spowodowało użycie *ol-* w języku karaimskim w funkcji rodzajnika w determinacji składniowej.

Co ważniejsze, twierdzenia autora na ten temat (usuwanie hebraizmów w przekładzie Łobanosa) *nie* wytrzymują krytyki. Po dokładnym zbadaniu tekstu "podstawowego" i jego wariantów w uwagach do tekstu (ciąg dalszy, str. 158–73) okazało się, że w porównaniu z wersją Rojeckiego przekład Łobanosa zawiera około 80% hebraizmów występujących w tekście Rojeckiego (niekiedy z drobnymi wariantami natury morfologicznej), poza tym zastąpienie pewnych hebraizmów wyrazami karaimskimi nie jest — moim zdaniem — wynikiem puryzmu językowego tłumacza. Powodem tego była głęboka znajomość języka Biblii i chęć wiernego oddania rozmaitych wariantów stylistycznych, a przede wszystkim semantycznych, wyrazów biblijnych.

Oto zapożyczenia hebrajskie, które *nie* zostały usunięte w przekładzie Łobanosa (przykłady według kolejności rozdziałów *Trenów*): *moed', koyen, mikdaš, Adonaį, šabbat, mizb'eįax, tora* (w derywatach), *navi, navilik, t'efiñła, t'ešuva, adam, midbar, sakkana.*

Niektóre z tych zapożyczeń powtarzają się kilkakrotnie.

1. W wersecie II:9 *Trenów* użył Łobanos, podobnie jak Rojecki, za wyraz biblijny *nevī'ehā* ("jej prorocy") zapożyczenia: *navilarid'a,* natomiast za wyraz biblijny *ḥazōn,* który jest semantycznie bliski wyrazowi *nevū'ā* ("proroctwo"), ale oznacza: "widzenie, wizja," tłumacz użył w przeciwieństwie do Rojeckiego bardziej dokładnego odpowiednika *k'orum k'or-m'akni* (Zajączkowski, "Przekłady Trenów," t. 10, str. 163, przyp. 56). W tłumaczeniu *Trenów* Symchy Dubińskiego występuje w obu wyrazach zapożyczenie hebrajskie: *navileride bulmadilar navilik.*[4] W starszych i nowszych tłumaczeniach polskich występuje ta sama dyferencjacja dwóch pokrewnych wyrazów biblijnych: "prorocy" — "(nie mają) widzenia."

Ten sam dublet semantyczny powtarza się dwukrotnie w wersecie 14. tegoż rozdziału: "prorocy miewali . . . widzenia," a przy końcu wersetu: "miewali widzenia." U Rojeckiego: "navilariį navilik ettilar" — "navilik ettilar," zaś u Łobanosa: "k'or'um k'ord'ular" i to samo w dalszej części wersetu. U Dubińskiego to samo, co u Rojeckiego. *SKRP* tłumaczy *k'or'um* pod hasłem кöрўм, wraz z innymi wariantami gwarowymi (str. 339, kol. 2), w 5. znaczeniu tego wyrazu jako: "widzenie."

2. Wyraz biblijny *tefillā* ("modlitwa, precatio, preces, carmen sacrum") występuje w *Trenach* dwa razy (III:8 i III:44) i w obu wypadkach zachowano w przekładach trockokaraimskich i krymskokaraimskim zapożyczenie hebrajskie, zarówno w starszym przekładzie Rojeckiego, w nieco

[4] Simcha Dubiński, *Čaqun Lahaš, eįze slīḥōt uwiddūįim wegam qīnōt lešabbatot Tamuz, meturgamim bisfat Qēdār* (Wilno, 1895), str. 54, kol. 2.

nowszym Dubińskiego i w najnowszym Łobanosa. Bardziej ekspresywny synonim za *tefillā*, a mianowicie *šaw'ā* ("clamor, eiulatio") zastąpił Rojecki hebraizmem *tefiñla*, natomiast Łobanos zachował dyferencjację stylistyczną i semantyczną tekstu biblijnego i przetłumaczył *šaw'atī*, III:56 ("moje wołanie, mój krzyk") karaimskim wyrazem *kołtxama* (*SKRP* tłumaczy *kołtxa* [str. 331, kol. 1] 'prośba, błaganie; modlitwa'). Dubiński bardziej ekspresywnie przetłumaczył synonim hebrajski: *ferįadima*, *SKRP* (str. 596, kol. 2) cytuje фэрьйяд z dialektu krymskokaraimskiego "jęk"; w słowniku A. Mardkowicza[5] zapisano (chyba z dialektu Karaimów ukraińskich): *firjat* 'alarm, wołanie' (str. 25, kol. 2).
3. Za biblijny wyraz *nāzīr*: (1) "poświęcony Bogu"; (2) "ukoronowany, książę," Rojecki użył (IV:7) hebraizmu *nazirlari*, Łobanos *-taǯlanyan* od wyrazu *taǯ* 'korona', to samo, co hebrajskie *nezer* ("diadema, corona"), czyli "ukoronowany," zaś Dubiński użył bardziej neutralnego wyrazu: *begleri* (str. 69, kol. 2), 'gospodin, pan' według *SKRP*. *Taǯlanyan* jaśniej tłumaczy sens tekstu biblijnego, niż dwuznaczny *nāzīr*.
4. Wyraz biblijny *midbār* ("pustynia") występuje w *Trenach* trzy razy (IV:3, IV:19 i V:9). U Rojeckiego we wszystkich trzech wersetach występuje zapożyczenie hebrajskie, u Łobanosa tylko dwa razy (IV:3 i V:9). Natomiast jeden raz zamiast *midbarda* u Rojeckiego Łobanos użył zwrotu opisowego: "kuryax įerďa ('w suchym miejscu, w suchej ziemi')," co jest częstym synonimem biblijnym za *midbar* a także za *'arāvā* ('regio arida, desertum'), jak na przykład w rozdziale 68 Psalmów, wersety 5 i 7. Można zatem powiedzieć, że mamy tu do czynienia nie ze świadomym usuwaniem zapożyczeń hebrajskich (bo gdyby to była tendencja Łobanosa, nie zatrzymałby *midbar* w wersetach IV:3 i V:9), ale z artyzmem tłumacza — poety w posługiwaniu się synonimami. U Dubińskiego trzykrotnie: *įaban* (bez etymologii w *SKRP*).
5. Biblijny wyraz *mō'ēd* posiada aż trzy znaczenia: (1) "święto," (2) "termin" i (3) "zbór." Wyraz występuje w *Trenach* sześć razy. W pierwszym znaczeniu ("święto") Rojecki i Łobanos zostawiają wyraz hebrajski, Dubiński zaś użył wyrazu: *bajram* (to samo w nowszym tureckim tłumaczeniu Biblii).[6] Drugie znaczenie ("termin") Rojecki i Łobanos tłumaczą: *ištyryłmax*, zaś Dubiński wyrazem: *vayda* (*SKRP*, str. 155, kol. 1 — "termin"). Trzecie znaczenie ("zbór") Rojecki i Łobanos tłumaczą *ištyryłmax* (por. *SKRP*, str. 213, kol. 1), zaś Dubiński

[5] Aleksander Mardkowicz, *Karaj sez-bitigi. Słownik Karaimski. Karaimisches Wörterbuch* (Łuck, 1925).
[6] *Kitabi Mukaddes: Eski ve Yeni Ahit* (Istanbul, 1949).

hebraizmem *miqdaš* ("świątynia"). Jedynie jeden raz użył Łobanos wyrazu karaimskiego wobec *moed'* u Rojeckiego.

6. Jedną z cech techniki przekładowej Karaimów było pozostawianie wyrazów hebrajskich w przekładach Biblii, gdy chodziło o *realia,* których znaczenie nie było dosyć jasne, jak w nazwach konstelacyj niebieskich,[7] stron świata, drogich kamieni, nazw zwierząt i ptaków. Z tego powodu nie przetłumaczono wyrazu *nešer* 'aquila, vultur'; także leksykografowie hebrajscy trudzą się, aby dojść do ścisłej definicji tej nazwy. Przykład na to mamy w przekładzie karaimskim księgi Hioba (w *Tekstach* Kowalskiego, str. 1–38),[8] w wersetach IX: 26, XXXIX: 27. Także Rojecki pozostawił wyraz biblijny w przekładzie *Trenów.* Łobanos zastąpił tu jednak hebraizm opisem obrazowym, który również nie jest dokładną definicją (ale ma pewne oparcie w karaimskokrymskiej nazwie tego ptaka) *kara kušłaryndan* ("od czarnych ptaków"), w wersecie IV:19, co jest bliskie przekładowi Dubińskiego: *qartallarindan* (Dubiński, *Čaqun Lahaš,* str. 70, kol. 2); *SKRP* cytuje ten wyraz z narzecza krymskiego, z kartoteki słownika karaimskiego w rękopisie S. M. Šapšała: къартал (str. 364, kol. 2) 'orzeł'. Ta sama nazwa występuje w przekładzie tureckim (osmańskim)[9] z tą różnicą, że przekład turecki zachowuje turecki szyk wyrazów: *göklerin kartallarından,* podczas gdy u Dubińskiego: קַרְטַאלְלַרִינְדַן גוֹכְּנִיג. Należy zaznaczyć, że z tych samych powodów — dążenie do najwierniejszego oddania sensu tekstu biblijnego — Łobanos usuwa niekiedy wyraz

[7] Na to zjawisko zwóciłem uwagę w swoim wyżej cytowanym artykule hebrajskim (por. przypis 3), omawiając nazwy konstelacji niebieskich w tłumaczeniach biblijnych na język karaimski. Na przykład, w tłumaczeniu księgi Hioba (IX:9) znajdujemy za hebrajskie: עֹשֶׂה־עָשׁ כְּסִיל וְכִימָה; w tekście karaimskim: "i̯aratuvču i̯ułduzun ašnyn, kesilniń da kimanyn. . . ."

Podobnie pozostawił nie przetłumaczone nazwy konstelacyj żydowski tłumacz księgi Hioba na żywy, potoczny język białoruski (z końca XV. albo z początku XVI. wieku — Kodeks nr. 262 Centralnej Biblioteki Akademii Litewskiej w Wilnie); "tvorja ašy, kesil' i xima . . ." w przeciwieństwie do tłumaczeń wschodniosłowiańskich na język cerkiewny, opartych na tłumaczeniu Septuaginty.

W nowszym tłumaczeniu tureckim przetłumaczono nazwy konstelacyj wyrazami tureckimi, bądź to rodzimymi, bądź to zapożyczeniami z arabskiego czy z łaciny, za pośrednictwem języków europejskich: "Dübbi Ekberi, Oriyon yıldızı ile Ülker burcunu . . ." (str. 507). To samo zjawisko powtarza się w wersecie XXXVIII:31 księgi Hioba.

W. A. Gordlewskij w artykule (*Doklady AN SSSR,* nr. 5 [1928], str. 87–91), "Leksika karaimskogo perevoda Biblii," objaśnia to zjawisko nieco prościej: "Čuvstvuja bednost' karaimskogo jazyka, perevodčik upotrebljaet evrejskie slova" (str. 91). Warto zaznaczyć, że w małym słowniku "Slova iz Biblii" wynotował Gordlewskij zapożyczenia hebrajskie: *barak* ("izumrud"), *mača* ("opresnok"), *menacim* ("volxovateli"), *miškan* ("skinija") — nie notowane w *SKRP.*

[8] Por. przypis 3, w którym podano pełny opis bibliograficzny monografii.

[9] *Kitabi Mukaddes,* str. 786.

arabski ("nie obcy" Karaimom, zdaniem Zajączkowskiego) i zastępuje go wyrazem karaimskim (tureckim). W wersecie I:9 znajduje się w tekście biblijnym idiom: *wattērēd pəlā'īm* ("i spadła przedziwnie" i "zeszła przedziwnie" od *pele'* 'cud'), co oznacza: "bardzo podupadła, strasznie podupadła" (*Biblia Tysiąclecia* tłumaczy: "strasznie ją poniżono").[10] Rojecki tłumaczy: *da endi tamaša eńm'ak*; *tamaša* to zapożyczenie arabskie oznaczające: "cudowny, dziwny" (por. *SKRP*, str. 509, kol. 2: "cud, dziwo; cudowny"; w Słowniku Mardkowicza, str. 60, kol. 2: *tamasa* 'cud, dziwo; cudowny, dziwny'). Łobanos usunął zapożyczenie arabskie i zastąpił je wyrazem karaimskim *uńłu* (*SKRP*: *ułłu*, z odnośnikami do wariantów dialektycznych): "duży wielki, ważny" (str. 577); w Słowniku Mardkowicza: *ułłu* 'doniosły, duży, wielki' (str. 68, kol. 1). W tłumaczeniu *Trenów* w cytowanej wyżej książce Dubińskiego zamiast *pəlā'īm* znajdujemy: *aǯaįib* 'zadziwiająco' (W *SKRP*: *aǯaįip — aʒaįyp* 'zadziwiający, niezwykły' (str. 45 i 46). Takich przykładów jest więcej.

Powyższe przykłady wystarczą, by udowodnić, że twierdzenia A. Zajączkowskiego o puryzmie Łobanosa i o świadomym usuwaniu wszystkich hebraizmów nie wytrzymują krytyki. Ta tendencja dejudaizacji kultury kraimskiej i dehebraizacji leksyki karaimskiej wzmogła się w latach powojennych. Odseparowanie się od judaizmu i od języka hebrajskiego dominuje szczególnie w ostatniej pracy Zajączkowskiego *Karaims in Poland* (PWN, Warszawa, 1961). Tu chciałbym, w związku z dalszymi wywodami, zwrócić uwagę na kilka ledwo uchwytnych zabiegów "kosmetycznych" na tekście wszystkich czterech tłumaczeń fragmentów biblijnych w omawianej książce:

Na stronie 101–102 znajduje się w transkrypcji fonetycznej przekład psalmu 51; w wersecie 18 (!, właściwie 20 w tekście masoretycznym) czytamy: "Yaxši ätkin klagiy bïla Ciyonnu, qondarγïn qalalaryn Aziz šaharnïn"; nazwę Jerozolimy (w oryginale: *tivne ḥōmōt Yerūšālaim* 'zbuduj mury Jerozolimy') zastąpiono "parafrazą poetycką": "Świętego Miasta."

W żadnym z dostępnych mi przekładów karaimskich Psalmów nie użyto takiej "parafrazy poetyckiej." Na przykład: "qondarγin qalalarin Yerušalaim nin" (rękopis przekładu Psalmów w zbiorach Instytutu im. Jicchaka Ben Cvi w Jerozolimie, fol. 50r). W nieco innej wersji w przekładzie tegoż psalmu (we wstępie do wielkiego Glosariusza hebrajsko-

[10] *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu: Biblia Tysiąclecia* (Poznań, 1965).

karaimskiego do Biblii w narzeczu krymskim):[11] "i̯arastïr murandïğ ilen Ciyon nu i̯ap qalelerin I̯erušalaim nin" (str. 39).

Podobny zabieg "kosmetyczny" o tendencji deizraelizacji tekstu biblijnego powtarza się w wersecie 22 psalmu 71: "Tänrim zämär oxuymän Saya qïyasa qobuz savutu bïla aziz Tänrisi Ulusnun," czyli zamiast "Święty Boże Izraela" — "Święty Boże Narodu" (w tłumaczeniu polskim Wujka: "Święty Izraelski").

W wyżej cytowanym przekładzie Psalmów (rękopis) odpowiednie miejsce brzmi: "qobuz bïla, e aziz tenrisi I̯israelnin" (fol. 68r).

Że dwa powyższe przykłady "kosmetyki" tekstu biblijnego w Psalmach nie są przypadkowe, lecz wskazują na konsekwentną metodę, widać z trzech innych przykładów:

Jezajasz I:3 (str. 105): "Ulus bilmäydir, ulusum anlamäydir" (za hebrajskie: "Yisrāʼēl lō yāda ʻammī lō hitbōnēn"; "a Izrael mię nie poznał, a lud mój nie zrozumiał," tłumaczenie Wujka).

Jezajasz I:4 (str. 105): "ačirɣandïdirilar aziz Tänrisin Ulusnun" (za hebrajskie "niʼacū et-qedōš Yisrāʼēl"; u Wujka: "bluźnili świętego Izraelowego . . .").

Jezajasz V:7 (str. 104–105): "Ki borlalïji k'učlu Tänrinin Yaratuvčunun čärivlarni üv'u Ulusnun . . ." (za hebrajskie: *bei̯t Yisrāʼēl*; w tłumaczeniu Wujka: "Bo winnica Pana zastępów jest dom Izraelski").

Podobne zwroty "lud Izraela," "dom Izraela," "Bóg Izraela," "mury Jerozolimy" znajdują się także w różnych modlitwach (według rytuału karaimskiego) i pieśniach obrzędowych (jak z okazji wesela, urodzin itd.).[12] Karaimi nie wyrzucali tych zwrotów i nie przeprowadzali żadnych zabiegów "kosmetycznych." Np. w pieśniach zebranych przez Kowalskiego (str. 32): *kiplagin'da k'uč ummasyn Israelnin'* ("pokrzep i wzmocnij lud Izraela"); u S. Dubińskiego, w pierwszej modlitwie w zbiorze "W sobotę miłosierdzia" (str. 5, kol. 2): *i̯ap qala'larini Ierušalaimniğ.*

Przechodząc do omówienia zagadnienia, w jakiej mierze nowy *Słownik karaimsko-rosyjsko-polski* oddaje zapożyczenia hebrajskie w leksyce karaimskiej, chciałbym zaznaczyć, że obok wyżej zilustrowanej tendencji dehebraizacyjnej działały również inne czynniki natury obiektywnej, a

[11] Glosariusz to druga część książki: *Zecher Raw* (notowanej w Bibliografii *SKRP*, ale bez żadnych danych bibliograficznych), poprzedzonej częścią o nazwie *Petaḥ hatei̯va* ("Wstęp do zgłosek"). Wyszła drukiem w Konstantynopolu w roku 1823. Zawiera klucz wszystkich pni występujących w Biblii, ilustrowanych cytatami z Pisma Świętego z przekładem na język karaimski.

[12] T. Kowalski, "Pieśni obrzędowe w narzeczu Karaimów z Trok," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 3 (1926):216–39.

mianowicie: (1) niekompletna ekscerpcja drukowanych i rękopiśmiennych źródeł karaimskich, szczególnie dialektu karaimskokrymskiego (por. uwaga 7); (2) nieposługiwanie się materiałami rękopiśmiennymi w zbiorach zachodnioeuropejskich i amerykańskich (w Jerozolimie znajdują się mikrofilmy większości tych rękopisów karaimskich, n.b. bez mikrofilmów z rękopisów radzieckich); (3) w pewnej mierze niedostateczna znajomość języka hebrajskiego, zarówno u redaktorów Słownika jak i jego współpracowników.

Konfrontacja Słownika z bogatą literaturą przedmiotu dostępną w Jerozolimie, w Bibliotece Narodowej i Uniwersyteckiej, jak również w Instytucie im. J. Ben-Cvi, obejmującą rzadkie druki karaimskie, rękopisy, czasopisma naukowe i, jak się rzekło, mikrofilmy większości rękopisów karaimskich pisanych alfabetem hebrajskim ze zbiorów europejskich i amerykańskich, wykazała, że sporo materiału leksykalnego, a między innymi zapożyczenia hebrajskie, nie odbiło się w Słowniku.

Oto lista 67 zapożyczeń hebrajskich w leksyce karaimskiej, przy których nie zaznaczono w Słowniku ich pochodzenia hebrajskiego:

айиш, 52
аламот, 62
алуф, 66
байит, 98
балабайыт, 100
бама, 101
бегъемот, 110
бур, 140
бэраха, 151
гамор, 158
ганнав, 158
гезэра, 159
зона, 189
зохэ, 189
йабан, 214
йовэл, 246
йэцэр, 278
кедеша, 300
кенэс, z różnymi wariantami gwarowymi i derywatami, 304, 305, 392
ливйатан, 399
мавут, 401; przypuszczalnie z hebr. *mā'ōt* drobne pieniądze'
мадбейа (!), 401, z hebr. *maṭbē'a*
ман (2), 403
марор, 404
масор, 404
махлат, 404
мацэва, 405
мишпаха, 408
моде, модэ, 409
мэгъыла (mehyła), 414
мэзига, 414
мэрива, 415
мэрубба, 415, 416
мэхилла, 416
наси, 418
нигун, 419 (podstawą hebr. biblijne *niggūn*)
нобат, новад, 420
нэвэла, 421
нэдан, 421
нэс, 422
онэгли, 430
орэв, 433
парцуф, 446
пасук, 446
пилпулланмак, 447 (podstawą hebr. *pilpūl*)
рэциха, 453
сафэк, сафэксиз, 469
согъам, 476

сод, 477
софэр, 480
сэвара, 496
сэваралаш-, 496
сэрэфа, 499
сэуда, 500
таам, 502
тамэ, 510
танур, таннур, 511
тахлит, 518 (z hebrajskiego!)
хариф, 601
харифли, 601
цараат, 612
шахар, 645, kol. 1
шожбинь (!), 647, hebr. *šōšbīn*
шошбин, 647
шэвэт, 649
шэме, 649, z aramejskiego
эсав, эсавка, 669

Nawet bardzo pobieżna ekscerpcja niektórych materiałów, stojących do mojej dyspozycji, jak czasopismo *Karaj Awazy,* publikacje J. Maleckiego, S. Dubińskiego, A. Mardkowicza (włącznie z jego Słownikiem), kilkanaście próbnych stron Pentateuchu konstantynopolskiego (w porównaniu z przekładem *Genesis* w dialekcie trockim L. Mickiewicza i E. Rojeckiego) oraz publikacje tekstów karaimskich przez B. Munkácsiego, J. Sulimowcza (*RO,* t. 35 i 36) i Wł. Zajączkowskiego (przed i po ukazaniu się Słownika), wykazała, że co najmniej 50 zapożyczeń hebrajskich, występujących w wyżej wymienionych źródłach, nie weszło w zakres *SKRP.* Są to, w porządku alfabetycznym, w transliteracji, a nie w transkrypcji fonetycznej, następujące wyrazy (por. też przypis 7):

'aqrab 'skorpion'
bał-siefier 'autor'
berachot 'modlitewnik'
cemach 'roślina'
chacufa 'arogantka'
chamec 'kwaśne ciasto, z którego nie piecze się mac (przaśników)'
chamor (w złożeniu butu-chamor) 'osioł'
chanot 'balsam, ciało zabalsamowane'
chasid 'pobożny, chasyd'
chatat 'grzech'
chaver 'towarzysz, wspólnik'
chet 'grzech'
chibbur 'praca literacka albo naukowa'
choszen 'część ubioru kapłańskiego'
dałut 'bieda'
erez 'cedr'
goj 'obcy'
kaas 'gniew'
kahał, qaγał 'gmina (karaimska)'
leszon-kodesz 'święty język, hebrajski'
kapara 'oczyszczenie z win, odkupienie'
macca 'przaśnik' (notowane w Słowniczku u Gordlewskiego, por. przypis 7)
mechaber 'autor'
meszumed 'wychrzta'
miszkan 'tabernaculum, święty przybytek' (Exodus XXV:9)
neginna 'melodia'
neszech 'lichwa'
ohel moed 'Namiot Spotkania' (Exodus XI:22)
ołam habba 'przyszły świat'
ołam hazze 'doczesny świat'
over 'nie przestrzegający (zakonu)'
parochet 'zasłona na szafę z rodałami'

prat 'szczegół, właściwość'
regalim 'święta, w których odbywano pielgrzymkę do Świątyni jerozolimskiej'
siddur 'modlitewnik'
siman 'znak'
szofar 'róg, którym trąbiono w kieniesie w Nowy Rok i przy końcu Dnia Sądnego'
szofet 'sędzia'
szelamim 'ofiara całopalna'
Szawuot 'Zielone Świątki'
tefla 'kościół' (znane w jiddysz)
widduj 'spowiedź'
zichron 'pamięć, wspomnienie' ("w status constructus" od *zikkaron*)

Pełna ekscerpcja całego dostępnego mi materiału (o czym wyżej) pozwoli mi wrócić do zagadnienia, którym zajmuję się od wielu lat — a to na szerokim tle porównawczym z podobnym procesem w licznych językach diaspory żydowskiej (oczywiście — *mutatis mutandis* — nieco innym niż elementy hebrajskie w leksyce karaimskiej). To umożliwi mi uzupełnienie dotychczasowych prób opracowania zagadnienia w całej rozciągłości.

Powyższe uwagi i uzupełnienia w niczym nie umniejszają pierwszorzędnego znaczenia *Słownika karaimsko-rosyjsko-polskiego* w rozwoju filologii karaimskiej. Realizacja tego projektu zachęci innych do podjęcia dalszych prac na polu filologii karaimskiej i spełni *desiderium* Jubilata, zasłużonego badacza języka karaimskiego, a szczególnie, co się tyczy edycji rękopisów karaimskich: "Der wesentliche Teil der Handschriften harrt noch immer der Veröffentlichung und Bearbeitung."[13]

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[13] Pritsak, "Das Karaimische," str. 324.

Antiquité méconnue du titre d'*ataman*?

LOUIS BAZIN

Le titre d'*ataman*, porté par les chefs des Cosaques d'Ukraine à partir du milieu du XVII^e siècle, a longtemps dérouté les étymologistes, qui y voyaient une corruption de *hetman*. On sait maintenant que, sans exclure, parmi les raisons de son adoption en Ukraine, son homophonie partielle avec *hetman*, on doit y voir un emprunt au turc: *ataman* est, en effet, un dérivé du mot turc *ata* 'père, ancêtre, ancien', avec le suffixe *-män* / *-man* augmentatif, qu'on retrouve, par exemple, dans *Türkmän, Karaman, Kölämän* 'Mamelouk' (de *kölä* 'esclave'), etc. Le sens du mot *ataman* est "Ancien (par excellence)", et équivaut à celui de *staršij* 'Aîné', titre porté précédemment par les chefs cosaques ukrainiens.

Nous ne reviendrons pas ici sur l'histoire étymologique d'*ataman*, pour laquelle on trouvera toutes références chez È. V. Sevortjan[1]. Notre propos est de rechercher d'éventuelles traces du titre d'*ataman* dans l'histoire ancienne de la titulature turque.

* * *

Cette recherche nous a été suggérée par la lecture d'un passage de l'Inscription II de l'Orkhon (Sud, ligne 14), qui mentionne, parmi les dignitaires ayant participé à l'intronisation de *Bilgä Kagan*, un personnage dont le titre, écrit *Tm N T R Q N*, a été traditionnellement lu comme *Taman Tarkan*, mais peut aussi bien, dans un système graphique qui ne note pas le *a-* initial, être lu *Ataman Tarkan*[2].

L'intronisation en question ayant eu lieu en 716, nous aurions là, si l'on retenait la lecture *Ataman* (que la graphie autorise autant que la lecture *Taman*), une attestation du titre turc d'*Ataman* remontant au début du VIII^e siècle, soit plus de neuf siècles avant son apparition chez les Cosaques d'Ukraine.

Le contexte donne quelque vraisemblance à cette interprétation. Bien que le passage de l'inscription soit légèrement mutilé, le contenu des

[1] *Ètimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*, t. 1, Moscou, 1974, p. 202.
[2] Cf. H. N. Orkun, *Eski türk yazıtları*, t. 1, Istanbul, 1936, pp. 72–73.

lignes 13 à 15 peut être reconstitué presque intégralement par comparaison interne: il s'agit, successivement, de quatre rédactions parallèles mentionnant respectivement les délégations de dignitaires représentant les 4 points cardinaux, avec, en tête, les titres du chef de délégation: *Kōl Čor* pour les *Tarduš* de l'Ouest; *Apa Tarkan* pour les *Töliš* de l'Est; (*A*)*taman Tarkan Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan*, vraisemblablement pour les contrées du Sud (lacune dans le texte); *Ič Buyruk Säbig Kōl Irkin* (et non pas "*Irkiz*", erreur de lecture passée dans la tradition), presque certainement pour les contrées du Nord, si le précédent dirige les représentants du Sud (sinon, intervertir Nord et Sud).

Nous ne pouvons ici commenter en détail ces titulatures, mais nous croyons, en raison des traditions hiérarchiques des Turcs anciens, que chaque délégation mentionnée a un chef, et non plusieurs, et que, par conséquent, les titulatures des deux derniers, en dépit de leur longueur, désignent un seul et même personnage à la fois.

Le troisième est connu, d'après sa propre épitaphe (Inscription de Tonyoukouk, ligne 6)[3], avec une titulature très semblable: *Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan*, ou le titre élevé de *Bilgä* 'Sage' — porté par l'Empereur lui-même, *Bilgä Kagan* — a remplacé celui d'(*A*)*taman Tarkan*. On possède, tant par les sources chinoises que par son épitaphe turque, des informations détaillées sur ce Tonyoukouk, beau-père de *Bilgä Kagan*, et compagnon de la première heure du père de ce dernier, *El-teriš Kagan*, restaurateur, en 682, de l'indépendance des Turcs Orientaux après une révolte contre le protectorat chinois. Sous le règne de *Kapgan Kagan* (691-716), Tonyoukouk exerçait des fonctions analogues à celles de généralissime, et c'est sans doute là le sens du titre d'(*A*)*taman Tarkan* qui'il porte en 716, lors de l'intronisation de *Bilgä Kagan* succédant à son oncle paternel *Kapgan Kagan*.

Ce titre, pour sa signification, serait à rapprocher de celui, bien attesté, d'(*A*)*pa Tarkan* (écrit *PaTRQN*, également sans *a-* initial), dont le premier terme, *apa*, apparaît en turc ancien dans l'expression double *ečü apa* 'ancêtre(s)'. Il s'agirait, dans les deux cas, de chefs de guerre portant des titres signifiant 'Ancien', à quelques nuances près (cf. *Staršij* = "Aîné"!).

On serait donc amené à supposer que les Turcs anciens du VIIIe siècle utilisaient déjà le dérivé *ataman* de *ata* 'père, ancêtre', au sens d'"Ancien", dans le titre militaire de haut rang (*A*)*taman Tarkan* — le titre de *Tarkan* étant par ailleurs bien connu dans leur titulature, où il désigne d'importants dignitaires.

[3] Orkun, *Eski türk yazıtları*, t. 1, pp. 102-103.

Cette hypothèse, à première vue séduisante, se heurte à une difficulté majeure: c'est que les sources chinoises de l'époque, riches en transcriptions soignées de termes turcs, n'en renferment, à notre connaissance, aucune qui soit du type *a-ta-man* (aisément réalisable en chinois), mais en présentent deux du type *ta-man.*

L'une d'elles, toutefois, est sans rapport avec le titre qui nous intéresse: elle concerne un *Kagan* des Turcs Occidentaux, régnant au début du VII^{e} siècle (vers 605), que l'historiographie chinoise nomme *Ta-man*[4]. Le premier caractère chinois de cette transcription représente régulièrement, à l'époque, non pas *ta,* mais *tar,* et intervient dans plusieurs notations de mots étrangers en *tar. . . ,* dont le turc *tarkan*[5]. Il s'agit donc d'un *Tarman Kagan,* dont le nom n'a rien à voir avec (*a*)*taman.*

La seconde transcription concerne un *Tarkan* des Turcs Orientaux envoyé vers 732, par *Bilgä Kagan* (le *Mo-ki-lien* des sources chinoises), auprès de l'Empereur de Chine, afin de négocier le mariage du *Kagan* avec une princesse chinoise: *T'a-man Tarkan*[6]. Le caractère *t'a* de cette transcription est employé à l'époque pour noter la première syllabe du nom de la rivière *Tamïr* (*T'a-mi*[7]), et paraît donc bien correspondre au turc *ta.* Quant au caractère *man,* il n'y a aucune raison pour qu'il ne note pas le turc *man.* Force est donc, semble-t-il, de lire *Taman Tarkan* le nom-titre de cet ambassadeur turc.

D'ailleurs, le nom, relevé par les sources byzantines à partir du VII^{e} ou du VIII^{e} siècle, d'une localité du Bosphore Cimmérien relevant de la toponymie turque, *Tamátarxa,* peut être considéré comme une hellénisation de *Taman Tarkan*[8]. Le toponyme est assimilé par les auteurs byzantins à un pluriel neutre (avec génitif en *-ôn*), ce qui explique l'absence du *-n* final, lequel est conservé dans la forme rus' ancienne *T"mutorokan'*[9]. L'absence du *-n* final de *Taman* pourrait être due à l'intention de préserver le caractère sourd du *t-* de *Taman,* la phonétique du grec tardif présentant une sonorisation de *t* après *n* : $nt > nd > d$. L'alternance *k* / *x* dans le titre *Tarkan* / *Tarxan* est ancienne en turc[10].

[4] Cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux,* Saint-Pétersbourg, 1903, pp. 3, 14, 15.
[5] Cf. J. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties,* Paris, 1955, p. 168, № 88.
[6] Cf. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe),* Wiesbaden, 1958, pp. 229, 660–661, 806a.
[7] Cf. Liu, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten,* pp. 500–501.
[8] Cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* t. 2, Berlin, 1958, p. 297.
[9] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* t. 2, p. 297.
[10] Cf. A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik,* Leipzig, 1950, p. 338a.

Il y a donc de sérieuses raisons d'estimer que le titre de *Taman Tarkan* était en usage chez les Turcs anciens, ce qui constitue une objection très forte à l'hypothèse selon laquelle le groupe *Tm N T R Q N* de l'Inscription II de l'Orkhon serait à lire *Ataman Tarkan.*

Si l'on écarte tout rapport entre *taman* et *ataman,* on rencontre une nouvelle difficulté, *taman* (au contraire d'*ataman*) n'ayant pas d'étymologie claire: la seule racine turque ancienne à laquelle on puisse, à première vue, rattacher ce mot est *tam-* 'couler goutte à goutte', dont un dérivé *Taman* paraît bien attesté, au XI[e] siècle, dans le nom d'un cours d'eau traversant la ville de Kāšġar, noté par Kāšġarī[11]. On ne voit guère, sémantiquement, de lien possible entre cette racine et le titre en question.

Mais on peut aussi se demander, s'il n'y a pas un rapport étymologique entre *taman,* dans le titre *Taman Tarkan,* et un autre mot d'apparence fort semblable, *tamgan,* qui, précisément, apparaît dans un titre turc ancien largement attesté et de formation parallèle, *Tamgan Tarkan.* Tel est le point de vue retenu par Gy. Moravcsik[12], qui adopte *Tam(ġ)an Tarxan* pour reconstitution du nom turc originel de *Tamátarxa.*

Tamgan Tarkan apparaît clairement dans deux inscriptions turques anciennes de Mongolie, vers 720 et 723: à la ligne 4 de l'Inscription de l'Ongīn[13], dans le nom-titre *Ïšbara Tamgan Tarkan* que porte le frère cadet d'un *Ïšbara Tamgan Čor*[14]; puis à la première ligne de l'Inscription d'Ikhe-Askhete (b)[15] dans l'anthroponyme *Altun Tamgan Tarkan,* dont le premier terme est le nom de l'"or".

Dans un manuscrit ouïgour du IX[e] siècle, un *Tamgan Tarxan* est cité parmi les hauts dignitaires manichéens d'une région qui correspond à celle de l'actuelle *Karašār*[16], et l'éditeur[17] rapproche ce nom de celui de l'ambassadeur envoyé à Byzance vers 568 par les Turcs Occidentaux, *Tagmà Tarxán*[18].

Les sources byzantines mentionnent d'autre part sous le nom de *Tamgán* un Khazar christianisé (dans une inscription de 819[19]).

[11] Cf. Türk Dil Kurumu, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk,* traduction Besim Atalay, t. 1, Ankara, 1939, p. 402.
[12] *Byzantinoturcica,* t. 2, p. 297.
[13] Orkun, *Eski türk yazıtları,* t. 1, pp. 128–129.
[14] Orkun, *Eski türk yazıtları,* t. 1, pp. 128–129.
[15] H. N. Orkun, *Eski türk yazıtları,* t. 2, Istanbul, 1939, p. 122.
[16] Cf. F.W.K. Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (*Maḥrnâmag*)", *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin, 1913, p. 11, ligne 98.
[17] Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt", p. 39.
[18] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* t. 2, p. 296.
[19] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* t. 2, p. 297.

La plus ancienne de ces attestations étant le *Tagmà* byzantin du VI^{e} siècle (où l'on constaterait la disparition de *-n* final comme dans *Tamátarxa,* mentionné plus haut), on peut se demander si la forme d'origine n'est pas **Tagman,* dont *Tamgan* serait issu par métathèse.

Cette hypothèse aurait le mérite de fournir une étymologie satisfaisante au nom turc *Tamgan* de la montagne qui correspond à l'actuel *Bogdo-ūla,* au nord de *Turfan.* Il s'agirait, avec le suffixe augmentatif *-man* (cf. plus haut), d'un dérivé de *tag* 'montagne': ce serait "la Montagne (par excellence)". Le même suffixe est attesté en turc ancien dans un nom de montagne: *Kȫgmän* 'la Bleue (par excellence)', dérivé de *kȫk* 'bleu', qui désigne les actuels Monts *Sayan,* et qui apparaît à plusieurs reprises dans les Inscriptions de Tonyoukouk et de l'Orkhon I et II, notamment[20].

Si, toutefois, la métathèse s'était produite en sens inverse, *Tamgan* (qui correspond exactement à la transcription chinoise *T'an-han,* anciennement **t'âm-ġân,* attestée dès 554) pourrait être expliqué, selon la suggestion de James Hamilton[21], par le turc *tam* 'mur, muraille' + *xan* 'seigneur, souverain', qui intervient effectivement dans la formation de plusieurs noms turcs de montagnes . . . à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un participe en *-gan* du verbe *tam-* 'couler goutte à goutte, suinter', cette montagne de plus de 4.000 mètres alimentant des cours d'eau à la fonte des neiges . . .

La complexité des problèmes étymologiques ici posés est telle, qu'il serait présomptueux de prétendre leur trouver une solution décisive. Nous observerons toutefois que le *Tagmà* byzantin n'est pas nécessairement à rapprocher de *Tamgan*: il est possible qu'on ait là une forme ancienne, sans métathèse, du mot turc bien connu *tamga* 'marque au fer rouge', puis "sceau", qui semble bien relever d'un emprunt ancien à l'iranien, cf. persan *daġ* 'marque au fer rouge' (>**daġ-ma,* avec suffixe turc *-ma*?). D'autre part, la forme *tamgan* est très régulièrement attestée, et la transcription chinoise, dès 554 au moins, en est le plus ancien témoignage[22]. Nous pensons donc qu'il faut laisser de côté *Tagmà* et retenir pour originelle la forme *Tamgan* (notre préférence allant à l'étymologie par *tam-* 'suinter'), comme nom ancien du *Bogdo-ūla.* D'autre part, nous estimons très vraisemblable l'interprétation de J. Hamilton[23]

20 H. N. Orkun, *Eski türk yazıtları,* t. 4, Istanbul, 1941, p. 158.

21 "Toquz-Oγuz et On-Uyγur", *Journal Asiatique,* t. 250, № 1, Paris, 1962, p. 55.

22 Alors que le chinois avait parfaitement le moyen, à l'époque, de noter *tag-man,* puisqu'il possédait encore des fins de syllabes en *-k*: cf. *t'o,* ancien **t'ak* (von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik,* p. 338b), et les tableaux de J. Hamilton (*Les Ouïghours,* pp. 165–170) qui donnent de nombreux exemples de notations chinoises de *-g* turc en fin de syllabe.

23 "Toquz-Oγuz," p. 55.

du titre de *Tamgan Tarkan* comme "*Tarkan* du Mont *Tamgan*", titulature qui a pu correspondre, du moins à l'origine, à quelque commandement dans cette région montagneuse (de même que *Tamgan Čor,* plus haut cité), puis devenir purement honorifique.

Mais faut-il rattacher *Taman Tarkan* à *Tamgan Tarkan*? Ce n'est pas théoriquement impossible, le turc, dès une époque ancienne, présentant des hésitations entre suffixes avec ou sans *g*- initial (cf. la rivière *Taman,* à côté du participe normal *tamgan* de *tam*-). Mais il nous paraît difficile d'admettre cette hésitation, dans un élément d'un titre important, au sein du corpus linguistiquement homogène que constituent les inscriptions turques de Mongolie du VIIIe siècle.

Nous proposons donc, avec certes beaucoup de réserves, une explication du groupe *taman tarkan* à partir d'*ataman tarkan* (qui, comme nous l'avons signalé, est peut-être à lire dans l'Inscription II de l'Orkhon): le titre d'*ataman* étant régulièrement suivi de celui de *tarkan,* il y aurait eu une assimilation allitérante (*ta*- initial dans les deux termes) d'*ataman tarkan* en *taman tarkan,* analogue, en quelque sorte, à l'assimilation par rime de **Tokuz Oguš* 'les Neuf Clans' (chinois *kieou-sing*) en *Tokuz Oguz* que suppose, à bon droit selon nous, J. Hamilton, ce qui nous amène à approuver son rejet de l'étymologie par *oguz* 'taureau' que nous avions avancée naguère[24].

Quitte à courir un risque supplémentaire au terme de cette réflexion autour d'*ataman,* nous verserons au dossier (déjà source de perplexité!) une pièce inattendue.

Nous avons été frappé, à la lecture de Gy. Moravcsik[25], par le fait, auquel on n'a guère prêté d'attention, du moins dans la littérature scientifique des dernières décennies, que, pour toute la période antérieure à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs, les sources byzantines, de la fin du XIIIe siècle au milieu du XVe, mentionnent exclusivement Osman (1288–1325) sous des noms qui correspondent à *Atman* ou *Atouman*: *Atmán* chez Georges Pachymère (1261–1310) à 7 reprises, chez Nicéphore Gregoras (1290/91–1360), et dans une notice chronologique de l'an 1327; puis *Atoumán* et deux formes hellénisées, *Atoumános* et *Atoumánês* dans une Chronique anonyme achevée en 1522. Les formes correspondant à *Osman/Otman* (arabe *'uθmān*) apparaissent après 1453, notamment chez Doukas, et ne s'imposent définitivement qu'au cours du XVIe

[24] Hamilton, "Toquz-Oγuz," pp. 24–25.
[25] *Byzantinoturcica,* t. 2, p. 214–215.

siècle. Ce qui amène Moravcsik, suivant en cela quelques auteurs antérieurs[26], à supposer, à côté du nom islamique d'Osman, un nom turc *Atman* ou *Ataman.*

Pour notre part, sans mettre nullement en doute l'authenticité du nom islamique d'*Osman/Otman,* nous pensons que le fondateur de la Dynastie Ottomane a pu aussi être connu, dans l'usage populaire turc (reflété par les premiers auteurs byzantins qui ont écrit son histoire), sous le nom d'*At(u)man,* forme, avec apophonie du *a* central non accentué, du titre *Ataman,* dérivé en *-man* de *ata* 'père'. La ressemblance des deux mots *At(u)man* et *Otman* aurait, évidemment, provoqué cette dualité d'appellation.

De toute façon, il ne peut s'agir que d'une étymologie populaire, et il est hors de doute que l'ancêtre éponyme des Ottomans s'appelait bien du nom islamique de *'uθmān* et n'a jamais porté le titre d'Ataman, mais celui de Bey.

Les cas d'étymologie populaire turque transformant des noms islamiques d'origine arabe ne sont pas rares. L'un des plus clairs est, au XIV^e^ siècle, celui de l'émir d'Aydïn, dont le nom islamique devait être *'umar,* mais que la tradition turque écrite, reflétant certainement l'usage populaire, nomme *Umur Paša* (par référence au verbe turc *um-* 'espérer'). La geste de cet émir, qui vécut de 1309 à 1348, a inspiré le poème en vers d'*Enverī* connu sous le nom de *Düstūrnāme,* achevé en 1465, mais qui utilise des sources contemporaines du héros. Or, chez cet auteur savant qui n'ignore nullement les graphies arabes (y compris, bien sûr, celles à *'ayn* initial), le nom de l'émir apparaît toujours sous la forme "turque" *Umur* (sans *'ayn*), même si *Enverī,* par un souci d'étymologie savante, l'écrit "*umūr*", comme le pluriel arabe de *'amr* ("travaux"), qui n'a jamais été un anthroponyme en arabe[27].

A l'interprétation de la forme *At(u)man* par une étymologie populaire à partir d'*ataman,* on peut opposer une hypothèse selon laquelle c'est le *'ayn* de l'arabe qui a été perçu comme *a* (fait largement constaté dans la francisation de mots arabes maghrébins, comme *aïd* 'fête', pour *'īd*), hypothèse que renforcerait la forme de type *Amur* attestée dans les plus anciennes sources byzantines concernant des Turcs dont le nom islamique était *'umar.* Mais on n'expliquerait pas, alors, la vocalisation en *u* de la seconde syllabe, constante chez les auteurs byzantins de la fin du XIII^e^ à

26 *Byzantinoturcica,* t. 2, p. 215.
27 Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destān d'Umūr Pacha,* Paris, 1954, passim.

celle du XIVᵉ siècle (ainsi, chez Georges Pachymère, *Amoúrios*[28]). En outre, on ne voit pas comment le *'ayn* arabe, qui n'est jamais prononcé à l'initiale en turc anatolien (ni en turc ottoman), aurait pu modifier la perception de la voyelle qui le suit. La forme *Amur* nous paraît elle-même relever d'une turquisation par étymologie populaire (cf. turc ancien *amïr* 'vie paisible', *amïr-* 'chérir', *amrak* 'cher', *amur-t-* 'vivre en paix'). Les formes de type *Amar* (compromis entre *Amur* et *'umar*), puis *Omar*, dans des noms de Turcs, n'apparaissent dans les écrits byzantins qu'au XVᵉ siècle[29].

C'est la même étymologie populaire (sans doute ancienne, pré-ottomane) qui nous paraît avoir transformé en *Amurat* le nom islamique *Murād* porté, entre autres, par des Sultans ottomans: ici encore, les sources byzantines, qui souvent reflètent un usage populaire turc, nous donnent les formes *Amourát* ou *Amourátês*[30]. Il ne peut s'agir ici, en turc, de *a-* prothétique (comme la voyelle prothétique observée en turc populaire devant *r-* ou *l-*), car le *m-* initial ne provoque pas, dans cette langue, l'apparition d'une prothèse: *Muḥammad*, par exemple, devient *Mehmet*, sans prothèse, et le cas d'*Amurat* est isolé.

Le contact direct des Turcs avec l'Islam, en Asie Centrale, remontant au VIIIᵉ siècle, et l'islamisation des Turcs ayant commencé à être importante au Xᵉ, on peut penser que des étymologies populaires turques transformant des noms arabes peuvent être antérieures de plusieurs siècles à la survivance, en Anatolie notamment, des formes qu'elles ont engendrées: tel serait le cas pour *Amur, Amurat* (la série *amïr*, etc... du turc ancien n'est plus attestée en Anatolie), et peut-être pour *At(u)man*, avec apophonie de la voyelle médiane non accentuée d'un ancien *Ataman*.

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Il n'est certes pas de notre intention de considérer comme une certitude cette explication d'*At(u)man*, ni celle de *Taman Tarkan* par *Ataman Tarkan*, et nous ne prétendrons pas opiniâtrement qu'il faut lire *ataman tarkan* dans l'Inscription II de l'Orkhon, au VIIIᵉ siècle. Nous voulons seulement attirer l'attention sur la possibilité d'interpréter un certain nombre de faits convergents en faveur d'une antiquité du titre *Ataman*.

Si même on considère comme très faible cette possibilité, il est peu raisonnable de penser que ce titre turc a surgi brusquement en Ukraine au XVIIᵉ siècle.

28 Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, t. 2, p. 216.
29 Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, t. 2, p. 217.
30 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, t. 2, pp. 194–197.

Un examen attentif des textes turcs anciens et médiévaux permet de constater une certaine constance dans l'utilisation du mot *ata* 'père, ancêtre, ancien', dans la titulature des divers peuples turcs. Il faut ici préciser que le terme turc ancien désignant le "père" était un mot *kaŋ*, qui n'a pas survécu dans les langues vivantes. Cependant, *ata*, largement représenté dans les dialectes turcs actuels, existait déjà à date ancienne, surtout, semble-t-il, comme terme d'adresse. Il est même attesté antérieurement à tous les textes turcs conus, et précisément comme élément d'un titre, vers 433, chez l'historien byzantin Priskos, qui nomme *Ata Kam* (*Atakám*) un notable des Huns d'Europe[31]. Le second terme de ce titre est le turc ancien *kam* 'chamane'. Il s'agit donc d'un "Père-Chamane".

La plus ancienne des inscriptions turques datées, celle de l'Ongīn (720), en Mongolie, renferme 4 fois (et sans doute 5) le diminutif hypocoristique *atač* de *ata*, sous la forme possessivée *atačïm* 'mon cher papa'[32], trop longtemps lue par erreur *tačam*: la graphie est *Tčm*, car, comme nous l'avons signalé à propos d'*apa* (et d'un possible *ataman*), *a-* initial ne s'écrit pas, en principe, dans les inscriptions turques anciennes "runiformes". Le même mot *atačïm* apparaît encore en Mongolie, à l'époque du premier Empire Ouïgour (vers 755), dans l'Inscription IX de Khoïtou-Tamïr[33].

Les mots *ata* et *atač* sont ensuite attestés dans des manuscrits ouïgours, puis karakhanides (au XI^e siècle); *ata* subsiste dans une grande partie du domaine turcophone actuel; *atač* n'est plus guère vivant, mais tend à être réanimé en turc de Turquie, notamment comme nom de famille.

Quant à l'emploi dans des titres du mot *ata*, déjà constaté au V^e siècle, chez les Huns d'Europe, avec *Ata Kam*, on le retrouve chez les Ouïgours dans le titre *Ata Ögä*, qui a pour second terme *ö-gä* 'sage, perspicace' (de *ö-* 'comprendre'), attesté au moins deux fois: dans une inscription bouddhique sur pieu de *Khočo* (près Tourfan), que nous pensons dater de 899, et dans une transcription chinoise, en 981, du nom d'un prince de *Khočo*, oncle maternel ou (plutôt) beau-père du Kagan Ouïgour[34]. Le fait qu'un beau-père de Kagan, chez les Ouïgours, portait un titre commençant par *Ata* 'père' (ce qui convient parfaitement à la situation) serait en faveur de l'interprétation par *Ataman* du titre, déjà étudié, de *Tonyukuk*, beau-père de *Bilgä Kagan*.

31 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, t. 2, p. 76.
32 Cf. Gérard Clauson, "The Ongin Inscription", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Londres, Octobre, 1957, pp. 183, 189–191.
33 Cf. Orkun, *Eski türk yazıtları*, t. 2, p. 112: lu à tort *tačam*.
34 Cf. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours*, p. 147.

On peut rapprocher le titre ouïgour *Ata Ögä* (X^e siècle) de celui d'*Ata Sagun* donné aux "médecins" chez les Karakhanides du XI^e[35]. Ce dernier doit être un titre honorifique, réservé à des particiens expérimentés, et sans doute âgés.

La même nuance d'"expérimenté", voire "vénérable", attachée à *ata* dans la titulature apparaît aussi dans le titre d'*Ata Bäg* (second terme: *bäg* 'seigneur, bey'), initialement donné aux précepteurs des princes (sens conservé en osmanlï), puis porté, de la fin du XI^e siècle au début du XIII^e, par divers souverains locaux du Proche-Orient islamique.

Et n'est-ce pas une valeur analogue, liée au concept de "père", qu'exprime le nom d'*Atatürk,* adopté par le fondateur de la République de Turquie?

* * *

Le titre d'*Ataman,* même s'il ne remonte pas, sous cette forme précise, jusqu'aux temps anciens où nous avons cru suivre sa trace, procède d'une longue tradition turque (et même pré-turque, avec les Huns) qui confère à l'appellation du "père", *ata,* une nuance d'autorité fondée sur l'expérience, et entraîne par conséquent, au long des siècles, l'emploi de ce terme dans la titulature.

Si donc il nous fallait donner à Omeljan Pritsak, pour rendre hommage à son autorité scientifique et à sa vaste expérience de turcologue, un titre turc qui lui convînt, c'est sans doute à partir du mot *Ata* que nous chercherions à le composer.

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[35] Cf. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours,* p. 98, note.

Astrakhan et la politique des steppes nord pontiques (1587-1588)

ALEXANDRE BENNIGSEN et MIHNEA BERINDEI

Début août 1587, une ambassade quelque peu insolite arrivait sur les bords du Bosphore. L'envoyé d''Abdullāh, khan de Boukhara et de Samarkand, souverain de la Transoxanie, du Khorassan et du Badakhšan, et celui d'Urus *beğ*, prince de la Grande Horde Nogay, venaient apporter les messages de leurs maîtres au padischah. Il s'agissait cependant d'une affaire de la plus haute importance: pour consacrer l'alliance de fait contre les Safavides, les Šaïbanides soumettaient au sultan la proposition d'une campagne commune pour la conquête d'Astrakhan, occupée depuis 1556 par les Moscovites, en vue d'établir une liaison directe. Les Nogays de la Grande Horde, intéressés au premier chef, offraient leur concours.

Ce projet, dont les historiens n'avaient jusqu'à présent qu'une connaissance partielle, à travers la chronique de Selānīkī[1] et trois documents émanant du divan impérial[2], prend toute sa complexité à la lecture des rapports du baile vénitien à Istanbul que nous avons découverts récem-

[1] Muṣṭafā Selānīkī, *Ta'riḫ-i Selānīkī, Die Chronik des Selānīkī,* Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Freiburg, 1970, pp. 226–27 et 229–30; ces passages ont été notamment utilisés par H. İnalcık, "The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry and the Don-Volga Canal (1569)," *Annales de l'Université d'Ankara,* I, 1946–1947, pp. 95–97 et la version remaniée en turc de cette étude: "Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanal teşebbüsü (1569)," *Belleten,* XII, 46, Ankara, 1948, pp. 393–95; et par C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus,* New York, 1972, pp. 100–101.

[2] Archives du Baş-Vekâlet, *Mühimme Defteri* (registre des Affaires Importantes) (cité *infra*: *MD*), LXII, docs. 226 du 16 *zī'l-qa'de* 995 (18 octobre 1587); 231 et 233 du 22 *zī'l-qa'de* 995 (24 octobre 1587), qui ont été analysés par İnalcık, "Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry" et "Osmanli-Rus rekabetinin," et par A. Bennigsen, "L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569, d'après les registres des "Affaires importantes" des Archives ottomanes," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* (cité *infra*: *CMRS*), VIII, 3, 1967, pp. 445–446; A. Bennigsen et Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Moscovie, l'Empire ottoman et la crise successorale de 1577–1588 dans le khanat de Crimée. La tradition nomade contre le modèle des monarchies sédentaires," *CMRS,* XIV, 4, 1973, pp. 469–470. Cf. *infra* la traduction intégrale de ces documents.

ment[3]. Les dépêches que Lorenzo Bernardo envoyait en 1587 à la Seigneurie sont un exemple éclatant de la qualité de la diplomatie vénitienne à cette époque: profonde connaissance des réalités ottomanes et de la situation politique, parfait réseau d'informateurs tant officiels qu'officieux, enfin préparation intellectuelle, esprit d'initiative et perspicacité du baile[4].

L'ensemble des ambassadeurs et observateurs se trouvant auprès de la Porte suivaient avec la plus grande attention le déroulement de la guerre ottomano-safavide qui avait débuté en 1578 et qui détournait de l'Europe la plupart des forces de Murād III. Le 5 août 1587, dès l'arrivée de l'ambassade d''Abdullāh khan, Lorenzo Bernardo, qui connaissait le conflit opposant au Khorassan les Safavides aux Özbeks, s'empresse de rapporter à Venise la preuve qu'il détenait d'une alliance entre ces derniers et les Ottomans. Il nous apprend que la Porte avait envoyé six ans auparavant Piyāle *paša,* alors *beğ* de Demirqapı, chez les Özbeks avec "huit pièces d'artillerie et quinze cannoniers pour les inviter à la guerre contre ces Persans". Après avoir contourné par le sud les rives de la mer Caspienne, Piyāle *paša* s'acquitta parfaitement de sa mission et il était à présent de retour à Istanbul accompagné de deux ambassadeurs des "seigneurs tatars", avec lesquels il avait conclu une alliance au nom du sultan. Le baile se proposait d'entrer en contact avec les émissaires d''Abdullāh khan afin de pouvoir envoyer à la Seigneurie des "nouvelles plus certaines" car c'était à son avis là que se trouvait la raison principale des derniers revers safavides[5]. Lorenzo Bernardo tint ses promesses et le

[3] Archivio di Stato, Venise, *Dispacci degli Ambasciatori al Senato, Costantinopoli* (cité *infra*: *DC*), XXV-XXVI. Nous tenons à exprimer notre gratitude à Mme. Maria Francesca Tiepolo, directeur des Archives de l'Etat à Venise et à Mme. Giustiniana Colasanti, directeur auprès de cette institution, pour leurs extrêmes bienveillance et hospitalité. Nous remercions également notre collègue et ami, M. François Dupuigrenet Desroussilles qui a revu pour nous la transcription des documents italiens.

[4] Sur Lorenzo Bernardo, baile à Istanbul d'avril 1585 à décembre 1587 et de juin 1591 au début de 1592, cf. *Dizionario biografico degli italiani,* IX, Rome, 1967, pp. 308-310 et la "relazione" qu'il présenta au Sénat en 1592, in E. Alberi, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato,* S. 3, II, Florence, 1844, pp. 321-426. Nous trouvons la meilleure illustration de la valeur de la diplomatie vénitienne à cette époque dans l'appréciation que lui accordait le roi de France. Le 19 décembre 1586, Henri III écrivait notamment à M. de Maisse, son ambassadeur à Venise: "Mandez-moy quelles nouvelles vous avez des affaires de Levant, dont les dêpesches que je reçois du Sr. de Lancosme [ambassadeur à Istanbul] parlent incertement," cf. E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant,* IV, Paris, 1860, p. 573.

[5] *DC,* XXV, fol. 534v.-535r.: "Hora la sapevà, che già sei anni questo Signor mando Piali Bassà suo ambasciator ai Signori Tartari confinati con esso Persiano, et le mando a donar pezi d'artegliaria et 15 bombardieri per evitarli alla guerra contra essi Persiani.

20 août 1587, il était en mesure d'expédier à Venise un exposé détaillé sur les Özbeks et le fondement de leur conflit avec les Iraniens:

Ho havuto modo di parlar con alcuni delli Tartari venuti ultimamente con l'ambasciator che le scrivi per le precedenti mie et de loro ho intexo che l'ambasciator è stato mandato da Abdulacan Signor di Boar (= Boukhara) fra Tartari di molta potentia et auttorità, et è della discendenza del gran Tamerlan [sic!] famoso nelle historie per la pressa di Baiazet Imperator de Turchi. La sua principal città è Samarcand, et confina con Persiani dalla parte settentrionale, dalla qual parte anco confinano altri Signori Tartari che riconoscono et pagano tributo a questo Abdulacan il qual possiede paese grandissimo fertile et abondante, et dicono che può far piu di 200 millia cavalli che però questo è quel gran Can Imperator de Tartari di tante forze, e possessor de tanti paesi nelle parti piu settentrionale; habitano questi Tartari sempre nelle campagne ne intrano mai, senon il suo Bairan che è la loro per Pasqua, nella città. Questo Abdulacan ha perpetua guerra con Persiani alli confini del paese del Corasan non solo per la diversita della religione, essendo questi Tartari della istessa religione come Turchi contrarii a Persiani chiamati da questi Chitilenssi (= chiites), ma anco per che Persiani le prohibiscono il passo per il loro paese per andare in peregrinaggio a la Mecca, dove molti concorrono per divotione, et però convengono hora per longo giro di paese in molti anni fare questa strada per il imperio di questo Signor. Referiscono questi che essi Tartari hanno havuto avanti che hora l'uso delle artegleria, et però che ultimamente hanno preso alquante città et castelli a Persiani del paese del Corasan fra le queli è la terra di Badagsan (= Badakhšan) dove si fano li balassi, affermano però, che resto ancora a Persiani che da Tauri (= Tabriz) alli confini loro vi e piu di due mesi di camino.[6]

Les envoyés d''Abdullāh khan avaient mis deux ans pour arriver à la Porte car — rapporte le baile — ils avaient dû contourner la mer Caspienne par le nord, franchir la Volga pour gagner, par Azaq, la ville de Kefe (Feodosija) où ils s'étaient embarqués pour Istanbul. Avant le 15 août[7], ils étaient reçus par le sultan. L'ambassadeur özbek, accompagné de vingt hommes "nus pieds et mal vêtus", avait néanmoins présenté de riches cadeaux: deux pelisses et plusieurs fardeaux de peaux de zibelines, neuf queues de cheval blanches, deux panaches de héron, une pièce d'étoffe

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Il suo camino fù per la via d'Emircapi (= Demirqapı), dove allhora si trovava Bassà, et havendo circondato tutto il Mar Caspio finalmente pervenuto ai quei confini et fatta la sua ambasciata ai quei signori hà operato di maniera che mentre li hà tratenuto in quelle parti, alcuni di loro hanno levato à Persiani cinque castelli con il beneficio di quell'arteglieria, che le hà portato, et tuttavia continuano in guerra con essi Persiani, hora finalmente è ritornato et hà conduto seco à questa Porta doi ambasciatori de Signori Tartari, con li quali hà fatto lega per nome de questo Signor. . . ."

[6] *DC*, XXV, fol. 574v.-575r.

[7] Selānīkī, *Die Chronik*, p. 227, place l'événement dans la première décade de *ramaẓān* (5-14 août 1587).

remplie de musc, deux Corans, deux rubis (balassi) et, dans une tasse en argent, un remède contre "la peste, le mal de ventre et les douleurs de flanc"[8]. En retour, on le revêtit d'une robe d'honneur[9]. Sa mission consistait à exhorter les Ottomans à continuer la guerre contre les Safavides. Pour sa part, 'Abdullāh khan assurait le sultan qu'il ne déposerait pas les armes avant d'avoir obtenu pour les siens le libre passage vers la Mecque à travers les territoires persans. Enfin, l'ambassadeur se faisait l'interprète des Nogays de la Grande Horde, pour demander l'intervention de la Porte en leur faveur:

Et in nome di quelli Signori tartari che sono tre sottoposti al Moscovito, prega questa Maesta che à la potentia che Dio le hà donato, voglia liberarli di servitu di Christiani accio che Dio il giorno del giudicio tenendoli la mano sopra il colo non le demandi conto di questo suo mancamento[10].

Comme il ressort des documents ottomans[11], cette demande était faite en même temps par l'ambassadeur d'Urus *beḡ*, chef de la Grande Horde Nogay (et non pas, comme le présente à tort Selānīkī, par l'envoyé de la Petite Horde Nogay[12]), qui s'était joint aux hommes d''Abdullāh khan. Ce serait lui le second émissaire des "seigneurs tatars" qui accompagnaient, selon Lorenzo Bernardo, Piyāle *paša*. Les Ottomans étaient donc appelés, au nom de l'islam, à délivrer les Tatars musulmans de la domination des Moscovites orthodoxes. A la lumière des rapports du baile et de la chronique de Selānīkī, il apparaît que l'auteur du projet avait été Urus *beḡ*. L'ambassadeur özbek avait été gagné à sa cause et avait peut-être obtanu, déjà à la cour du chef nogay, l'accord de son maître (ce qui expliquerait aussi, à côté des difficultés de la route, la longueur du voyage). De toutes façons, les Ottomans présenteront ensuite les Özbeks et les Nogays de la Grande Horde comme les initiateurs communs de la campagne. Ces derniers auraient été les principaux bénéficiaires d'une victoire sur les Moscovites. En effet, Urus *beḡ* se sentait plus que jamais menacé par les visées expansionnistes du tsar Feodor qui, depuis son avènement en 1584, s'efforçait de s'assurer le contrôle des steppes pon-

[8] *DC*, XXV, fol. 575v.–576r.

[9] Selānīkī, *Die Chronik*, p. 227.

[10] *DC*, XXV, fol. 575v.; le 29 septembre le baile revient sur cette demande: l'ambassadeur "di Abdulacan si duole che dal Gran Duca di Moscovia siano tenuti in servitu molti Tartari da la fortezza di Citracan (= Astrakhan) posta sopra il mar Caspio, per laqual anco e prohibito il libero transito a tutta la Tartaria per il peregrinar de la Mecca tenutto da loro in tanta devotione. . . ," cf. *DC*, XXVI, fol. 81v.; les Özbeks étaient donc, pour des raisons religieuses, directement intéressés par l'ouverture de cette route.

[11] Cf. *infra*, l'ordre à Piyāle *paša* du 24 octobre 1587.

[12] Selānīkī, *Die Chronik*, p. 229.

tiques et l'ouverture de la route du Caucase. A cette fin, de nouvelles forteresses firent leur apparition sur la Moyenne et la Basse Volga (c'est ainsi que dans la seule année 1586 Samara et Ufa furent bâties). En 1585 déjà, Urus *beḡ* et son frère Dīn-Bay *mīrzā* demandaient au khan Islām Giray d'intervenir en leur faveur auprès du sultan afin que celui-ci, informé de leur allégeance, envoie ses troupes à la conquête d'Astrakhan[13].

Par ailleurs, le tsar espérait se servir des trois fils de Moḥammed Giray, qui venaient de fuir la Crimée en 1584 et s'étaient mis sous sa protection, comme agents de sa politique. L'aîné, Sa'ādet Giray, marié à la fille d'Urus *beḡ,* essaya sans succès d'obtenir le soutien de son beau-père pour la reconquête de la Crimée. En 1586, le second fils de Moḥammed, Murād Giray, fit son entrée à Astrakhan à la tête d'un important détachement moscovite; il tentait de rallier autour de lui des forces importantes et surtout de faire basculer la Grande Horde Nogay et le Caucase dans le camp anti-criméen et anti-ottoman (il était d'ailleurs marié à la fille du Šamhal chez lequel avait également trouvé refuge en 1585 Sa'ādet Giray). Un résultat immédiat était obtenu: Urus *beḡ* se vit dans l'obligation de prêter serment au voïévode d'Astrakhan et de lui laisser des otages. La position du chef nogay était d'autant plus difficile qu'une partie des *mīrzā* (en particulier les fils de Dīn-Aḥmed, précédent prince et frère aîné d'Urus) étaient partisans d'une entente avec les Moscovites. L'année suivante, en 1587, Urus *beḡ* expliquait, en s'excusant, son geste au sultan; selon Novosel'skij, qui cite un rapport adressé de Crimée au tsar, le prince nogay écrivait notamment: "Celui qui possède Astrakhan, la Volga et le fleuve Jaik dominera la Horde Nogay"[14]. Mais le fait qu'en même temps il envisageait l'organisation d'une campagne anti-moscovite prouve que sa soumission était d'ailleurs toute superficielle. Le troisième frère, Ṣafā Giray s'était rendu chez les Kabardes, déjà gagnés à la cause moscovite et pouvait compter, en principe, sur l'aide des Tcherkesses de Žane.

Les trois princes gengissides, et surtout Murād Giray, le plus ambitieux et entreprenant d'entre eux, apparaissaient ainsi, dans les années 1586–1587, comme un facteur important de déstabilisation, en faveur des Moscovites, du précaire équilibre des steppes et du Caucase. La Grande Horde Nogay et la Crimée étaient immédiatement menacées, mais les

[13] A. A. Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami v XVII veke,* Moscou-Leningrad, 1948, pp. 34–35; E. N. Kuševa, *Narody Severnogo Kavkaza i ix svjazi s Rossiej v XVI–XVII vv.,* Moscou, 1963, p. 262.

[14] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba,* p. 35.

Ottomans étaient également concernés: non seulement leurs possessions et leur système d'alliance de la Crimée au Caucase étaient en danger, mais de plus, leur avantage sur les Safavides aurait été remis en question. Dès 1586, au plus tard, les ambassadeurs du chah Moḥammed Khodābende se rendaient auprès de Sa'ādet et Murād Giray. Enfin, après un échange d'ambassades, l'alliance fut conclue, au début de l'été 1587, entre le tsar Feodor et 'Abbās, le nouveau chah. Les Moscovites s'engageaient à barrer aux troupes criméennes et ottomanes la route d'Azaq (Azov) à Demir-qapı (Derbend) et, à cette fin, une forteresse était bâtie sur le Terek[15].

Dans ces conditions, il n'est pas étonnant de voir les Criméens se rallier aux démarches des Nogays de la Grande Horde et des Šaïbanides. Ainsi, dès septembre 1587, les envoyés du khan à Istanbul demandaient la préparation d'une campagne contre les Moscovites. Selon Lorenzo Bernardo, Islām Giray craignait avant tout l'action de Murād Giray (que le baile, mal renseigné, présente comme le frère du khan), mais il voulait également se venger des incursions cosaques:

Si trovano qui li ambasciator non solo di Abdulacan Tartaro signor di Boar, del qual diedi particolar conto alla Serenita Vostra per le passate mie, ma anco l'ambasciator del Tartaro di Caffa che riconosce questo Signor... L'ambasciator del Tartaro del Caffa dimande agiuto a questa Maesta contra l'istessi Moscoviti, non solo per li tanti danni che ricevenno da Rossi sudditi loro ma anco per il suspetto che ha, che un suo fratello fuggito alla protettione del Moscovito agiutato da loro non le venga improvisamente adosso et lo scacci del regno intendendosi tuttavia essere moti di arme in qualle parti[16].

La Porte, forte de son expérience malheureuse de 1569, où l'expédition contre Astrakhan avait lamentablement échoué, faute notamment d'un réel soutien des Tatars de Crimée[17], ne pouvait s'engager à la légère. Le sultan ordonna la réunion d'un conseil exceptionnel. Selānīkī place l'événement le 11 septembre, jour où le grand vizir Siyāvuš-paša rassemblait dans sa résidence d'Üsküdar les vizirs et Mevlānā Sa'dī Efendi (le *šeyḫ ul-islām*?), pour discuter de l'opportunité d'une campagne d'une telle envergure. Le chroniqueur ottoman, avare en précisions, nous fait savoir — élément important — que la décision fut prise en fonction de l'attitude des

[15] Sur le rôle des trois princes Giray dans la politique des steppes à cette période, cf. Bennigsen et Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Moscovie," pp. 461 sq.

[16] *DC*, XXVI, fol. 81v., rapport du 29 septembre 1587.

[17] İnalcık, "Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin," pp. 367–368; Bennigsen, "L'expédition," p. 440; voir également *infra*, l'ordre adressé au *beğ* des Širin le 18 octobre 1587, dans lequel la Porte exprime clairement son ressentiment à l'égard de l'attitude de Devlet Giray pendant la campagne de 1569.

Tatars de Crimée qui, contrairement à ce qui s'était passé sous Devlet Giray, se montraient déterminés à mener à bien cette entreprise. Les Ottomans devaient envoyer des soldats et des navires pour assurer la défense de la Crimée en l'absence du khan et des *mīrzā*; un commandant capable serait par ailleurs désigné pour accompagner les Criméens vers Astrakhan[18].

Lorenzo Bernardo est, comme toujours, parfaitement renseigné sur les délibérations de ce conseil dont il nous donne, dans son rapport du 29 septembre 1587, une description détaillée. Aux personnages réunis selon Selānīkī, il ajoute le *nišanğı*, le *re'is efendi* ("il Cancelario Grande") Ḥasan *paša*, un *beḡlerbeḡ* et les ambassadeurs özbek et criméen:

Per queste cause adunque per ordine di questo Signor si ridussero insieme non solo li Magnifico Bassa ma anco il Coza, il Nisangi, il Cancelario Grande Assan Bassa et li soprascritti ambasciatori et un Beglerbei molto pratico et intelligente di quelle parti nel giardin del Magnifico Primo Visir sopra questo canale, dove si trattò longamente sopra queste dimande et per quanto intendo la risolutione fù di levar a Moscoviti la fortezza di Citracan, tornandole molto a conto esser patroni di essa, non solo per tutte le soprascritte cause, ma anco per aprisi una sicurissima et facile strada per soccorrer la importantissima fortezza di Demircapi acquistata da questo Signor al confin de Giorgiani et posta supra il Mar Caspio. . . .

Le baile nous fournit donc la principale raison de la décision ottomane: la conquête d'Astrakhan aurait permis à la Porte d'établir son contrôle sur la mer Caspienne et les régions limitrophes et de consolider ses positions à Demirqapı et à Bakou. Elle obtenait ainsi un net avantage stratégique dans le conflit qui l'opposait aux Safavides. A cette fin, le conseil réactualisait le projet du canal Don-Volga qui aurait ouvert une route directe vers la Caspienne à la flotte impériale de la Mer Noire:

Si e anco discorso tra loro di tentar da novo di far quel taglio del fiume Tanai nel fiume Volga nel paese de Tartari sottoposto a Moscoviti altre volte tentato in tempo di sultan Selim, et da Moscoviti impedito per il molto pregiuditio che li apporterebbe, et quando cio hora le succedesse haverebbono Turchi grandissima commodita et facilita non solo per condur gente et vittuaglie alli confini, et nelle piu ultime parti della Persia, mà anco per condur armata con la quale sariano patroni di tutte le marine del Mar Caspio possesse non solo da Persiani ma da Tartari Moscoviti et Giorgiani; et congiungeriano insieme la navigatione di questi doi mari Negro et Caspio con grandissimo benefficio di questa citta posta sopra la bocca di esso, et seben al presente Sua Maesta possiede doi importantissimi porti sopra esso Mar Caspio cio e Baccu et Demircapi ha pero molta difficolta di fabricar gli vasselli in quelle parti, et quando fosse aperta questa strada con grandissima commodita manderiano quanti vasselli le tornasse commodo, fabri-

[18] Selānīkī, *Die Chronik*, p. 230.

candole alle marine del Mar Negro dove hanno grandissima commodita et cariandole di vittuaglie d'ogui sorte di quali ne hanno in quelle marine grandissima abondanza.

Les Ottomans avaient déjà tenté, quelques années auparavant, de constituer une flotte sur la Caspienne[19]. Le baile rapporte qu'ils avaient construit à Demirqapı neuf "fuste di 14 banchi" et les avaient mises sous le commandement d'un rénégat vénitien ("un nostro veneziano" note, non sans un certain sentiment de fierté nationale, Lorenzo Bernardo); mais cette flottille, s'étant avérée insuffisante pour la conduite d'opérations d'importance, avait été désarmée. Cependant, la situation serait bien différente, remarque le représentant de la république maritime, au cas où l'accès en mer Caspienne deviendrait aisé:

. . . ma se in quel mar questo Signor potrà metter quante armate li piacerà, haverà facilita grande de far molti acquisti, perche ne Tartari ne Persiani, che confinano sopra di essi fano l'arte del navigar non intendo l'uso ne della calamita ne della carta, ma navigano solo con alcuni picoli vasselli a terrama (?) con il scandaglio in mano per commodità di portar robbe da loco a loco, di maniere che questo Signor saria assoluto patrone di quello importantissimo mare, che circonda 3000 miglia, senza alcuna difficolta.

A travers le témoignage de Lorenzo Bernardo, les intérêts de la Porte apparaissent bien différents de ceux des Tatars (Criméens et Nogays) ou des Özbeks. Les Ottomans concentraient alors leurs efforts en vue d'une conclusion favorable de la guerre contre les Safavides — principale préoccupation d'Istanbul — et ce n'est qu'en fonction de ce dessein que la conquête d'Astrakhan était envisagée. La situation des steppes nord-pontiques, les menaces que faisaient peser les troupes moscovites sur la Grande Horde Nogay et même sur la Crimée, ne retenaient qu'accessoirement l'attention de la Porte. De même, les Ottomans ne semblaient guère s'intéresser à la réouverture de la voie qui menait par Astrakhan vers l'Asie Centrale (tronçon de la célèbre route de la soie). Aucun des protagonistes n'évoque d'ailleurs la possibilité de la reprise des échanges commerciaux dans cette direction; les Özbeks pensaient seulement — comme nous l'avons vu — s'assurer un accès sûr pour leurs pélerinages à La Mecque. Pour la Porte, la liaison avec les Šaïbanides, ses alliés naturels contre les Safavides, devait se faire avant tout par le sud de la mer Caspienne: les récentes conquêtes en Azerbaïdjan et au Caucase serviraient de point de départ pour de nouvelles acquisitions facilitées — dans les plans ottomans — par une attaque d'ʿAbdullāh khan au Khorassan.

[19] Cf. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, pp. 74 et 91.

Néanmoins — le rapport du baile le prouve — les avantages résultant d'une implantation ottomane à Astrakhan n'échappaient pas au divan impérial. En outre, par rapport à 1569, le projet d'expédition de 1587 présentait un double intérêt pour la Porte dans la mesure où il mettait en place une puissante coalition au sein de laquelle la participation des troupes du sultan devait être limitée. Selānīkī avait mis en évidence, nous l'avons mentionné, l'importance que le conseil avait attaché à l'attitude des Criméens; dans sa lettre du 29 septembre, Lorenzo Bernardo soulignait à son tour ce fait sans négliger les Özbeks (auxquels il associait probablement les Nogays de la Grande Horde comme devant agir sur le même front): "... se intende que l'uno et l'altro Tartaro offeriscquo le forze loro solo con il favor et poco agiuto di questa Maesta". Seul Islām Giray avait fait une demande précise: quatre ou cinq galères ottomanes devaient croiser au long des côtes de la Crimée pour la défendre des attaques cosaques[20]. Enfin, un dernier élément, d'ordre subjectif, fut pris en considération au cours des délibérations du conseil (il mettait d'autant plus en valeur l'apport des forces promises par les Tatars et les Özbeks): l'appréciation peu flatteuse dont souffrait le tsar Feodor aux yeux des responsables ottomans:

> Et seben l'altra volta che Turchi tentarono questa impresa furono sturbati da Moscoviti, speravano pero hora che il favor et forze di questi doi Signori Tartari molto potenti, che allhora non havevano ottener l'intento loro, et tanto maggiormente quanto che sano che il presente Gran Duca di Moscovia e huomo di poca intelligenza et di poco valore.

Tous ces facteurs réunis avaient contribué à la décision du divan impérial; soumise au sultan, elle avait obtenu son assentiment. En conséquence, 2000 janissaires recevaient l'ordre de se préparer pour l'expédition. Le *qapudan paša* devait armer les galères nécessaires à leur transport et affectées à la défense des côtes criméennes. Pour que rien ne soit négligé, Murād III avait demandé qu'on retrouve et étudie tous les papiers relatifs à la campagne de 1569. Tout en relatant ces événements, Lorenzo Bernardo émet, en diplomate avisé, quelques réserves en ce qui concerne le degré de détermination de la Porte à s'engager dans cette affaire. Il pourrait s'agir, pense-t-til, d'une simple manoeuvre destinée, soit à précipiter les pourparlers de paix avec les Safavides, soit à faire pression sur le tsar afin

[20] "Ma in particolar il tartaro di Caffa dimanda quatro cinque galee accio che partendosi lui per questo effetto siano custodite le sue marine dalli Cosachi che ordinariamente l'infestano"; nous reviendrons plus loin sur la recrudescence des incursions des Cosaques Zaporogues à cette époque.

qu'il renonce à toute vélléité sur la Pologne dont le trône était resté vacant après la mort d'Etienne Bathory[21]:

Ne voglio restare de dirle che forse Turchi per la speranza che hanno della pace di Persia, seben molto diminuita da alquanti giorni in qua, et per il suspetto che hanno che sopra la persona del Moscovito potesse cascar l'elettione di Re da Polonia, potriano haver causati artificiosamente questi rumori, che quando le speranze di pace riuscisserovane come si crede, et che sia vera l'elettione fata alli 12 del passato da Polachi della persona del principe di Suetia in loro Re, si come per via di Bogdania qui si e intesso et la Serenita Vostra per via di Viena deve esser certificata, possiano forse cessar questi disegni tutti. . . .

Pourtant — le baile était obligé de le reconnaître — la décision de la Porte semblait bien arrêtée car les préparatifs suivaient leur cours: le *qapudan-paša* était déjà en train de faire charger des provisions sur les navires. Ainsi, concluait Lorenzo Bernardo, la campagne pourrait être menée l'hiver même, la route étant d'autant plus facile que les rivières se trouveraient prises par les glaces[22].

L'escadre ottomane ne fut prête que début novembre. Le 14 octobre, le baile pensait que les quatre galères prévues pour l'expédition ne pourraient plus prendre la mer, la saison étant trop avancée[23]. Deux semaines plus tard, il exprimait les mêmes doutes et mettait en évidence les carences de l'arsenal impérial:

Le 4 galee che deveno andar in Mar Negro per condur li giannizzeri et altre provisioni concesse da questo Signor a Tartari per favor della impresa d'Astracan, per le molte dificulta che si trovano in espedirle, ò sia per la poca obedienta, ò per altri mancamenti che sono in questo Arsenal, tal che si dubita ò che non anderano, ò tardando molto à partir, correvano in alto risigo navicando d'inverno in quel mare, il qual porta il nome di negro per li molti naufragi que causa in questi tempi[24].

Entre temps, la Porte avait pris de nouvelles mesures pour assurer la réussite de la campagne. Les autorités ottomanes de Kefe recevaient l'ordre de préparer du bois pour la construction de 40 barques (piccoli vasselli) et de 12 bâtiments de transport (mahone) destinés aux troupes

[21] La même idée a également été exprimée par des historiens modernes; ainsi S. M. Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii,* Moscou, rééd. 1960, IV, pp. 259–60, estime qu'il s'agissait davantage d'une manoeuvre de la Porte destinée à soutenir le khanat de Crimée face à la Moscovie, que d'un projet réel.

[22] Le rapport du 29 septembre est entièrement consacré à l'affaire d'Astrakhan, *DC* XXVI, fol. 81v–84r., nous nous sommes efforcés d'en restituer l'essentiel dans le choix de nos citations, tout en en ordonnant les éléments.

[23] *DC,* XXVI, fol. 154v.: "Si preparano anco le 4 galee destinate per mar Negro seben si crede che per esser il tempo molto avanti pericolosisimo per navigar in quei mari si potria differir la loro partita. . . ."

[24] *DC,* XXVI, fol. 177v., rapport du 28 octobre 1587.

qui devaient entreprendre le siège d'Astrakhan[25]. Les pièces en fer nécessaires à leur fabrication étaient chargées sur les galères à Istanbul. Comme en 1569, il avait été prévu que ces matériaux seraient transportés par chariots jusqu'à la Volga pour y être rassemblés. Mais à ce sujet, les avis étaient très partagés; comme on craignait que cette opération ne fût empêchée par l'attaque des Moscovites ou des Cosaques du Don, certains proposaient la mise à l'eau de ces embarcations à Demirqapı[26].

Les préoccupations de la Porte ne se limitaient d'ailleurs pas — comme l'attestent les documents émanant du divan impérial — aux seuls aspects matériels de la campagne; sa préparation diplomatique était également envisagée. Le 18 octobre, un ordre était remis au *čavuš* Yūsuf à l'intention du *beğ* des Širin "qui est le chef des émirs tatars". Ce choix est significatif de la politique ottomane à l'égard de la Crimée: consciente du rôle des chefs des clans tatars, la Porte s'adresse au plus puissant d'entre eux pour obtenir sa collaboration. Il s'agissait moins de défiance envers Islām Giray que d'une réelle connaissance du rapport de force entre le faible khan et la noblesse criméenne[27]:

Ordre au *Širin beğ* qui est le chef des émirs tatars: précédemment, à l'époque du défunt [le sultan Selim II] — que la grâce de Dieu soit sur lui, qu'il soit pardonné et que la terre de son tombeau soit parfumée! — on avait projeté la conquête et la subjugation d'Astrakhan et affecté en conséquence à l'ancien khan Devlet Giray une quantité suffisante de soldats voués à la victoire, mais lorsqu'on eut préparé toutes les armes et le matériel nécessaires à cette campagne et qu'on les eut expédiés en vue de la conquête, la volonté dudit khan étant contraire à cette conquête, il a négligé ce qui la concernait, il a détourné les troupes de l'islam du droit chemin, les entraînant sur des chemins d'accès difficile; bref, il a par sa

[25] Rapport du 14 octobre 1587, déjà cité (*DC*, XXVI, fol. 154v.).

[26] Rapport du 28 octobre 1587, déjà cité (*DC*, XXVI, fol. 178r.-v.): ". . . gia è stata caricata molta ferramenta sopra queste galee per la fabrica delli vasselli, che disegnano di adoperar per la espugnation di esso [Astrakhan]. Li legnami delli quali tagliarano et lavorerano à Caffa, et con li carri disegnano condurli al fiume Volga per metterli insieme in quel loco, et servirsi di essi per traghettar genti in quella fortezza posta in isola sopra la bocca di esso fiume nel mar Caspio. Seben vien raccordato da altri, che piu presto et sicuro consiglio saria fabricar essi vasselli à Demircapi fortezza di questo Signor in Giorgiani sopra l'istesso mare poco discostos d'Astracan dove piu sicuramente sariano condoti per mare alla bocca del detto fiume, senza poter esser impediti da Rossi ne da Moscoviti, li quali per la via di terra facilmente si opponerano alla condota de carri". Dans cette même dépêche le baile communiquait le départ de l'ambassadeur d'"Abdullāh khan avec la promesse du sultan de "favoriser la prise d'Astrakhan."

[27] Sur les rapports entre le khan et les clans de Crimée, cf. Bennigsen et Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Moscovie"; A. Bennigsen, P. N. Boratov, D. Desaive, et Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, Paris, 1978, pp. 10–13; B. Forbes Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466–1532," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, II, 3, 1978, pp. 281–309.

négligence et sa procrastination, fait échouer l'affaire. [Or, à présent], un ambassadeur est arrivé avec une lettre de la part de sa Haute Seigneurie de sublime refuge, le khan özbeğ 'Abdullāh khan, pour assurer la conquête et la libération d'Astrakhan. D'autre part, sa Seigneurie refuge de l'Emirat [le khan], ayant rendu témoignage de sa parfaite fidélité et loyauté ainsi que de l'extrême droiture et sincérité qu'elle porte au Seuil, nid de la félicité, a "retroussé les pans de sa robe" et, consciente du trésor de félicité qu'elle s'assure en déployant tous ses efforts pour le service que lui ordonne ma Seigneurie, refuge de la gloire, elle a fait savoir qu'elle attendait avec empressement l'émission de l'ordre [impérial, ou: auquel le monde se soumet? — lecture incertaine]. Pour ma part, je suis pleinement confiant dans le fait que le susdit khan déploiera en effet, en toute sincérité d'âme et de coeur, ses efforts pour le service qui se présente sur ma voie auguste et qu'il ne reviendra pas sur ses dispositions; de plus, il est important et nécessaire que toi aussi, homme de valeur qui se trouve à la tête et au commandement des émirs tatars, tu participes également à la campagne vouée à la victoire et que, dans l'unité de coeur et d'intention que commande une parfaite entente, vous accomplissiez [tous deux] le service qu'exigent la religion et mon Etat. En conséquence, tu auras à te concerter avec le susdit Islām Giray khan — que son élévation se perpétue! — et X, l'un des *čavuš* de mon Seuil élevé, a été envoyé pour que tu fasses connaître à ma Porte de la Félicité vos dispositions en vue de la réalisation [de ce projet]. [Le passage précédent est un peu douteux, le texte étant très effacé.] Dès que [cet ordre] arrivera, conformément à l'abondance de courage et de vaillance, à l'excès de perspicacité et de sagacité inhérents à ta nature et ton caractère en pareil cas, tu te rendras auprès dudit khan — que son élévation se perpétue! —, tu te concerteras également avec les personnes capables, pieuses, expertes, impartiales et bien informées des situations et des conditions, des agissements et comportements ayant cours dans ces régions et, avec l'aide de Dieu vrai — qu'il soit glorifié et exhalté! —, tu feras sans faute tout ce qui est possible pour la réalisation de mes entreprises vouées au succès. Grâce au zèle pour la religion évidente, il sera possible de cette façon de tirer vengeance des ennemis maudits promis à l'Enfer; vous ne laisserez absolument rien dans l'incertitude et le doute; vous ferez un rapport véridique à mon Seuil Sublime sur ce qui aura résulté du jugement pertinent et des intentions [méritoires?] dudit khan — que son élévation se perpétue! — de telle sorte que rien ne survienne par la suite dont on puisse tirer prétexte ou excuse. Précédemment, alors que Demirqapı et le pays de Širvān n'étaient pas encore rattachés à mes pays-bien-gardés, mais qu'on avait des visées sur eux et qu'il existait en outre des possibilités de conquête et de subjugation, elles restèrent sans effet à cause de la négligence dudit khan. Mais à présent, comme ces régions ont été conquises, l'affaire, s'il plaît à Dieu — qu'Il soit exalté! — est devenue aisée. Dorénavant, tu te concerteras sans plus tarder avec le khan, et tu déploieras tous tes efforts dans les affaires qui intéressent la religion et mon Etat ainsi que l'honneur et la dignité de mon sultanat[28].

Nous n'avons malheureusement pas trouvé trace dans les archives

[28] *MD*, LXII, doc. 226, remis à Yūsuf *čavuš* le 16 *zī'l-qa'de* 995 (18 octobre 1587).

ottomanes de la réponse du *beğ* des Širin ni d'une correspondance ultérieure à ce sujet avec le khan Islām Giray. Pourtant il semble bien, à ce qui ressort des messages adressés aux Nogays de la Grande Horde et à Piyāle *paša,* nommé commandant du corps ottoman, que le sultan avait déjà acquis la certitude d'une participation criméenne.

La seconde action diplomatique de la Porte était entreprise auprès des Nogays de la Grande Horde. Le 24 octobre, des lettres d'un contenu identique étaient confiées au *čavuš* Süleymān qui devait les remettre au prince Urus *beğ* ainsi qu'à 12 *mīrzā*[29]. Les Ottomans étaient vraisemblablement au courant de ce que la politique anti-moscovite d'Urus *beğ* ne faisait pas l'unanimité des chefs nogays. L'initiative de la campagne n'était attribuée qu'au seul 'Abdullāh khan et c'était à sa requête que la Porte répondait. Les Nogays de la Grande Horde étaient mis devant le fait accompli: ou bien ils prenaient part à cette expédition présentée comme certaine et déjà nettement engagée ou bien (ce qui est sous-entendu) ils se rangeaient du côté des ennemis de l'islam et de l'Empire ottoman:

La fierté des hommes illustres et généreux, le réceptacle des actes louables et magnifiques, Rus (= Urus) *beğ* Mīrzā, l'un des *mīrzā* du pays des Grands Nogays — que sa gloire se perpétue! —, dès qu'il recevra le signe élevé et auguste, devra savoir ce qui suit: à présent, une lettre portée par un ambassadeur agréé, de la part de son Excellence Seigneurie de haut rang, 'Abdullāh khan, actuellement khan de Bukhara — que son élévation se perpétue! —, est parvenue à notre Seuil Sublime, refuge du monde et notre Porte Elevée, foyer de la Félicité, qui sont des sultans glorieux, le refuge, et des monarques généreux, le salutaire recours. Elle annonce et fait connaître ce qui concerne la campagne contre Astrakhan. Etant donné qu'il sollicite pour cette affaire aide et assistance de notre Seuil Sublime, s'il plaît à Dieu — qu'Il soit exalté! — au printemps marqué d'heureux auspices, on s'en remettra à la grâce de Dieu Vrai — qu'Il soit exalté et glorifié! — et on prendra comme intercesseur les miracles de Mon Seigneur le séide des créatures — sur lui soit la meilleure des bénédictions! — et sa Seigneurie, refuge de l'Emirat, le khan de Crimée, Islām Giray khan — que son élévation se perpétue! — [participera] en personne à la conquête d'Astrakhan; et, d'autre part, l'émir des émirs généreux Piyāle — que sa prospérité se perpétue! — qui revient de Bukhara, a été nommé *serdār* des troupes vouées à la victoire devant être envoyées de mon Seuil de la Félicité, et les provisions ainsi que les canons, les arquebuses et autres armes et matériel sont sur le point d'être fournis. Etant donné qu'il est en tout point

[29] Nous avons pu identifier neuf de ses destinataires, grâce à l'ouvrage de Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba,* tableau annexe: Seyyid Aḥmed *mīrzā,* fils de Moḥammed frère d'Urus *beğ,* qui détenait la place de *nūreddīn*; Satı, Ğan Arslan et Qan *mīrzā,* tous les trois fils du prince; Išterek, Dīn Moḥammed, Küčük, Or Moḥammed et Bek Moḥammed *mīrzā,* tous les cinq fils de Dīn Aḥmed, frère d'Urus *beğ* et ancien prince de la Grande Horde.

important et nécessaire que vous-même participiez également à cette campagne vouée à la victoire, l'un des *čavuš* de mon Seuil Sublime, Süleymān *čavuš* — que son pouvoir augmente! — [vous] a été envoyé. J'ai ordonné que, dès qu'il arrivera avec mon ordre sacré, conformément à l'abondance du courage et de la vaillance et à la profusion de la sagacité et du jugement inhérentes à ta nature et à ton caractère, tu te tiennes dès maintenant prêt et sur le pied de guerre, avec les troupes tatares rapides comme le vent qui dépendent de ton autorité et que, lorsque, s'il plaît à Dieu, le moment [d'agir] arrivera et que les troupes vouées à la victoire seront parvenues sur place, vous soyez, vous aussi, en accord et entente, en toute unanimité de coeur et d'intention [avec le *serdār* ottoman et le khan], et que vous déployiez toutes vos forces et abondance d'efforts pour la conquête de la forteresse en question, en fonction des nécessités, ainsi que pour chasser et repousser les vils ennemis, et que, de cette façon, tu t'attires toutes sortes de marques d'honneur dans la voie de notre service impérial.

Il est certain et assuré que, s'il plait à Dieu, en échange des estimés services que vous rendrez dans cette affaire, vous serez mis hors pair et distingué par mes sublimes bienfaits impériaux de toute sorte. Adoncque, vous serez en bon accord et entente, comme on l'espère, tant avec le khan de Crimée, Islām Giray khan qu'avec Piyāle *paša* — que sa prospérité se perpétue! — *serdār* de mes troupes vouées à la victoire, et vous déploierez toutes sortes de beaux efforts dans l'accomplissement de cette affaire. De plus, vous écrirez de façon détaillée quelles mesures ont été prises à ce sujet et ce qu'il convient de faire; vous présenterez ce rapport à notre Seuil Elevé par l'intermédiaire de mon *čavuš* susdit[30].

La Porte considérait donc la participation des Nogays de la Grande Horde comme très importante pour la réussite de l'expédition projetée. Piyāle *paša,* nommé commandant en chef, en fonction sans doute des rapports personnels qu'il entretenait avec les Özbeks et les Nogays, recevait la mission expresse de s'occuper de ces derniers. Il devait établir des relations étroites avec Urus *beḡ* et les autres *mīrzā,* se tenir informé de tout ce qui les concernait, enfin, les convaincre de l'imminence de la campagne et des bénéfices qu'ils pourraient tirer d'une implantation ottomane à Astrakhan — bénéfices que, non sans une certaine présomption, la Porte estimait évidents. L'ordre de nomination de Piyāle *paša,* émis par le divan impérial le 24 octobre également, nous fournit en même temps la meilleure preuve qu'à cette date la décision du sultan d'entreprendre cette expédition au printemps suivant était sans appel. A côté de l'unité de janissaires, d'un corps d'artillerie, du matériel de siège et des moyens de transport, on adjoignait à Piyāle *paša* un certain nombre de *sanǧaqbeḡ* avec leurs hommes. Seule la désignation exacte de ces troupes ainsi que la date précise du début de la campagne restaient à déterminer. Le but de cette expédition était exprimé dans une formule brève mais

30 *MD,* LXII, doc. 231 du 22 *ẕī'l-qa'de* 995 (24 octobre 1587).

explicite: la conquête d'Astrakhan était "en tout point conforme à la dignité et à l'intérêt de la religion et de l'Etat" car il s'agissait, seule motivation (simple prétexte?) avancée, de libérer les "peuples de l'islam" de la domination des Moscovites. Voici le texte intégral de cet important document:

Ordre à Piyāle *paša* qui était précédemment *beğlerbeğ* de Šeki[31]: à présent, des lettres sont parvenues par l'intermédiaire d'ambassadeurs accrédités et dignes de confiance, de la part de sa haute seigneurie, refuge de l'Emirat, le *ḥākim* de Boukhara, 'Abdullāh khan — que son élévation se perpétue! — et du *ḥākim* des Nogays, Urus *beğ*. Il ressort de ces lettres que les mécréants d'Astrakhan portent préjudice aux peuples de l'islam et qu'il est en tout point conforme à la dignité et à l'intérêt de la religion et de l'Etat de conquérir et subjuguer cette place. En conséquence, comme il est nécessaire et indispensable d'apporter mon sublime concours impérial lors de la conquête et de la subjugations de la forteresse d'Astrakhan, de la destruction et de l'anéantissement des mécréants débauchés qui s'y trouvent, il est certain et résolu que, s'il plait à Dieu — qu'Il soit exalté! —, ma campagne vouée à la victoire se portera au printemps marqué d'heureux auspices de ce côté, dans un complet abandon à la volonté de Dieu — qu'il soit exalté! —. Dès maintenant, on a entrepris de réunir le matériel, l'équipement, les armes et armements et tout ce qui est nécessaire et important; ma lettre auguste a été envoyée à Sa Seigneurie, refuge de l'Emirat, Islām Giray khan — que son élévation se perpétue! — pour qu'il y prenne part lui aussi. D'autre part, eu égard à l'entière confiance impériale que je porte aux trésors de courage et de vaillance et aux parfaites sagacité et perspicacité, inhérents à ton caractère et ta nature, je t'ai nommé *serdār* (généralissime) et *sipehsālār* (commandant en chef) des troupes vouées à la victoire qui seront désignées et envoyées de mon Seuil de la Félicité, tant les chefs (*ümerā*) que les *zu'ama* et que les timariots, les corps des serviteurs de ma Porte (*qapum qulları*) et les janissaires. Il t'est commandé, à toi aussi, de te procurer dès maintenant les provisions et les matériaux nécessaires et de tenir tous les hommes prêts et sur le pied de guerre jusqu'à que soit fixée, s'il plait à Dieu, la date de la campagne, et j'ai ordonné que, dès que [cet ordre] arrivera, tu prennes des mesures à ce sujet avec une parfaite attention, que tu entreprennes la collecte et la fourniture du matériel nécessaire à la campagne susdite; que tu recueilles de nombreuses informations sur la situation et les conditions des régions nogayes, que tu noues des liens de bonne et sincère amitié avec le khan, les *mīrzā* et les autres soldats nogays, que tu leur envoies des informations, par l'intermédiaire d'hommes à toi, dignes de confiance, que tu leur apprennes et leur annonces qu'une campagne vouée à la victoire, a été décidée pour ce printemps afin qu'ils

[31] Šeki devient un *beğlerbeğilik* en 1583, mais en 1585 le siège de cette province est transféré à Ereš, cf. M. F. Kırzıoğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-elleri'ni fethi (1451-1590)*, Ankara, 1976, p. 304. Piyāle *paša* qui, lors de la campagne de 1579 était *sanğaqbeğ* de Dyarbekir (cf. *MD*, XXXVIII, doc. 99), occupa vraisemblablement ce poste entre ces deux dates. Rappelons que Lorenzo Bernardo le présentait en 1587 comme le *beğ* de Demirqapı, également centre d'un *beğlerbeğilik* depuis 1583.

considèrent comme une chose décidée notre intention de conquérir et subjuguer, s'il plait à Dieu — qu'il soit exalté! —, la forteresse d'Astrakhan marquée du signe de la défaite, de la façon exposée plus haut, et que, tant le susdit khan nogay que les autres troupes vouées à la victoire, fassent tout ce qui dépend de leur force dans la voie du Séide des Prophètes de la religion évidente, et qu'ils écartent et repoussent les méfaits et malfaisances infligés au peuple de l'islam par les vils mécréants — puissent-ils résider en enfer! — et que, de cette façon, ces régions devenant des dépendances de nos pays-bien-gardés, comme c'est le cas du pays de Širvān, les gens de la Foi établis dans ces parages vivent dans une parfaite paix et sécurité et que, dans le bonheur d'un paradis de prospérité et de paix, ils puissent se vouer à leurs activités et occupations et jouir de la prospérité en priant pour la perpétuation de notre vie et de notre règne en toute sincérité de coeur. Tel est l'ordre qui a été écrit[32].

Le 11 novembre 1587, Lorenzo Bernardo signalait à la Seigneurie le départ d'Istanbul de trois des galères destinées à l'expédition; on avait dû renoncer à la quatrième par manque d'esclaves pour la chiourme. La clémence du temps, note le baile, avait certainement permis à ces bâtiments d'atteindre le but de leur voyage. Les janissaires (mais il est fortement improbable que les 2000 prévus aient pu trouver place sur les trois galères), le matériel et les provisions avaient ainsi été débarqués à Kefe: "Le tre galee per Mare Negro sono finalmente partite, non havendo potuto andar la quarta galea al viaggio per mancamento di schiavi, li quali per li buoni tempi che hanno regnato sariano presto gionti al Caffa con li Giannizzari et altre provisioni promesse à Tartari per la impressa di Astracan"[33]. Du côté ottoman la campagne d'Astrakhan était commencée.

* * *

Les Moscovites étaient au courant des plans ottomans dès la fin de l'année 1587. Grâce à des informations en provenance de Crimée, on savait à Moscou qu'une campagne pour la conquête d'Astrakhan se préparait sous la conduite de Piyāle *paša.* On y savait également qu'en vue de cette entreprise, des quantités de poudre et de plomb avaient été déchargées à Kefe et qu'un *čavuš* avait été dépêché auprès d'Urus *beğ,* afin que celui-ci "prête serment" au sultan. La situation était jugée inquiétante et des mesures furent prises en conséquence: alerte de la garnison d'Astrakhan et notamment de Murād Giray, envoi d'un corps de troupes sur le Don, expédition de deux chefs de *strel'cy,* Xruščev et Lixarev, chez les Cosaques Zaporogues pour les déterminer à attaquer la Crimée et les posses-

32 *MD,* LXII, doc. 233 du 22 *ẕī'l-qa'de* 995 (24 octobre 1587).
33 *DC,* XXVI, fol. 195r.

sions ottomanes[34]. Enfin, il semble qu'une démarche diplomatique fût tentée du côté de la Crimée. L'envoyé du tsar devait proposer à Islām Giray l'arrêt de toute action offensive de Sa'ādet et Murād Giray si le khan réussissait à persuader le sultan de renoncer à la campagne contre Astrakhan[35].

Le décision des Moscovites de faire appel aux Cosaques Zaporogues se révéla extrèmement judicieuse. Ces derniers constituaient déjà une menace permanente pour les provinces ottomanes du nord de la Mer Noire et du bas Danube. Pendant l'été 1587, ils avaient surpris et razzié successivement Bender (Bendery), Özü (Očakiv), les environs d'Aqkirman (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyj), et de Kili (Kilija) ainsi que le ville moldave de Huşi. Les troupes de six *sanǧaqbeḡ* (Aqkirman, Silistre, Niḡbolu, Čirmen, Vize et Vulčetrin), avaient été réunies pour les combattre. Une unité de janissaires avait été envoyée en renfort et les voïévodes de Moldavie et de Valachie devaient se tenir prêts à intervenir à la tête de leurs soldats. Néanmoins, en novembre, les Cosaques (quelques 3000 hommes avec 17 canons (*ḍarbzen*) pris lors du sac d'Özü et montés sur des chariots) faisaient de nouveau irruption en Moldavie. Le voïévode réussissait à les repousser, mais, à la même époque, ils effectuaient un raid en Crimée et, renforcés, ils continuaient à faire pression sur les possessions ottomanes et sur la Moldavie[36].

L'état actuel de nos informations ne nous permet pas de déceler dans quelle mesure les opérations des Cosaques Zaporogues à la fin de 1587 et en 1588 étaient menées de commun accord avec les Moscovites. Pourtant,

[34] Cf. Kuševa, *Narody*, p. 267, citant les Archives russes.

[35] Cf. Solov'ev, *Istorija*, IV, pp. 259–60.

[36] Les sources concernant les incursions des Cosaques Zaporogues à cette époque abondent (le sujet mériterait de faire l'objet d'une étude à part); voici les plus importants de ces documents pour l'année 1587: *MD*, LXII, docs. (en ordre chronologique du 18 avril 1587 au 13 février 1588): 81, 103–104, 154, 307, 309, 440–441, 447, 450, 178, 291, 259–261, 303, 305, 449, 325–326, 317–318, 330, 335, 346, 361–363, 386–387, 432, 434, 472; *DC*, XXV et XXVI, rapports de Lorenzo Bernardo des 12 mai, 23 et 30 juillet, 5 août, 2 et 29 septembre, 28 octobre, 11 novembre, 9 et 23 décembre 1587, 6 janvier et 23 février 1588; *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese*, de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki (cité *infra*: *Hurmuzaki*), XI, Bucarest, 1900, docs. CLV, CLVIII–CLXIV, CLXVII–CLXVIII (essentiellement rapports adressés d'Istanbul entre le 29 avril 1587 et le 18 février 1588 par von Eyzing et Pezzen, ambassadeurs de l'empereur Rudolf II); A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei şi Ţării Româneşti*, III, Bucarest, 1931, docs. 59–66 (dépêches de von Eyzing et Pezzen ainsi que d'autres correspondants des Habsbourgs, du 31 juillet au 22 octobre 1587) et docs. 69–70, 72–73 (lettres échangées entre la Porte et le voïévode de Transylvanie Sigismond Bathory de décembre 1587 à février 1588).

indépendamment des intérêts ou des raisons qui les motivaient[37], il est certain que leur rôle dans l'abandon du projet de la campagne d'Astrakhan fut décisif. Les actions des Cosaques Zaporogues immobilisaient des forces ottomanes importantes — seules forces disponibles qui auraient pu former le corps expéditionnaire d'Astrakhan — et détournaient du même objectif les troupes criméennes. De plus, elles pouvaient entraîner l'Empire ottoman dans un conflit avec la Pologne, pays dont les Cosaques étaient, du moins théoriquement, les sujets.

Au printemps 1588, l'armée tatare, dirigée par le khan en personne, se mettait en mouvement vers la Pologne pour venger, par une grande expédition, les incursions cosaques. Mais, arrivé à Bender, Islām Giray, mourait subitement début avril, vraisemblablement empoisonné. Les clans désignaient à sa place son frère et *qalġa* Alp Giray, à qui le trône revenait de droit. La Porte l'entendait autrement: elle voulait imposer un khan de son choix. Dès que la nouvelle parvint à Istanbul, le sultan nomma Ġāzī Giray, également frère du khan décédé mais moins âgé qu'Alp Giray, et l'expédia le 18 avril à Kefe, accompagné d'un corps de janissaires. En enfreignant la tradition, la *töre* gengisside, les Ottomans prenaient le risque d'une confrontation avec la noblesse criméenne; des mesures militaires furent envisagées et le sultan s'adressa directement aux "chefs et aux notables du peuple tatar" pour prévenir leur opposition. En fait, le nouveau khan fut accepté sans résistance; déposé, Alp Giray se rendait fin mai à Istanbul[38].

L'avènement de Ġāzī Giray, khan énergique et forte personnalité, sur le trône de la Crimée, mettait fin à la période de désordre, de désunion et de guerre civile qu'avait connu le pays après la disparition de Devlet Giray (1577) et surtout depuis la crise de 1583–1584. Par une politique d'amnistie, le nouveau khan déterminait un grand nombre de *mīrzā* qui avaient suivi les fils de Moḥammed Giray, à regagner la Crimée. Il réussit à se rallier Ṣafā Giray en lui accordant le poste de *nūreddīn* et à engager des pourparlers avec Murād Giray qui était toujours à Astrakhan. En août 1588, le sultan, informé des bonnes dispositions de ce prince, autorisait

[37] C'est ainsi que l'expédition cosaque en Moldavie de novembre 1587 semble avoir été provoquée par l'archiduc Maximilien, cf. *MD*, LXII, doc. 362 du 29 *muḥarrem* 996 (30 décembre 1587); Veress, *Documente privitoare*, doc. 72, du 27 janvier 1588.

[38] Cf. Bennigsen et Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Moscovie," pp. 471 et 485–87: la traduction intégrale de la lettre adressée aux "chefs et aux notables du peuple tatar" (*MD*, LXII, doc. 516, du 15 *ǧemāzī'l-āḫır* 996/13 mai 1588); Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, pp. 101 sq.

Ġāzī Giray à lui offrir le pardon et la protection de la Porte[39]. Enfin, à la même époque, une bonne partie des Nogays de la Grande Horde avaient franchi la Volga et s'étaient installés dans les plaines du bas Don, sous la protection du khan de Crimée. Ils étaient dirigés par le *nūreddīn* d'Urus *beḡ*, Seyyid Aḥmed *mīrzā*, par trois des fils du prince: Satı, Ǧan Arslan et Qan *mīrzā* et par Küčük *mīrzā*, fils de Dīn Aḥmed. Ġāzī Giray écrivait au tsar, non sans exagération, que 100.000 Nogays étaient venus le renforcer[40]. Dans ces conditions la Moscovie, qui voyait réduites ses possibilités de pression sur la Crimée, adopta une politique plus conciliante. Le tsar envoyait à Ġāzī Giray un message l'assurant qu'une vaste campagne organisée à l'encontre d'Islām Giray avait été décommandée à la nouvelle de son accession au trône[41].

Au premier abord, la situation de l'été 1588 apparaît donc favorable à la mise en route du projet d'expédition contre Astrakhan. Pourtant, nous ne possédons aucun indice permettant d'affirmer que, soit du côté ottoman, soit du côté criméen, cette entreprise était encore envisagée. Plusieurs raisons peuvent être avancées pour expliquer cet abandon: l'importance des attaques cosaques; le conflit qui opposait les Nogays de la Petite Horde à ceux de la Grande Horde; l'engagement des Šaïbanides dans une guerre d'usure avec les Safavides, guerre qui se poursuivait également du côté ottoman.

Au cours du mois de juillet 1588, les Cosaques razziaient, en dépit du dispositif ottoman, treize villages dans la région de Bender, et, fait plus grave encore, ils mettaient de nouveau à sac la ville d'Özü. Le 13 août, le baile Giovanni Moro rapportait à la Seigneurie ce dernier événement: "Et hora è venuto novo aviso che li medesimi Cosachi habbino preso un castello a quei confini detto Usia [Özü] che già occuparono un altra volta l'anno passato et poi lo abbandonorono, havendo fatto preda di molti centenara di homini et di gran numero d'animali, che è qui sicuramente dispiaciuto grandamente"[42]. La réaction ottomane ne se fait pas attendre: concentration des troupes de sept *sanǧaqbeḡ* (Tırhala, Köstendil, Alağa Ḥiṣār, Niḡbolu, Silistre, Vidin, Aqkirman), appel aux voïévodes de Moldavie et de Valachie, expédition de cinq galères et lettre de menaces à

[39] Lettre impériale à Ġāzī Giray (*MD*, LXIV, doc. 232, sans date, probablement du 21 *ramaẓān* 996 (15 août 1588)); un passage important de cette lettre a été publié par Bennigsen et Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Moscovie," p. 472.

[40] Cf. Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 36.

[41] Cf. Solov'ev, *Istorija*, IV, p. 260.

[42] *DC*, XXVII, fol. 297v.

l'adresse du roi de Pologne[43]. Les attaques cosaques n'en furent pas pour autant stoppées et elles continuèrent à mobiliser, pendant les années suivantes, des armées ottomanes importantes ainsi que les Tatars de Crimée.

L'arrivée de nombreux Nogays de la Grande Horde dans les plaines d'Azaq déclencha une guerre fratricide avec leurs cousins de la Petite Horde. Les raisons de cette confrontation sont en partie obscures: Yahši Sa'āt, khan de la Petite Horde, essayait de subordonner (à son profit ou à celui du khan de Crimée?) les *mīrzā* de la Grande Horde. La guerre ne prit fin qu'en 1590 par la mort des deux princes; ce conflit, très meurtrier, ruina les deux formations tribales qui, dorénavant, cessèrent de constituer des puissances militaires redoutables[44].

Au printemps 1588, se conformant à leur entente avec les Ottomans, les Özbeks déclenchaient une attaque contre les Safavides. Un ambassadeur d''Abdullāh khan arrivait au mois de mai à Istanbul pour faire état devant le divan impérial de plusieurs victoires remportées au Khorassan et de la décision de son maître de s'emparer de l'ensemble de cette province[45]. En effet les combats se poursuivirent sur ce front[46] et jouèrent un rôle important dans le dénouement de la guerre ottomano-safavide en 1590[47]. Mais 'Abdullāh khan se trouvait ainsi dans l'impossibilité d'engager une partie de ses forces dans une lointaine expédition vers Astrakhan.

A la lumière de ces événements, il ressort que le projet de campagne pour la conquête d'Astrakhan en 1588 était irréalisable. Il n'était d'ailleurs essentiel que pour les Nogays de la Grande Horde, les grands perdants de l'affaire; pour les autres protagonistes, il n'était que secondaire. En 1588, la situation des steppes nord-pontiques se présentait différemment par rapport à l'année précédente: un nouvel équilibre se

43 *MD*, LXIV, docs. 11–13, 212, 217–220, 236, 247, 282, 297 (du 4 juillet au 8 septembre 1588); *DC*, XXVII, rapports de Giovanni Moro des 13 août et 22 septembre 1588; *Hurmuzaki*, p. 701, note 1, docs CLXXI, CLXXIII–CLXXIV, CLXXVI (dépêches de Pezzen du 18 juillet au 10 septembre 1588).

44 Cf. Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, pp. 36–37.

45 Cf. le rapport de Giovanni Moro du 18 mai 1588, *DC*, XXVII, fol. 109r. et les deux ordres impériaux concernant le retour de cette ambassade par Demirqapı, *MD*, LXII, docs. 572 et 576, sans date, probablement du 16 *reǧeb* 996 (11 juin 1588).

46 Cf. Kırzıoğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın*, pp. 376, 381–382; *DC*, XXVII, rapports de Giovanni Moro des 2, 8 et 25 juin 1588.

47 Par la paix de 1590 avec les Safavides, les Ottomans établissaient leur pouvoir en Transcaucasie, Širvān et Azerbaïdjan méridional. Une flotte de galères, basée à Nizabād, assurait le contrôle de la Caspienne et la liaison avec les Šaïbanides; cf. Kuševa, *Narody*, p. 275; Kırzıoğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın*, pp. 375 sq.; Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, pp. 90–92.

dessinait. La Crimée avait retrouvé sa force sous Ġāzī Giray; le danger que constituaient Murād et Sa'ādet Giray était écarté (ils disparaîtront en 1590–1591), et les Moscovites durent abandonner, pour une longue période, l'idée de la soumettre. De son côté, le khan renonçait en 1593, après l'échec de deux expéditions contre la Moscovie (1591 et 1592), à toute prétention sur Kazan et Astrakhan.

Lors d'une ambassade moscovite à Istanbul en 1592, le sultan demandait au tsar la restitution de Kazan et d'Astrakhan[48]; mais il ne s'agissait vraisemblablement, à la veille de la guerre contre les Habsbourgs, que d'une velléité parmi d'autres. En réalité, la Porte avait abandonné l'idée d'une campagne dans cette direction dès 1588. Deux ordres du divan impérial, adressés le 27 septembre au *beğlerbeğ* et au *qāḍī* de Kefe, nous en fournissent la preuve. Le premier faisant état des manques dans les armes et les munitions envoyées un an auparavant en vue de l'expédition, atteste que leur retour à Istanbul avait déjà été effectué. Par le second, on enjoignait aux destinataires d'ouvrir une enquête pour retrouver et restituer aux propriétaires le plomb des couvertures de hammams que les janissaires, dans l'enthousiasme de leurs préparatifs guerriers, avaient démontés pour fondre des balles[49].

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48 Cf. İnalcık, "Ottoman-Russian Rivalry," p. 97.
49 *MD,* LXIV, docs. 344 et 345 du 5 *ẕī'l-qa'de* 996 (27 septembre 1588).

Ukrainization Movements within the Russian Orthodox Church, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church*

BOHDAN R. BOCIURKIW

INTRODUCTION

The rise in 1920–21 of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) — in Ukrainian, *Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na pravoslavna tserkva* (*UAPTs*) — weakened the hold of the Russian church over the Ukrainian village and virtually deprived it of any following among the lay Ukrainian intelligentsia. However, the secession of the Ukrainian church still left the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) the largest ecclesiastical organization in the Soviet Ukraine. The majority of believers and clergy and the entire episcopate remained loyal to the Moscow patriarchate during these critical years. Reasons for this loyalty ranged from ethnic and political ties, canonical considerations, and habit, to the difficulties encountered by the Autocephalists in spreading their message and organization throughout Ukrainian society in the face of the Soviet authorities' growing hostility.

However, the ideas of Ukrainization, autocephaly, and conciliarism (*sobornopravnist'*) that crystallized during the formative stage of the Ukrainian church movement (1917–1919) did not entirely subside within the Ukrainian flock of the Russian church after the secession of the Autocephalists. The revolutionary changes in Orthodox canons which the UAOC adopted at its Sobor of 1921 and the non-canonical, if not unprecedented, manner in which the Sobor constituted its episcopate split the ranks of the Ukrainian church movement. Several of its original leaders left the Sobor, opting for a still unavailable, canonical alternative for realizing the movement's objectives from within the ROC. Their respec-

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tive causes and their subsequent activities have largely been ignored in Ukrainian and Russian writings on the Orthodox church in interwar Ukraine. Ukrainian writers (I. Vlasovs'kyi, D. Burko, and M. Iavdas')[1] have focused exclusively on the Autocephalous church and have generally followed the late Metropolitan Lypkivs'kyi[2] in dismissing other Ukrainization movements as either GPU-inspired diversions against the UAOC or cases of ecclesiastical *otamanshchyna.*[3] Russian and most Western writers,[4] on the other hand, have either totally ignored these movements or ranked them along with the so-called *Lipkovshchina* as anti-canonic schisms inspired by motives alien to Orthodoxy; the latter interpretation has been followed both by the Moscow patriarchate[5] and present-day Soviet writers.[6] On the basis of the contemporary polemical

[1] See, in particular, Ivan Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii ukrains'koi pravoslavnoi tserkvy,* vol. 4, pt. 1 (New York, and Bound Brook, N.J., 1961); also, a series of articles entitled "Z knyhy buttia ukrains'koi tserkvy," published by Rev. D. Burko in the journal *Ridna tserkva,* 1954–59; and Rev. Mytrofan Iavdas', *Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na pravoslavna tserkva, 1921–1936* (Munich and Ingolstadt, 1956).

[2] Metropolitan Vasyl' Lypkivs'kyi, *Istoriia ukrains'koi pravoslavnoi tserkvy,* pt. 1: *Vidrodzhennia ukrains'koi tserkvy* (Winnipeg, 1961).

[3] Derived from the word *otaman* (an independent Cossack military or guerilla leader), the term denotes anarchy, lack of a single authority, etc.

[4] The most biased among the Russian publications on the UAOC appears to be a brochure by S. Ranevskii, *Ukrainskaia avtokefal'naia tserkov'* (Jordanville, N.Y., 1948); a more serious and less hostile attitude is taken by K. V. Fotiev, *Popytki ukrainskoi tserkovnoi avtokefalii v XX v.* (Munich, 1954). The most sympathetic treatment, relatively speaking, of the UAOC is Walter Kolarz, *Religion in the Soviet Union* (New York, 1966), chap. 3. F. Heyer, in his *Die Orthodoxe Kirche in der Ukraine von 1917 bis 1945* (Cologne, 1953), appears to share the Russian Orthodox Church's view of the UAOC's canonical "illegitimacy," but he offers a great deal of valuable detail on this church.

[5] The patriarchate's view of the UAOC has remained unchanged since the latter's inception. See Patriarch Tikhon's letter of March 1922 to the patriarchal locum tenens in Constantinople, urging him to join the Moscow patriarchate in pronouncing anathema upon the "Ukrainian schism" and its "blasphemous hierarchy" (reproduced in Michel d'Herbigny, S.J., ed., "Dossier américain de l'Orthodoxie Panukrainienne," *Orientalia Christiana* 1, no. 4 [July–September 1923]: 135–39). Note a resolution of the Sobor of Bishops of the ROC on 8 September 1943, "unfrocking" the episcopate of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in German-occupied Ukraine. Cf. also, Patriarch Pimen's message to Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople on 16 March 1972, warning the latter against contacts with a "schismatic group . . . calling itself 'Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA'" (*Zhurnal moskovskoi patriarkhii,* 1972, no. 5, pp. 7–8).

[6] For the Soviet evaluation of the UAOC, see Vasyl' Ellan (Blakytnyi), *Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na tserkva i ii poperednyky* (Kharkiv, 1923); Ivan Sukhopliuiev, *Ukrains'ki avtokefalisty* (Kharkiv, 1925); Iu. Samoilovich, *Tserkov' ukrainskogo sotsial-fashizma* (Moscow, 1932); and K. Ie. Dmytruk, *Pid shtandartamy reaktsii i fashyzmu* (Kiev, 1976).

writings, dispersed press accounts and unpublished archival documents, this paper reexamines the post-1917 ecclesiastical Ukrainization movements other than the UAOC. Special reference will be made to the so-called Lubny Schism, or the "Conciliar-Episcopal Church" led by Bishop, later Metropolitan, Feofil Buldovs'kyi.

ORIGINS

Like the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the other Ukrainization movements within the Orthodox church trace their origins to the national church movement that surfaced in the Ukraine in the wake of the February 1917 revolution.[7] Paralleling the political movement for an autonomous and, later, for a sovereign Ukrainian state, the church movement called for a thorough reorganization of the Orthodox church in the Ukraine. It aimed at the emancipation of the Orthodox church in the Ukraine from Russian control and, eventually, at its complete independence (autocephaly). It demanded a de-Russification of the church's leadership and rite and the adoption of the Ukrainian language in services and administration (Ukrainization). Other demands were the democratization of ecclesiastical government and the participation of lower clergy and laymen at all levels of church administration through a hierarchy of elected councils (sobors) of bishops, priests, and laymen (conciliarism). While sharing these objectives, the leaders of the Ukrainian church movement — urban and military clergy, teachers in theological seminaries, and lay intellectuals — differed widely over the methods and the timing of ecclesiastical reforms. "Radicals" like V. Lypkivs'kyi,[8] M. Moroz,[9] and

[7] On the formative stage of the Ukrainian church movement, see this writer's "The Church and the Ukrainian Revolution: The Central Rada Period," in Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917–1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 21–46.

[8] The well-known Kievan archpriest Vasyl' Konstantynovych Lypkivs'kyi (1864–1938?) headed diocesan congresses of clergy and laymen in Kiev following the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. A founder of the "Resurrection Brotherhood" (in November 1917) which soon transformed itself into the "All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council," Lypkivs'kyi emerged as the principal leader of the Ukrainian church movement. For his short autobiography, written in December 1933, see Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* pp. lxxvi–ii.

[9] Mykhailo Naumovych Moroz, a former Kiev *zemstvo* activist, headed the "Second" All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council (1919–1924) and chaired the "First" All-Ukrainian Church Sobor (October 1921); he was ordained in 1922. After the Sobor of 1921, Moroz found himself in a deepening conflict with Metropolitan Lypkivs'kyi over the issue of "conciliar" vs. episcopal authority within the UAOC. As a

V. Chekhivs'kyi[10] were desperate enough to sacrifice canonic considerations for the sake of "liberating" the Ukrainian church in the face of a united episcopal opposition to Ukrainian demands. On the other hand, "moderates" like F. Buldovs'kyi and P. Pohorilko[11] were prepared to wait for a more auspicious time while working from within the traditional structure of the church to attain their aims by "canonical" means. On at least two occasions, the "moderates" succeeded in averting a complete break with the bishops. In November–December 1917, they persuaded the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church *Rada* (Council) to seek a compromise with Patriarch Tikhon and the episcopate in jointly convening the First All-Ukrainian Sobor in Kiev.[12] Following the All-Ukrainian Rada's formal proclamation of the autocephaly of the Ukrainian church in May 1920, the "moderates" were apparently instrumental in having Archbishop Parfenii (Levyts'kyi)[13] of Poltava — a subordinate of the Moscow patriarchate but a declared Ukrainian — assume the episcopal care of the newly-proclaimed UAOC.[14] In both these instances, however, the compromise solutions proved to be short-lived and disappointing. The politi-

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leader of the "conciliar" government faction within the council, Archpriest Moroz presided over the council of the Soviet-supported autocephalist splinter group called the Active Christian Church (1924–27). He is said to have subsequently repudiated the UAOC and to have abandoned the priesthood. At the "show trial" in March–April 1930 of the "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine" (SVU), Moroz appeared as a "witness." See Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii,* 4, pt. 1: 162–64.

[10] Volodymyr Musiievych Chekhivs'kyi (1876– ?), a prominent Ukrainian Social Democrat, served as premier of the first cabinet of the Directorate (1918–19). One of the leading figures of the Ukrainization movement within the church from the early 1900s, Chekhivs'kyi emerged, after 1921, as the chief ideologist of the UAOC and a close collaborator of Lypkivs'kyi. His past prominence in Ukrainian politics made Chekhivs'kyi a chief target during the Soviet pogrom of prominent Ukrainian intellectuals in 1929–30 and a "star defendant" at the SVU trial in 1930. He perished in Soviet prison camps in the late 1930s or early 1940s.

[11] For biographical details on Pohorilko, see pp. 104–106.

[12] Ivan Shram, "Iak tvorylas' Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na tserkva," *Na varti* (Volodymyr Volyns'kyi), 1, nos. 5–6 (March 1925): 17–18.

[13] Archbishop Parfenii Levyts'kyi (1858–1922), formerly of Podillia, was one of the very few "Ukrainophiles" among the Orthodox bishops. Instrumental in the publication in 1906–1907 of the first Synod-approved Ukrainian translation of the Gospels (by P. Morachevs'kyi), he was removed from the Kam"ianets' see for his "Ukrainophile" activities and retired in 1917. At Patriarch Tikhon's request, he assumed the provisional administration of the vacant Poltava diocese in April 1920.

[14] See "Pismo Arkhiepiskopa Parfeniia k upravliaiushchemu kievskoi eparkhiei episkopu Nazariiu," dated 11 August 1920, reproduced in full in "Materiialy do istorii borot'by za avtokefaliiu ukrains'koi tserkvy," *Relihiino-naukovyi vistnyk* (Aleksandrów Kujawski), 3, nos. 7–8 (February–March 1923): 43.

cal solution that could have been imposed by the Ukrainian government during 1917–18 was along the lines taken by Orthodox states in the past and could have satisfied both wings of the Ukrainian church movement. But the Central Rada and the Hetmanate's administration failed, for very different reasons, to intervene forcefully and opportunely in the Ukrainian-Russian church struggle.[15] When such intervention finally came, in January 1919, under the Directorate government in the form of a "Law on the Supreme Authority in the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church," it was too late to implement the law in the face of the second Soviet Russian invasion of the Ukraine.[16] Paradoxically, it was the destructive religious legislation introduced by the victorious Bolshevik regime in the Ukraine that made it possible for Ukrainian Autocephalists to take over a number of churches and Ukrainize a series of parishes in defiance of the bishops, thus setting an institutional grass-roots base for the All-Ukrainian Church Rada.[17]

THE SPLIT AT THE SOBOR OF 1921

Following its proclamation of independence from the Moscow patriarchate on 5 May 1920, during the short-lived recapture of Kiev by Ukrain-

[15] See Oleksandr Lotots'kyi, "Tserkovna sprava na Ukraini," *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk* 22, no. 5 (1923): 61–69; idem, "Na svitanku tserkovnoho vidrodzhennia," in *Kalendar-al'manakh "Dnipro" na perestupnyi rik 1928* (Lviv, 1927), pp. 99–106; V. V. Zenkovskii, "Vospominaniia (1900–1920): Piat' mesatsei u vlasti (moe uchastvie v ukrainskoi zhizni)," pt. 1 (1952), unpublished manuscript, Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture, Columbia University; and Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy 1917–1923 rr.* (Uzhhorod), vol. 1 (1930), pp. 407–411, and vol. 2 (1932), pp. 321–34. A limited autonomy, under the patriarch of Moscow and his synod, was granted to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in a *Polozhenie* adopted by the All-Ukrainian Sobor on 9 July 1918, and amended by Tikhon and the All-Russian Sobor in September 1918 (Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy,* 2: 328–30, appendix 11, p. lxii).

[16] See I. Lypa, "Iak ia pishov u revoliutsiiu: Uryvok iz shchodennyka," in *Kalendar-al'manakh "Dnipro" na perestupnyi rik 1928,* pp. 95–99. For a complete text of the Autocephaly Law of 1 January 1919, see *Vira ta derzhava,* 1 January 1919, p. 1.

[17] On 22 January 1919, the Soviet Ukrainian government in Kharkiv adopted a "Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and of School from the Church." This was a carbon copy (except for one omission corrected in 1920) of the Russian Separation Decree of 5 February 1918. For the text of the January 22 decree and other relevant Soviet Russian and Ukrainian decrees and instructions on religion during 1919–20, see K. Z. Lytvyn and A. I. Pshenychnyi, eds., *Zakonodavstvo pro relihiini kul'ty: Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 71–88. The Ukrainian Autocephalists were the first ecclesiastical organization to recognize the separation decree in the Ukrainian SSR, at a time when it was bitterly opposed by the ROC.

ian and Polish forces,[18] the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Rada was left with the crucial problem of providing an episcopate for the UAOC. Unlike the Georgian Orthodox Church, which was led by its own bishops when it broke away from the Russian church in 1917, the UAOC failed initially to attract a single bishop in the Ukraine. By August 1920, however, Archbishop Parfenii of Poltava agreed in somewhat vague terms to assume the spiritual leadership of the Autocephalous church, admittedly in the hope of averting a "schism" while again seeking a canonical solution to Ukrainian demands.[19] In the spring of 1921, however, Parfenii was forced by the Moscow patriarchate to cut his links with the UAOC. This occurred after he was elected (in absentia) as an "All-Ukrainian Metropolitan" by the Kiev gubernia sobor in May 1921, a gathering which also adopted a series of radical resolutions challenging the established canons of the church.[20]

Having already announced the convocation of an All-Ukrainian Sobor for October 1921, the Rada searched in vain for Orthodox bishops willing to ordain the Autocephalist episcopate. On August 15, the Autocephalist leaders, despite their previous repudiation of the authority of the Moscow patriarchate, appealed to the "Sobor of Bishops of the Entire Ukraine," which was then in session, for the recognition of the All-Ukrainian Rada, the creation of an extraterritorial diocese for the Autocephalists, and the ordination of a separate Ukrainian bishop for such an independent diocese.[21] When, predictably, the bishops rejected the Ukrainian request, two episcopal candidates (S. Orlyk and P. Pohorilko) were dispatched late in August to the Georgian Orthodox Church, which was reportedly sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause. But with Russian-Georgian hostilities underway, the candidates were detained by the authorities in Kharkiv. They made last-hour attempts to obtain consecration from Parfenii of Poltava and Archbishop Agapit of Katerynoslav, but neither would consent to undertake the task.[22]

18 "Vid Vseukrains'koi pravoslavnoi tserkovnoi rady do ukrains'koho pravoslavnoho hromadianstva. Lyst pershyi" [5 May 1920], *Tserkva i zhyttia* (Kharkiv), 1927, no. 1, pp. 120–23.

19 See "Rezoliutsiia Vysokopreosviashchennoho Parkhveniia, Arkhyiepyskopa vseukrains'koho, po ukrains'kym tserkovnym spravam," *Tserkva i zhyttia,* 1927, no. 1, pp. 123–24; cf. "Materiialy do istorii," *Tserkva i zhyttia,* 1927, no. 1, pp. 43–46.

20 Sukhopliuiev, *Ukrains'ki avtokefalisty,* pp. 11-15, 36–42; see also the earlier resolutions of a pre-sobor gubernia conference of the representatives of rural Autocephalist parishes, reproduced in "Materiialy do istorii," pp. 47–55.

21 Archbishop Iosif (Krechetovich), *Proiskhozhdenie i sushchnost' samosviatstva lipkovtsev* (Kharkiv, 1925), p. 24.

22 Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* pp. 31–34. Earlier, the Autocephalists had tried unsuccessfully to persuade Bishop Antonin Hranovs'kyi (Granovskii) in Moscow to

As the Sobor assembled on 14 October 1921, in the ancient cathedral of St. Sophia, the last frantic appeal for a canonically ordained bishop was addressed by the gathering to the newly appointed patriarchal exarch of the Ukraine, Mikhail (Iermakov), who came to the Sobor on October 19, only to denounce it as lacking any canonical validity.[23] In desperation, the Sobor moderates continued negotiations with Mikhail and his two vicars during the next day, but without any success.[24] This ended any remaining illusions about the prospects of a compromise with the Russian hierarchy. The Autocephalous church was thus left with an agonizing choice: it could recognize its failure to acquire a canonically ordained episcopate and return to the ranks of the Russian church, or it could do away with those Orthodox canons that were invoked by the episcopate to frustrate the Ukrainian demands and resolve the question of the hierarchy in a revolutionary manner.

The debate in the Sobor that followed focused on one crucial question: Should the Sobor itself, in the absence of bishops, ordain the episcopate for the new church, and, if so, would this church still remain Orthodox? Positive answers to these questions were offered to the Sobor by the archpriest Vasyl' Lypkivs'kyi and the layman Volodymyr Chekhivs'kyi, two men who were to dominate the future course of the UAOC. They appealed to the long-abandoned practice of the early Church in arguing for the "natural right" of the Ukrainian believers against the canonic right of the church.[25] The negative was argued by an Orthodox missionary, Ksenofontii Sokolovs'kyi, who charged that the consecration of bishops by the Sobor's delegates would amount to a "Protestant deviation and betrayal of the Orthodox faith";[26] however, he offered no alternative solution to the Autocephalist predicament. In the vote that followed, the majority — its exact size is disputed in the literature[27] — supported the motion to ordain the first two bishops (V. Lypkivs'kyi and N. Sharaivs'kyi)[28] through the laying on of hands of the present clergy and laymen, but to have subsequent bishops consecrated by bishops alone, as

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assume Parfenii's place as the archpastor of the UAOC; later, Antonin emerged as a leading figure in the Renovationist coup of spring 1922.

23 Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* pp. 38–39.

24 Iosif (Krechetovich), *Proiskhozhdenie,* p. 26.

25 Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* pp. 39–40.

26 Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* p. 40.

27 Cf. Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* p. 40; and Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii,* 4, pt. 1: 118.

28 For a description of the consecration of Lypkivs'kyi and Sharaivs'kyi, see the account of Archbishop Ivan Pavlovs'kyi, "Pershyi Vseukrains'kyi pravoslavnyi tserkovnyi sobor," *Tserkva i zhyttia,* 1927, nos. 2–3, pp. 197–205.

had been the practice of the Orthodox church. This compromise formula, forced upon the Sobor by the refusal of the canonic bishops to ordain an Autocephalist episcopate, did not satisfy the small minority of delegates who left the Sobor, insisting on the literal observance of the Orthodox canons. Among them, according to Lypkivs'kyi, were the archpriests Sokolovs'kyi and Pohorilko, the member of the All-Ukrainian Rada Serhii Pylypenko, two priests from Poltava, and others.[29]

THE 1922 SOBOR CONFERENCE

The Bolshevik attack on the Patriarchal church as the last major bastion of conservative nationalist opposition to the regime culminated by spring 1922 in the arrest of Patriarch Tikhon and with the authorities' preventing his appointed deputies from taking on his duties. This facilitated the seizure of the church's supreme administration by the so-called progressive clergy, or the "Living Church" group, the most radical faction of the frustrated Renovationist movement in the Russian church (*obnovlenchestvo*).[30] Now, to prevent the Renovationist takeover of the Ukrainian exarchate, its bishops evidently decided to resort to a tactical device of provisional autocephaly for as long as the patriarchal administration remained paralyzed.[31]

Accordingly, the leaders of the exarchate issued a call for an All-Ukrainian Orthodox Sobor of bishops, clergy, and laymen to meet in Kiev in September 1922 for the purpose of "discussing the problems of proposed reforms in ecclesiastical life and contemporary church currents." At the last moment, however, the authorities banned the Sobor,[32] allowing only a "private conference" of some 84 delegates (including 12 bishops). Presided over by Exarch Mikhail, the three-day conference

29 Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia*, p. 40.

30 For differing evaluations of the Renovationist movement, see Julius F. Hecker, *Religion under the Soviets* (New York, 1927), a sympathetic account by a one-time supporter of the movement; Sergius Troitskii's essay "The Living Church," in William C. Emhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia: Anarchy* (Milwaukee, 1929), representative of the views of Russian émigré churchmen; A. A. Shishkin, *Sushchnost' i kriticheskaia otsenka "obnovlencheskogo" raskola russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi* (Kazan, 1970), reflecting the current Soviet attitude towards the Renovationists; and the most recent account, by Anatolii Levitin [Krasnov] and Vadim Shavrov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkovnoi smuty*, 3 vols. (Küsnacht-Zurich, 1978).

31 "Sviashchennyi sinod Ukrainskoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi," *Pravoslavnyi kalendar na 1926 god*, 2nd ed. (Kharkiv, 1926), p. 3.

32 A. Pokrovskii, "Avtokefaliia pravoslavnoi tserkvi na Ukraine," *Ukrains'kyi pravoslavnyi blahovisnyk* (Kharkiv), 1925, no. 18, p. 5.

(September 2–4) adopted, after a prolonged and heated debate, an important resolution which contained major, albeit formal and belated, concessions to the aspirations of the Ukrainian church movement. By an "overwhelming majority of votes," read the resolution, the conference decided in favor of: (a) autocephaly for the Orthodox church in the Ukraine, with the request that the Holy Sobor of Bishops of the Entire Ukraine declare, at its first meeting of the current session, that the Ukrainian church has, as of today, taken the road of autocephaly, and take measures for the realization of this autocephaly in a legal-canonical manner; (b) the introduction into the ecclesiastical life of a broad conciliar principle (*shirokaia sobornopravnost'*); (c) Ukrainization of church services and ecclesiastical life, but without coercion.[33] Urging the bishops to implement the "principles of autocephaly, conciliarism, and Ukrainization . . . as early as possible," the conference also elected a commission to discuss with representatives of the Ukrainian Autocephalous church "the question of ending the schism in the Orthodox Ukrainian church."[34]

The unexpected strength of pro-Ukrainian sentiments at the conference carried this gathering far beyond its mandate and the intentions of the bishops. Not surprisingly, the Sobor of Bishops that met on September 5 to consider the conference's recommendations took a more cautious line. Pleading canonical considerations, the bishops claimed the benefits of autocephaly without actually proclaiming it:

> . . . decision on the question of autocephaly falls within the competence of the All-Ukrainian Church Sobor; until its convocation, all questions of ecclesiastical-religious life in the Ukraine shall be finally decided by the Holy Sobor of Bishops of the Entire Ukraine, from which alone the episcopate of the Ukraine can receive directives with regard to ecclesiastical-religious life.[35]

An equally procrastinating stand was taken by the bishops on the questions of conciliarism and the Ukrainization:

> . . . (1) to recommend to the bishops that they should immediately organize local commissions for the study of the questions of diocesan administrative reforms . . . (2) to recommend to the bishops the adoption of such measures on the inclusion of the laymen into the diocesan administration, as will be found necessary under the circumstances and permissible from the canonical point of view, to enliven the activities of brotherhoods, sisterhoods, and various religious associations in the

33 "Avtokefaliia pravoslavnoi ukrainskoi tserkvi v soveshchanii deputatov Kievskogo sobora 1922 goda," *Golos pravoslavnoi Ukrainy* (Kharkiv), 1925, no. 3, p. 5.
34 "Avtokefaliia pravoslavnoi ukrainskoi tserkvi," p. 5.
35 "Avtokefaliia pravoslavnoi ukrainskoi tserkvi," p. 5.

parishes; (3) to confirm that the use of one or the other liturgical language depends on the parishioners. . . .[36]

The attempt at reconciliation with the Ukrainian Autocephalous church ended, not surprisingly, in failure. When the five-man delegation elected by the conference met with the representatives of the All-Ukrainian Rada (headed by V. M. Chekhivs'kyi), the breach separating the two groups proved impassable. Thus ended the only serious attempt on the part of the Patriarchal church to explore the possibilities of healing the split among the Ukrainian Orthodox. The political orientation of the Russian episcopate and the nature of the reforms adopted by the autocephalist Sobor of 1921 made a mutually acceptable compromise between the two sides impossible.[37] While events in Moscow and the continued successes of the UAOC in the Ukraine made the conference of 1922 more inclined to concede to the aspirations of the Ukrainian church movement, the latter distrusted the motives and sincerity of the Patriarchal church. This distrust seemed to be well justified in the light of subsequent developments. The principles of autocephaly, conciliarism, and Ukrainization embraced by the conference were never implemented within the Ukrainian exarchate, and in 1924 Patriarch Tikhon dismissed the idea of Ukrainian autocephaly as being merely a provisional device used during his imprisonment.[38]

The main purpose of the declaration on autocephaly by the conference and the Sobor — namely, the prevention of the "progressive" invasion of the Ukraine — failed, too. Before long, the Patriarchal church in the Ukrainian SSR was torn apart by the Renovationist schism, while its principal episcopal opponents were arrested or deported.[39]

THE "LUBNY SCHISM"

With the Russian Orthodox Church in the Ukraine locked in a mutually debilitating Tikhonite-Renovationist struggle, a new split occurred in the ranks of the Patriarchal church in the Ukraine. Although limited in territorial scope, the split also affected both the Autocephalous and the Reno

[36] "Avtokefaliia pravoslavnoi ukrainskoi tserkvi," p. 5.
[37] For an account of this meeting, see "Deianie sv. sobora ukrainskoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi 7–20 maia 1925 g.," *Ukrains'kyi pravoslavnyi blahovisnyk*, 1925, no. 16, p. 5.
[38] Patriarch Tikhon's conversation with Bishop Feofil Buldovs'kyi in September 1924, as reported in *Golos pravoslavnoi Ukrainy*, 1925, nos. 1–2, p. 7.
[39] Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche*, p. 96; M. Pol'skii, *Novye mucheniki rossiiskie*, vol. 2 (Jordanville, N.Y., 1957), p. 126.

vationist churches, and it once again dramatized the issues of "canonical" autocephaly and Ukrainization that seemed to have been safely buried after the conference of 1922. The genesis of the new church group, which came to be known as the "Lubny Schism" or *Buldovshchyna,*[40] went back to the early days of the Ukrainian church movement, when in addition to Kiev (where the movement culminated in the formation of the UAOC), a strong Ukrainian Orthodox center also emerged in the diocese of Poltava. Among the factors that contributed to Poltava's prominence were the relatively high degree of national consciousness among the local intelligentsia, the strong Ukrainian influence in the local theological seminary, and the rare fortune of having two declared Ukrainians occupy the Poltava episcopal see. One was Bishop Antonin (Hranovs'kyi), the future leader of the 1922 ecclesiastical revolution in Moscow, who headed the diocese before the 1905 revolution; the second was Archbishop Parfenii (Levyts'kyi), whom Tikhon recalled from retirement in the spring of 1920 to take the vacant Poltava see. In Parfenii the local "Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood of Poltava" found an authoritative leader and protector; not only did he allow the Ukrainization of one of the Poltava parishes, but he himself began to celebrate the liturgy in Ukrainian. When, in the summer of 1920, Parfenii agreed to take on the spiritual leadership of the whole Ukrainian Autocephalist movement, the Poltava hierarch became the focus of Ukrainian hopes for a "canonical" resolution of the problem of autocephaly. In 1921, after these hopes failed to materialize, Parfenii broke away from the UAOC, and he was soon followed by a group of Ukrainian clergymen who opposed the canonical reforms proposed by the Sobor of October 1921. While reverting to the Patriarchal church, these priests continued to advocate the basic principles of the UAOC, namely, autocephaly, Ukrainization, and conciliarism. The failure of the Patriarchal episcopate to implement these principles after they were adopted by the 1922 conference in Kiev could only produce resentment, which soon erupted in several dioceses as defiance of the ecclesiastical authority and as radical attempts to establish a "canonical autocephaly" from below.

In Poltava the movement for canonical autocephaly came to be headed by Archpriest Feofil Buldovs'kyi. Born in 1865, in the village of Vasylivka in the Poltava gubernia, Buldovs'kyi completed the Poltava Theological Seminary and was ordained in 1887. Having served as a parish priest,

[40] These derogatory designations appear in Pol'skii, *Novye mucheniki rossiiskie,* 2: 43; Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* pp. 160–62; and [the Moscow patriarchate], *Patriarkh Sergii i ego dukhovnoe nasledstvo* (Moscow, 1947), p. 48.

teacher of religion, and instructor at the diocesan school for girls, Buldovs'kyi became known for his liberal and "Ukrainophile" views and emerged as a central figure in the local national church movement.[41] In May 1917 he presented to the Poltava diocesan conference perhaps the most comprehensive program for the Ukrainization of the Orthodox church.[42] A member of the local "Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood," he occupied an important position in the Poltava diocesan administration and had previously collaborated closely with the late Archbishop Parfenii. Prodded by requests from local Ukrainian circles to elevate Buldovs'kyi to episcopal rank, the diocesan bishop Grigorii Lisovskii, assisted by Bishops Mykolai of Chyhyryn and Petro of Pereiaslav, consecrated him, on 14 January 1923, as the vicar bishop for Lubny and Myrhorod.[43] Known as a staunch opponent of the "uncanonical" UAOC, Buldovs'kyi was expected by the Russian bishops to weaken the Autocephalists' influence in the Poltava region. In the same year, another Ukrainian, Archimandrite Serhii (Labuntsev) — a follower of Buldovs'kyi — was ordained vicar for Pryluky.[44] Before long, Buldovs'kyi became the focus of a "canonical" Ukrainization movement which reached beyond the confines of his diocese and caused growing resentment among the Russian bishops.[45] In September 1924, Bishop Buldovs'kyi traveled to Moscow to answer, before Patriarch Tikhon, charges of "interference" and "separatism" made by neighboring bishops; he went armed with a petition from three Ukrainian bishops (himself, Labuntsev, and Pohorilko, who had recently joined them). According to a Renovationist source, at Buldovs'kyi's meetings with Tikhon on September 17 and 18 the patriarch simply reiterated his view that the Ukrainian autocephaly talked about in 1922 was merely a provisional, "decorative" measure that had lost its validity with Tikhon's return to office.[46] According to Buldovs'kyi's own account, however, the patriarch gave him a warm reception and implied that the matter of autocephaly should be

41 Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii,* 4, pt. 1: 89.

42 *Pro ukrainizatsiiu tserkvy: Doklad prochytanyi na poltavs'komu eparkhiial'nomu z"izdi dukhovenstva i myrian, 3-8 travnia 1917* (Poltava, 1917).

43 See "Ukhvala narady chleniv kharkivs'koho ieparkhiial'noho upravlinnia, nastoiateliv i tytariv tserkov m. Kharkova, shcho vidbulasia 17 i 21 chervnia 1943 r.," 4 pp. typewritten, Museum-Archive of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA, South Bound Brook, N.J., file C 105.

44 Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche,* p. 91.

45 Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii,* 4, pt. 1: 196. In response to complaints from the Poltava and several neighboring bishops, Patriarch Tikhon summoned Buldovs'kyi to Moscow.

46 According to the Renovationist *Golos pravoslavnoi Ukrainy,* 1925, nos. 1-2, p. 7.

decided by the Ukrainian bishops themselves.[47] One way or another, this meeting with Tikhon presumably convinced Buldovs'kyi that he should take the matter into his own hands.

Following Tikhon's death in April 1925, Buldovs'kyi openly repudiated the authority of the patriarchal exarch Mikhail in Kiev. Invoking Tikhon's alleged blessings, he issued a call to other Orthodox bishops and clergy to join him in forming an autocephalous but "canonical" Ukrainian Orthodox Church.[48] Among those who joined Buldovs'kyi in 1925 were members of the so-called *Ioannikievshchyna*, or followers of Archbishop Ioannikii (Sokolovs'kyi) of Katerynoslav, the same Sokolovs'kyi who at the Sobor of the UAOC in 1921 had argued against the uncanonical ordination of Ukrainian bishops. Ioannikii, who had made a futile attempt in 1923 to seize the vacated leadership of the Ukrainian exarchate as the self-proclaimed "representative of Patriarch Tikhon in the Ukraine" and had twice been suspended by the latter, finally broke with the Patriarchal church in 1924. A number of parishes in the Katerynoslav and Donbas regions left the patriarch's jurisdiction with him.[49]

Another dissident group that merged with Buldovs'kyi's group was led by the former Autocephalist leader Pavlo Pohorilko of Vynnytsia, who in 1917 had represented the Ukrainian clergy in the Central Rada and was later selected as one of the candidates for bishops of the UAOC.[50] Having

[47] "Ukhvala narady chleniv," pp. 1, 2; V. Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," manuscript, March 1944, Kirchheim, p. 4.

[48] There are widely differing accounts about the date on which Buldovs'kyi openly repudiated patriarchal jurisdiction. Heyer (*Die Orthodoxe Kirche*, p. 91) quotes an opponent of Buldovs'kyi, the Poltava priest Vladimir Kovalenko (from his unpublished memoirs, "Zametki po istorii tserkovnoi zhizni v Poltave i poltavskoi eparkhii v period vremeni 1920–1934 gg.," undated), who dated Buldovs'kyi's "schism" from May 1925, i.e., the period when, following Tikhon's death (7 April 1925), the authorities were mounting a concerted attack on the ROC. In the Ukraine, after Exarch Mikhail (Iermakov) was banned to the Caucasus, a major "reunion" effort was undertaken by the Renovationists on the eve of their sobor in Kharkiv, 17–20 May 1925 (see this writer's "The Renovationist Church in the Soviet Ukraine, 1922–1939," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 9, nos. 1-2 [27-28] (1961): 58-59. Surprisingly, an official publication of the Moscow patriarchate in 1947 (*Patriarkh Sergii i ego dukhovnoe nasledstvo*, p. 48), dated Buldovs'kyi's secession a year earlier, i.e., to at least before December 1924, when he was condemned by thirteen patriarchal bishops in the Ukraine (the latter date, too, is questionable). If this was a deliberate "mistake," the only motive would seem to be to present the Lubny Schism as a rebellion against Tikhon and to deprive Buldovs'kyi of his claim of having the patriarch's implicit support.

[49] "Novyi raskol sredi ukrainskikh tikhonovtsev," *Ukrains'kyi pravoslavnyi blahovisnyk*, 1926, no. 1, p. 9; see also "Deianiia," *Golos pravoslavnoi Ukrainy*, 1925, no. 12, p. 1.

[50] Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia*, pp. 33–34.

rejoined the Patriarchal church after the 1921 Sobor, Pohorilko later led a number of the Autocephalist and Patriarchal parishes in Podillia into the Renovationist camp.[51] In February 1923, Pohorilko attended the First All-Ukrainian Renovationist Congress in Kiev, and was there elected to the newly formed All-Ukrainian Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration.[52] In the same year he was consecrated in Moscow as the Renovationist bishop for Podillia. Shortly afterwards, however, Bishop Pohorilko seceded from the Renovationist church and proclaimed himself the head of an autocephalous group known as the "Fraternal Union of the Ukrainian Orthodox Parishes of the Autocephalous Church" (*BOUPPATs*, from *Brats'ke ob"iednannia ukrains'kykh pravoslavnykh parafii Avtokefal'noi tserkvy*).[53] Evidently, the new group initially had considerable support in Podillia; although failing to disrupt seriously the UAOC there, it did win over many Patriarchal and Renovationist parishes that were attracted by Pohorilko's personal prestige and the combination of "autocephaly," Ukrainian language, and "canonicity." But before long Pohorilko's following began to disintegrate, with many of his parishes going over to the UAOC.[54]

In May 1925, in the midst of the succession crisis, the leaders of these three dissident groups met in Lubny and proclaimed themselves a "Sobor of Bishops of the Entire Ukraine." At least four canonically ordained bishops participated: Archbishop Ioannikii (Sokolovs'kyi), and Bishops Feofil (Buldovs'kyi) of Lubny, Serhii (Labuntsev) of Pryluky, and Pavlo (Pohorilko).[55] Significantly, the Lubny meeting claimed to represent the "second session of the Kievan Sobor of Bishops" that had been convoked in 1922. Proceeding thus from the still unimplemented resolutions of the 1922 conference, the Lubny Sobor proclaimed the autocephaly of the Orthodox church in the Ukraine and formally renounced the authority of the Moscow patriarchate over the latter. Bishop Pavlo Pohorilko (in 1926 he was to be replaced by Buldovs'kyi) was elected to head the newly

[51] Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia*, pp. 159–60.
[52] "Novyi raskol," p. 9.
[53] "Novyi raskol"; cf. Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia*, pp. 124–25.
[54] Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia*, p. 125.
[55] Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche*, p. 91. Heyer also mentions a fifth participant, Bishop Serhii, a vicar in the Chernihiv diocese. According to Lypkivs'kyi (*Vidrodzhennia*, p. 161), a total of seven bishops participated in the formation of the new church (he might be including Kramarenko and Ivanyts'kyi). No mention of Ioannikii Sokolovs'kyi appears in the subsequent accounts of the *Buldovshchyna*, which suggests that he may have left the Conciliar-Episcopal Church at its very beginnings.

formed "Sobor of Orthodox Bishops of the Ukraine," an organization otherwise known as the "Conciliar-Episcopal Church";[56] the new church body was speedily "registered" (legalized) by the Soviet authorities, eager as ever to divide the Orthodox church.[57] Reportedly, two more bishops, Makarii Kramarenko and Ivanyts'kyi, were consecrated during the Lubny Sobor.[58]

The beleaguered Ukrainian exarchate, provisionally headed by Bishop Konstantin (Diakov) of Sumy,[59] now faced a simultaneous challenge on two fronts (excluding the UAOC): from the Renovationist "autocephaly" which was proclaimed by the "Second All-Ukrainian Local Sobor" convened by the Renovationists in Kharkiv on 17–20 May 1925 (from that time on the Renovationist church in the Ukraine was officially designated as the "[Ukrainian] Orthodox Autocephalous Synodic Church");[60] and the "canonical autocephaly" claimed by the Lubny Sobor. In desperation, and resorting to a maneuver similar to that employed after Tikhon's arrest in 1922, the acting exarch Konstantin and eight of his bishops appealed to the patriarchal locum tenens, Metropolitan Petr (Polianskii) of Krutitsy, to grant autocephalous status to the Ukrainian exarchate.[61] Evidently, however, Metropolitan Petr took no steps in this direction; he was soon arrested by the OGPU, in December 1925.

To counter the challenge from the newly established Conciliar-Episcopal Church, the exarchate's twelve or thirteen bishops, in a joint "Act" dated 5 January 1926, condemned Buldovs'kyi and his fellow bishops for ecclesiastical "separatism" and stripped them of their episcopal rank and communion with the Russian Orthodox Church.[62] The Act was sent to Moscow for the approval of the deputy locum tenens, Metro-

[56] Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 5; "Naipochesnishyi mytropolyt Teofil, kerivnychyi kharkivs'koi, poltavs'koi ta chastyny kurs'koi eparkhii," a one-page leaflet published in Kharkiv in late 1941 or early 1942.

[57] Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche,* p. 91.

[58] Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 5.

[59] Konstantin was then also administering the Kharkiv diocese and temporarily presiding, in the absence of the recently banned Exarch Mikhail, over the severely depleted and "de-registered" ROC organization in the Ukraine (see *Golos pravoslavnoi Ukrainy,* 1925, no. 3, pp. 7–8).

[60] See this writer's "The Renovationist Church," pp. 62–64.

[61] "Ukhvala narady chleniv," p. 1.

[62] "Ukhvala narady chleniv," p. 2. Strangely enough, an official publication of the Moscow patriarchate dates this act back to 25 December 1924, although in the same paragraph it implies that the document was composed in 1926. See A. A. Savich, "Kratkaia biografiia sviateishego patriarkha Sergiia," in *Patriarkh Sergii i ego dukhovnoe nasledstvo,* p. 48.

politan Sergii (Stragorodskii), who summoned Buldovs'kyi to answer the exarchate's charges. When Buldovs'kyi failed to appear in Moscow,[63] Sergii approved the resolution of the twelve bishops but, significantly, amended the latter by offering the Lubny schismatics the right "to ask for forgiveness or to request a reconsideration of their case by the bishops' sobor of the All-Russian Patriarchate."[64] Although the "schismatics" refused to take advantage of Sergii's offer, it took a surprisingly long time — eighteen years, that is, until 1944 — for Sergii (by then patriarch of Moscow) to "finally and without any reservations" approve the "resolution of the thirteen [*sic*] Ukrainian bishops" excommunicating Buldovs'kyi and other members of his "Sobor of Bishops."[65] Ironically, by then the Conciliar-Episcopal Church had long ceased to exist, and its founder was either dead or dying in Poltava. Seeking to "rehabilitate" himself, Buldovs'kyi appealed against the January 1926 act to the Renovationist Supreme Church Administration in Moscow, which officially declared this resolution null and void.[66] Nevertheless, a number of the new church's parishes were sufficiently impressed by the patriarchate's condemnation of the Lubny Schism to return to the fold of the Russian Orthodox Church.[67]

The secession of several bishops from the Patriarchal church in the Ukraine dealt a serious blow to the exarchate. Centered in the Poltava region (especially in the districts of Lubny, Myrhorod, and Lokhvytsia), Buldovs'kyi's Conciliar-Episcopal Church also attracted a number of parishes in the Katerynoslav, Vynnytsia, Kharkiv, Chernihiv, and Donbas areas, mostly from the Patriarchal church, but also from the UAOC. Initially, perhaps as many as four hundred parishes went over to that church.[68] In 1927 Buldovs'kyi was elevated to archbishop, and in

63 Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 5. According to Potiienko, the NKVD prevented Buldovs'kyi from traveling to Moscow.

64 Savich, "Kratkaia biografiia," p. 48. According to Kovalenko (cited by Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche*, p. 92), who dates the bishops' "trial" in absentia of Buldovs'kyi and his fellow bishops to 4–5 June 1925, the sentence required "that the sectarians of Lubny be submitted to church penance and that, until they recognize their errors and make the penance, they should be deprived of priesthood and excommunicated."

65 Savich, "Kratkaia biografiia," p. 48.

66 Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," pp. 5–6; "Ukhvala narady chleniv," p. 2.

67 Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 5.

68 "Tserkovni spravy na Kharkivshchyni," *Ukrains'ka pravoslavna tserkva* (Kholm), 2, no. 4 [45] (20 January 1942): 1. According to a better informed account, Buldovs'kyi's church organization had some two hundred parishes (Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 5).

1929 he was given the title of "Metropolitan of the Entire Ukraine."[69] The generally hostile and contradictory contemporary sources give little information about the composition of the new group or its subsequent fortunes. It appears that apart from its stand on autocephaly, the Conciliar-Episcopal Church, unlike the UAOC, did not admit priests or laymen to ecclesiastical government, and allowed the liturgical language to be chosen by each parish.[70] During the next few years, redefections and administrative obstacles apparently substantially reduced the church's following. After some time, Buldovs'kyi transferred its center to Kharkiv; later, after his last church was closed there in 1937, he settled in the city of Luhans'k (Voroshylovhrad) in Donbas. He continued to live there as a layman until the German invasion of the Ukraine.[71] Then, in November 1941, Buldovs'kyi proclaimed himself metropolitan of Kharkiv and Poltava. Supported by the national Ukrainian circles in those two regions and commanding respect widely among believers, Buldovs'kyi expanded his jurisdiction to the Donbas, Voronezh, and Kursk regions during the next year. Following a meeting with the UAOC representative, Archbishop Mstyslav (Skrypnyk), in July 1942, Metropolitan Buldovs'kyi joined the revived Ukrainian Autocephalous church,[72] thus providing the reconstituted UAOC with its most important link to the interwar Ukrainian church. Unlike the original UAOC of Lypkivs'kyi, its wartime successor was led by the canonically-ordained episcopate. While claiming the legacy of the "old" UAOC, it shied away from the canonical reforms

[69] "Naipochesnishyi mytropolyt Teofil."

[70] Potiienko, "Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 6. According to Potiienko, Buldovs'kyi was an "Ukrainophile," but not a Ukrainian nationalist. An ardent opponent of the "non-canonical UAOC" after the Sobor of 1921, Buldovs'kyi firmly believed that bishops alone should govern the church. On principle, he was for the use of Ukrainian as a liturgical language and, in fact, he and his priests used liturgical books published by the UAOC. But he would not impose the Ukrainian language, leaving the choice of liturgical language to the priests and the faithful. Most of his parishes opted for retention of Church Slavonic. But as repressions began against the UAOC, even the minority of parishes who had switched to Ukrainian hastened to revert to Church Slavonic. Although Buldovs'kyi was an opponent of monasticism, he was a traditionalist who opposed any changes in liturgy or rites while supporting a revival of ancient Ukrainian church traditions.

[71] Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche*, p. 92.

[72] For the text of the union act, see "Protokol 27-ho lypnia 1942 roku, m. Kharkiv," 1 typewritten page, Museum-Archive of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA, file C 105. In October 1942, Metropolitan Feofil, accompanied by two clergymen, traveled to Luts'k to attend a sobor of bishops of the UAOC which was convened for October 2–9; however, at the last minute the German occupation authorities prohibited the gathering (Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 4, pt. 2: 240–41).

of the Sobor of 1921 in Kiev. The orientation of the wartime Ukrainian Autocephalous church thus brought it closer to the program pursued by Buldovs'kyi since the 1920s than to the program of Lypkivs'kyi, and it made possible the merger of the two church groups that occurred in 1942.[73]

In his rather subjective account of the contemporary ecclesiastical events, Metropolitan Lypkivs'kyi subsequently accused the Lubny Schism of having consciously or unwittingly carried out the Soviet plan of undermining the Patriarchal church in the Ukraine, and he even claimed that Buldovs'kyi enjoyed the support of the GPU.[74] While such circumstances as Buldovs'kyi's survival of the great purges of the 1930s,[75] the reticence of the patriarchate in dealing with the Lubny Schism, and the absence in Soviet anti-religious literature of charges of "anti-Soviet activities" or "Ukrainian nationalism" against this group might give some plausibility to this view, it must be kept in mind that from the early days of the Soviet regime, all church groups were compelled to deal in one way or another with the Cheka-GPU (and later the NKVD) as the agency vested with the day-to-day surveillance of religious activities. Furthermore, the wide respect and continued support enjoyed by Buldovs'kyi in the Left-Bank Ukraine even after the arrival of the Germans, as well as his subsequent merger with the strongly anti-Soviet wartime UAOC, place in doubt the charges advanced by Buldovs'kyi's opponents. Unlike most other Orthodox bishops, Buldovs'kyi remained with his flock when the Soviet authorities returned to Kharkiv in 1943.[76] Soon he was deprived of

[73] Cf. "Ukhvala narady chleniv," pp. 3–4. According to Potiienko, however, Buldovs'kyi may have had second thoughts about the subordination of his metropoly to the UAOC and its administrator, Metropolitan Polikarp (Sikors'kyi). Although he signed the 1942 union act, Buldovs'kyi failed to issue an appropriate directive to his clergy and did not mention Polikarp in his liturgical prayers. Later he reportedly said that he did not recognize the latter and that he would reconstitute his [own] sobor of bishops and declare himself "Metropolitan of the Entire Ukraine." In summer 1943, shortly before the Soviet recapture of Kharkiv, he turned against the UAOC ("Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 7).

[74] Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia,* pp. 125–26. Similar charges were advanced by Pol'skii (*Novye mucheniki rossiiskie,* 2: 43), while Heyer (*Die Orthodoxe Kirche,* p. 91) suggests that the authorities regarded the Lubny Schism as a welcome opportunity to split the church further.

[75] According to his supporters, Buldovs'kyi was arrested several times by the Soviets and experienced much hardship in his ecclesiastical and private life ("Naipochesnishyi mytropolyt Teofil").

[76] According to Potiienko ("Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na sobornopravna tserkva," p. 7), during the short-lived recapture of Kharkiv by the Soviet army in February 1943, Buldovs'kyi remained in the city and appealed in church for believers' support of the Soviet war effort — which probably saved him from reprisals by the NKGB.

his see and removed to Poltava, where, abandoned by his associates, he died.[77]

* * *

This paper has not discussed the Renovationist church in the Ukraine, which has been dealt with extensively elsewhere.[78] To be sure, this group, too, officially adopted autocephaly at its Sobor of May 1925 in Kharkiv, where it assumed the name of the [Ukrainian] Orthodox Autocephalous Synodic Church. Moreover, this autocephaly was duly confirmed, in October 1925, at the Third All-Russian Sobor of the Renovationist church, which declared the accession of the Kiev metropolitan see to the Moscow patriarchate in 1685 null and void.[79] However, this autocephaly was admittedly intended by the Renovationists to be a tactical device whose primary purpose was to woo away some Ukrainians from the Ukrainian Autocephalous church. In fact, the nominally independent Ukrainian Renovationist church remained represented on the Renovationist Holy Synod in Moscow, and, in December 1934, the Synod unilaterally abolished this Ukrainian autocephaly.[80] Although Ukrainization, if not conciliarism, was given token recognition by the Renovationist church, the latter remained in fact predominantly Russian in leadership, orientation, and language.[81]

In the three-cornered ecclesiastical struggle for the loyalties of Ukrainian believers, it was the Soviet regime that was to a large degree setting the rules of the game and changing them according to its current policy priorities. The Ukrainization movements in the Orthodox church, in particular the Ukrainian Autocephalous church, benefited both from the prolonged confrontation between the regime and the Moscow patriarchate and from the official Ukrainization policy pursued by the Kharkiv government during the 1920s. But once the patriarchate, in the person of its locum tenens, Metropolitan Sergii, accepted the regime's terms of surrender in 1927,[82] the authorities lost interest in encouraging further

77 The exact date of Buldovs'kyi's death cannot be determined. Reportedly, unlike most of his closest collaborators, he withstood pressure from emissaries of the Moscow patriarchate to do penance and rejoin the Russian Orthodox Church. At least one of his associates is said to have been executed by the police.

78 See this writer's "The Renovationist Church."

79 *Vestnik sv. sinoda pravoslavnykh tserkvei v SSSR* (Moscow), 1925, no. 6, p. 26.

80 Shishkin, *Sushchnost' i kriticheskaia otsenka,* p. 273.

81 See this writer's "The Renovationist Church."

82 For a discussion of the circumstances leading to Sergii's declaration of 29 July 1927 and its immediate consequences, see this writer's "Church-State Relations in the

schisms in the Orthodox church. By then, the official Ukrainization policy was on the decline and soon so-called bourgeois nationalism would be declared by Moscow to be the "main danger" in the Ukraine.

All religious organizations in the USSR came under violent attack in 1929, with Stalin's "revolution from above." But the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church alone was singled out for forcible "self-dissolution," as, allegedly, a "counter-revolutionary organization" and a "branch" of the newly "unmasked" and "underground" League for the Liberation of the Ukraine (SVU).[83] It was symptomatic of the new Soviet policy that a resolution forced upon the so-called liquidation Sobor of the UAOC in January 1930 explicitly condemned the three principles that have guided the national church movement since 1917: (1) *autocephaly* was now denounced as "a symbol of the Petliurite independence"; (2) *Ukrainization* was condemned as "a means of inciting national animosity"; and (3) *conciliarism* was dismissed as "a demagogical means of political influence."[84]

When the Second World War brought about a dramatic reversal in Stalin's religious policy and gave a new lease on life to the Russian Orthodox Church, the latter was unabashedly put to use as an instrument for the Sovietization and Russification of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholics. As in the secular sphere, so, too, in ecclesiastical life the very concept of "Ukrainization," let alone independence, has assumed a "nationalist" and "subversive" connotation. But behind the facade of the "monolithic unity" of the regime and the Russian church, Ukrainization remains a very much alive, if suppressed, idea and an unfulfilled popular aspiration.

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USSR," *Survey* 66 (January 1968): 16–19; and William C. Fletcher, *A Study in Survival: The Church in Russia 1927–1943* (London, 1965).

83 See *Izvestiia*, 22 November 1929, for a GPU communique announcing the "uncovering" of the "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine" and the UAOC's links with it. Cf. *Proletars'ka pravda* (Kiev), 22 December 1929.

84 See Dmytro Ihnatiuk, *Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na tserkva i Soiuz vyzvolennia Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1930), especially the "Sobor" resolution (pp. 27–31).

The Tribulations of 'Alī's Assassin: A Sixteenth-Century Shiite Poem in Azeri Turkic by Khiyālī Beg

A.J.E. BODROGLIGETI

For those in quest of the Islamic heritage of Central Asia, popular works such as Aḥmad's *Baraq-nāma*[1] or Ḫāliṣ's *Story of Ibrāhīm*[2] — legends and stories written for the general Muslim public — are of great importance. Their language takes us within earshot of the spoken language of their authors' time, whereas their content reveals the religious ideals and aspirations of the masses. Such works are, therefore, indispensable sources for research into the Islamic culture of Central Asia.

Khiyālī Beg's poem on the tribulations of 'Alī's assassin is one such popular work. But while most Central Asian works of this type are Sunnite in content, his work treats a Shiite topic: God's punishment of Ibn Muljam.

The text of the poem appears on the margins of pages 138v through 140v of Add. 7914, the famous manuscript of Eastern Turkic works that was described by Rieu in his *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1888; pp. 284–91).[3] It is found on the margins of those sections of Ḥaydar Khorezmī's *Maḫzanu'l-asrār* (The Treasury of Secrets) which deal with the story of Tīmūr, although it has no connection with that story. At places the text is blurred, but it is legible and seems to be complete. It bears the title *Manqabat min guftahā-i Ḫiyālī Bek*, or "A Legend from the Compositions of Khiyālī Beg." The copyist signs himself Abū'l-Qāsim bin Kunc. No date of composition or copying is given.

A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, "Aḥmad's Baraq-nāma: A Central Asian Islamic Work in Eastern Middle Turkic," *Central Asiatic Journal* 18 (1974):83–128. For an early published version of this story, see H. Vámbéry, *Ćagataische Sprachstudien* (Leipzig, 1867), pp. 59–70. I have since found a hitherto unnoticed version in the Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. turc 1189, 103r–107v.

2 A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, *Ḫāliṣ's Story of Ibrāhīm: A Central Asian Islamic Work in Late Chagatay Turkic* (Leiden, 1975).

3 Rieu's *Catalogue*, however, does not mention Khiyālī's poem.

I tentatively identify the *author of the poem,* Khiyālī Beg, as Mavlānā Khiyālī of Bukhara, a Central Asian poet mentioned in both Navā'ī's *Macālisu'n-nafā'is* and Daulatshāh's *Taẕkiratu'š-šu'arā.* This is what Navā'ī says about him:

Mavlānā Ḫiyālī Buḫārādīn dur va Ḫwāca 'Ismat šāgirdi dur. Bu maṭla' aniñg dur kim:

ay tīr-i ġamatrā dil-i 'uššāq nišāna
ḫalqī ba tu mašġūl va tu ġā'ib za miyāna.
gah mu'taqif-i dayram va gah sākin-i mascid
ya'nī ki turā mītalabam ḫāna ba ḫāna.

Özi hwaš-ḫulq va ḫwaš-ṭab' yigit ermiš. Hamānā qabrï Buḫārāda dur.[4]

/Mavlānā Khiyālī is from Bukhara and a student of Khoja 'Ismat. This *maṭla'* was composed by him:

"Oh, the hearts of lovers are the target for the
arrow of the sorrow that you cause.
"You occupy the thoughts of a vast multitude, but
of that you are quite unaware.
"Sometimes I am at prayer in the monastery, sometimes
I dwell in the mosque;
"That is, I search for you from door to door."

He was a virtuous and good-natured youth. His grave is in Bukhara./

Daulatshāh[5] provides almost the same information about Khiyālī, but he quotes a full ghazal[6] — a different one from that mentioned by Navā'ī — and says that Khiyālī's *Dīvān* was famous in Transoxiana, Badakhshan, and Turkestan.

The modern literary historian Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarras provides further information about Khiyālī in his *Raiḥānātu'l-adab,*[7] but does not indicate his sources. He says Khiyālī was related to Ulugh Beg and spent some time in Herat, for which he was also referred to as Hiravī.

The identity of this Khiyālī with the author of our poem is suggested by the following: (a) he was a poet of religious inspiration; (b) he lived in Herat at the court of Ulugh Beg; and (c) he was also well known in areas

4 *Macālisu'n-nafā'is,* manuscript Diez A. Oct. 100, 9v: 4–9.

5 Amīr Daulatshāh bin 'Alā'u'd-daula Bakhtishāh al-Ghāzī al-Samarqandī, *Taẕkiratu'š-šu'arā* (Tehran, 1959), p. 317.

6 Daulatshāh includes the ghazal which begins as follows: *har ki z īn vādī ba kōy-i baḫt u daulat mīrasad* 'whoever from this valley arrives at the street of fortune and happiness'. The Turkish adaptation of the *Taẕkiratu'š-šu'arā* by Süleyman Fehim (*Sefinetü'ş-şuara,* Istanbul, 1879) has this ghazal and also the one of which Navā'ī gives two *baits* (pp. 204–206).

7 Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarras, *Raiḥānātu'l-adab fī tarācimi'l-ma'rūfīn bi'l-kunyati au'l-laqabi,* vol. 2 (Tabriz, 1347 H.), p. 198.

populated by Turks. One must infer from these data that he was bilingual, that in Persian he would compose high-style ghazals and in Turkic, popular stories such as the legend of 'Alī's Assassin.

A case may be made against this identification: (a) Khiyālī of Bukhara, the student of 'Ismat Khoja, was probably a Sunnite, so it is unlikely that he would have composed a poem with such a strong Shiite flavor; (b) none of the sources mention that he wrote poems in Turkic; and (c) Khiyālī was not a rare *taḫallus* — Daulatshāh mentions two other poets with the same pen name, one in Sabzavar, and one in Tun.[8] Our poet may be one of them or someone else.

The *subject of the poem,* although not mentioned by name, is Ibn Muljam 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murādī, who on 17 Ramadan 40 / 24 January 661, with a sword dipped in poison, inflicted a fatal wound on the head of the caliph 'Alī. The *plot of the poem* is as follows. A sheikh who spends all his time in pious devotions comes upon Ibn Muljam as he is being cut in two, torn to pieces, and eaten up by a bird of terrifying appearance. When the bird has consumed Ibn Muljam, it regurgitates and, from the regurgitated morsels, Ibn Muljam resumes his previous form and comes to life again, ready to undergo the same torment. Questioned by the old man, the victim reluctantly confesses that it is he who mortally wounded 'Alī. Hearing this, the sheikh cuts his head off and is about to cut him to pieces when a voice tells him not to trouble himself, because this bird, at God's command, inflicts punishment on the assassin every day.

Three elements in the story merit special attention: (1) when the assassin is cut in two, the traces of Gabriel's feather, like sword cuts, are visible on the body; (2) the Qur'ānic injunction, according to which the door to God's forgiveness will open through repentance,[9] does not apply to Ibn Muljam, because for him there is no forgiveness; (3) the warning to the sheikh that he must not himself take vengeance for 'Alī's murder, because God knows how to punish him properly. These three elements support the Shiite claim that the man Ibn Muljam killed was a saint, a "Friend of God" (*valī Allāh*). Khiyālī emphasizes this claim when he has the assassin, during his confession, identify 'Alī by enumerating some of the miracles attributed to him.

[8] Daulatshāh, *Tazkiratu'š-šu'arā,* p. 317.

[9] Qur. 7, 161: ". . . and make petition for forgiveness, and enter the gate submissively, We shall forgive you your wrongs." *The Holy Qur'ān,* Arabic text, English translation and commentary by Maulana Muḥammad Ali, 6th ed. (Lahore, 1973), p. 353.

Khiyālī's poem is one of several legends dealing with the assassination of 'Alī. While most of the others have the caliph as their central figure and extol his acquiescence to his fate or his magnanimity toward his assassin, Khiyālī's poem treats the less common topic of what happened to Ibn Muljam as a result of his gruesome deed.

The description in this poem conflicts with what we know from historical sources. Most of them tell us that Ibn Muljam was punished by the caliph himself: he was sentenced to death in strict observance of the law of retaliation. On the other hand, Khiyālī's poem is quite in accord with what other legends tell us of 'Alī's assassination: the person who killed 'Alī, the saint, gets a most severe punishment, one which God alone can design. Such a person can never obtain God's forgiveness or find anyone to intercede for him. Furthermore, the poem suggests the reason for 'Alī's great compassion for Ibn Muljam. Just as 'Alī knew that Ibn Muljam would assassinate him, he probably also knew how Ibn Muljam would be punished after his death. The terrifying vision of God's vengeance may well have moved him to pity his assassin.

The *language* of Khiyālī's poem has grammatical and lexical features of different dialects and from different stages in the development of Turkic. These include elements peculiar to the morphology of Southern Turkic dialects together with those of Eastern Middle Turkic, words from Southern Turkic dialects together with words from Eastern Middle Turkic, and many lexical elements borrowed from Persian and many loan translations modeled on Persian words or phrases.

This situation poses a serious question for students of the history and dialectology of Turkic: was the language of this document actually spoken? Some scholars would probably dismiss the possibility and attribute the variants to a copyist or author working in a dialect other than his own. While such a view is not without foundation, this work was produced in an area where Turkic- and Persian-speaking peoples lived together. In such cases the emergence of "mixed" dialects was quite possible. The fact that popular works composed for a broad audience have mixed morphological and lexical features testifies to the existence of such dialects.

With this in mind, I list a few specific features of the language of our poem, citing all the occurrences in the text:

Words with initial /t-/ in Eastern Middle Turkic occur here overwhelmingly with initial /d-/ : *daġ* 'mountain', *dan͡g* 'dawn', *dart-* 'to pull', *din͡glä-* 'to listen', *diri* 'alive, living', *durġuz-* 'to pull up', *dut-* 'to take hold of'. Words which retain their initial /t-/ are: *tap-* 'to find', *Tan͡grï* 'God', *titrä-* 'to tremble', *tofraq* 'dust', *tök-* 'to pour'.

The dative case suffix is either (Southern Turkic) *-a* or (Eastern Turkic) *-ġa*. The suffix *-a* predominates: *'aqlïna* 'to his mind', *boynïna* 'upon his neck', *cānïma* 'to my soul', *ḥācata* 'to some need', *pïrtuġa* 'to the man in rags', *qulaġïna* 'to his ear', *yärä* to the ground', *kök yüzä* 'to the firmament'. With the suffix *-ġa* we have *aġzïġa* 'into his mouth', *gōšïġa* 'into his ears', *hūšïġa* '(to return) to his consciousness', *kitfiġa* 'upon his shoulders'.

The accusative suffix is either (Southern Turkic) *-i, -n,* or (Eastern Turkic) *-ni, -n*: *-i* (always after final *-m,* possessive or other): *ādamï* 'that man', *aḥvālïmï* 'my situation', *fi'limi* 'my deed'; *-n* (after nouns with the third person singular possessive suffix): *özin* 'himself', *namāzïn* 'his prayer', *yarïsïn* 'its half'; *-ni*: *bandïnï* 'his joints', *barčasïnï* 'all of them', *bašïnï* 'his head', *kišini* 'that person', *qušnï* 'the bird', *sözni* 'the word'.

The following postpositions occur: *ara* 1. 'in': *o manzil ara* 'in that place', 2. 'during, in the time of': *mi'rāc ara* 'during the Ascent to Heaven'; *bilä* 'with': *'ādat bilä* 'as was his habit', *o ḥālat bilä* 'in that situation', *'ibādat bilä* 'in the service of God', *ṣalābat bilä* 'with awesomeness'; *birlä* 'with': *bād-i ṣabā birlä* 'with the morning wind'; *ilä* 'with': *tïġïn͡g ilä* 'with your sword'; *kimi* 'like': *dōzaḫīlär kimi* 'like those condemned to Hell-fire'; *sarï* 'toward': *o nālān sarï* 'to that wailing one'; *sarïya* 'toward':[10] *yüz sarïya* 'toward (his) face'; *ṣifat* 'like': *lāla ṣifat* 'like a tulip'; *teg* 'like': *dan͡g yeli teg* 'like the morning wind'; *üzrä* 'upon': *yer üzrä* 'to the ground'.

The demonstrative pronouns *ol, o,* and *bu* are all used. *Ol* and *o* are variants and occur in equal number and with no difference in function: *ol nīknām* 'that man of good repute', *ol lāša* 'that corpse', *ol ḫašm* 'that rage', *ol ādamī* 'that man', *ol kim dur* 'who is he?', *ol kimsä* 'that person', *ol ki* 'he who', *ol bēnavā* 'that destitute one', *o quš* 'that bird', *o dam* 'at that moment', *o ḥālat* 'in that situation', *o manzil* 'that place', *o ādamī* 'that man'. *Bu* is rare and occurs only in nominal use:[11] *bu ne fiġān* 'what kind of lamentation is this?'

The predicative word expressing existence appears as both *var* (Southern Turkic) and *bar* (Eastern Turkic) without any functional or semantic distinction.

[10] The same as Eastern Middle Turkic *sarïġa*, for example, *maktab sarïġa* '(to return) to the school' (Bodrogligeti, *Ḫāliṣ's Story of Ibrāhīm*, pp. 10–11).

[11] It is surprising that *bu* is so rare in this document. In Eastern Middle Turkic, with which the language of our poem shares many features, *bu* is used more frequently. In the *Mu'īnu'l-murīd*, for example, it occurs in nine different functions.

In two instances forms of the Azeri Preterite Tense occur:[12] *čalmïšam* 'I hit', *qïlmamïšam* 'I did not do'.

Phrasal verbs are frequent in the text and often function as simple verbs: *havā qïl-* 'to fly' (for *uč-*), *ṣarf qïl-* 'to spend (one's life)' (for *kečür-* or *ötkär-*), *tamām et-* 'to conclude' (for *bitir-*).

TEXT

138v RM
1 Manqabat min guftahā-i Ḫiyālī Bek
2 var idi Šām ilkidä bir pīr mard
daġlar üzä dan͡g yeli teg tīz gard.
3 qïlmïš idi ahl-i cihāndïn kanār,
manzil u ma'vā an͡ga bir kunc-i ġār.
4 ṣarf qïlïp künläri ṭā'at bilä,
ötkärübän 'umri 'ibādat bilä.
5 bir kün edip ṣubḥ namāzïn tamām,
äl kötürüp ḥācata ol nīknām:
6 käldi qulaġïna bir ün zār zār,
titrär idi nālasïdïn kūhsār.
7 nāla qïlurdï ki "qïlïp män ḫaṭā,
bar dur iki dunyāda yüzüm qara!"
8 pīr čïqïp ġārdïn oldï ravān,
körä ki bu kim dur bu ne fiġān?

138v LoM
1 kördi yatur bir kišini sarnigūn,
bašdïn ayaġ lāla ṣifat ġarq-i ḫūn.
2 indi havādïn yärä bir quš ravān,
čekdi va durquzdï anï dar zamān.
3 var idi pïrtuġa o quš sahmnāk
cān qušï vahmïndan olurdï halāk.

139r LoM
1 pancasïnïn͡g har biri bir aždahā,
har ne ki dutsa daġï qïlmas rahā.
2 dartïp anïn͡g yarïsïn etdi cudā,
yuddï ravān učdï va qïldï havā.
3 yarïsï yer üzrä urup pēč u tāb,
dōzaḫīlär kimi čekärdi 'aẕāb.
4 dürtilürdä verür erdi 'iyān
šahpar-i Cabra'īl elindän nišān.

139r UM
1 učdï yana kök yüzä parvāz edip
bād-i ṣabā birlä özin sāz edip.
2 pīrġa äl verdi o dam özgä ḥāl,
tapdï o ḥālat bilä taġyīr-i ḥāl.

[12] See M. Sh. Shiraliev et al., *Grammatika Azerbajdžanskogo jazyka* (Baku, 1971), p. 125. This form has also entered the language of Eastern Middle Turkic poetry; see J. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual* (The Hague, 1966), p. 167. For example, Shaybanī's *Baḥru'l-hudâ* has *körsätmišäm* 'I have shown' (21v:6).

3 pīr yänä käldi ču öz hūšïġa,
käldi bir āvāz anïn͡g gūšïġa:
4 "dur yüri ol lāša sarï qïlma bāk
qïlma ḥaẕar, olmaġïl andīšanāk!"

139r LeM
1 indi yärä yänä o 'ādat bilä,
yänä ham ol ḫašm u ṣalābat bilä.
2 dam ura čūn aġzïn ačar dam ba dam
šu'la čekär aġzïdïn odluq 'alam.
3 bas ki čïḫar aġzïdïn od pēčāb
har ne ki dur aġzïġa olur kabāb.
4 bandïnï bandïdïn edip rīz rīz,
'aqlïna hēč qalmadï rāh-i gurīz.
5 yedi anïn͡g barčasïnï ṭu'mavār,
bir dam o manzil ara dutdï qarār.
6 qusdï yärä yänä ham ol ādamī
yänä ham ol šakl va ham ol ādamī.

139v RM
1 pīr ravān oldï o nālān sarï,
ḥāl-i dil-i zār u parīšān sarï.
2 kördi yatur bir kišini sarnigūn,
bašdïn ayaġ lāla ṣifat ġarq-i ḫūn.
3 dedi kim, "ay hacr elindä mubtalā,
söylä gunāhïn͡g ne dur, ay bīnavā!"
4 "sorma" der "aḥvālïmï, ay pāk dīn
qoy mäni ġam elgidä zār u ḫazīn.
5 "gar bilä sän fi'limi qušdan bätär
cānïma sän ham ola sän raḫnagar."
6 pīr der, "ay 'aql u ḫiraddïn ḫirif!
sän ki erür sän sučun͡ga mu'tarif.
7 "sän ki bilür sän ki qïlïp sän gunāh,
šimdi erür sän sučun͡ga 'uẕrḫwāh.

139v LoM
1 "Tan͡grï karīm u aḥad u bībadal
yoq tur anïn͡g ẕātïda širk u ḫalal.
2 "tavba qïl fi'lindin [ayā] bū'l-fużūl,
tavba erür Tan͡grï qatïnda qabūl.
3 "daġča gunāhïn͡g ola yā bir bučuq,
šukr ki bar tavba qapusï ačuq."

140r LoM
1 yïġlap aydur, "qïlmamïšam ol gunāh,
kim ola bir kimsä man͡ga 'uẕrḫwāh.
2 "yanmaq va qalmaq tur išim tā abad,
kimsädän olmas man͡ga hargiz madad.
3 "čalmïšam ol kimsäyä, ay pīr, tīġ,
šimdi emäs sūd an͡ga āh u dirīġ!"
4 pīr der, "ol kim durur, ay šarmsār!
kim tanï bar tīġin͡g ilä zaḫmdār?"

140r LeM
1 der "nečä kim bar män išimdin ḫacal,
din͡glä däyim kim durur ol šīrdil.

2 "ol ki ḥaẕar qïlmadï šamšīrdän,
sahladï Salmānï dum-i šīrdan.
3 "ol ki bešikdä [qï]lur żarb aždahā,
qïldï sarāsar anï az ham cudā.
4 "ol ki falakdan künäši bīgumān,
qïldï yänä käldügi yola ravān.
5 "ol ki Batūl oldï anïn͡gčün ḥaram,
ol ki nabī kitfiġa basdï qadam.
6 "har ne ki mi'rāc ara kečdi nihān,
qïldï nabī yanïnda barï 'iyān.

140r UM

1 "ya'nī 'Alī ol šah-i Duldul savār,
kim anïn͡g ḥukmïnda idi Ẕū'l-fiqār."
2 pīrġa ġayrat verip äl čekti tīġ,
käsdi tanïdïn bašïnï bīdirīġ.
3 bandïnï bandïndan edärdi cudā,
käldi anïn͡g gōšïġa nāgah ṣadā:

140v UM

1 "qïlma özün͡g ranca ki parvardagār
qïlmïš o qušnī boynïna dūčār.
2 "kim qïla har kündä anï laḫt laḫt,
ṭu'ma qïlïp yūz kurraz, ay nīkbaḫt!
3 "nedä kim ola ki čekä intiqām
ḥażrat-i šah ḫaṣmïdïn, [ay] nīknām!"
4 pīr išitdi ču bu sözni ravān
közläridin yüz sarïya tökdi qan.

140v RM

1 dedi kim, "ḫāliq-i 'arż u simā,
'āṣīyä yaḫšï verür sän cazā!
2 "har nečä kim 'ācizam va šarmsār,
šukr ki bar män 'Alīyä dōstdār!"
3 har nečä kim bolsa Ḫiyālī diri,
bolġusï šah itlärinin͡g kamtarï.
4 ölsä olar yādïla ol bēnavā
tofraqïdïn baš čekä mihrgiyā.
5 kim ki ölä ġayr-i nabī u valī,
bašda közüm yoq olarï körgäli!"
6 katabahu al-'abdu'l-faqīr
Abū'l-Qāsim bin Kunc.

TRANSLATION

A Legend from the Compositions of Khiyālī Beg

138v RM

(2) There [once] was an old man in the land of Syria [who would fly] over the mountains as swiftly as the morning breeze.[13]

[13] Saints could fly.

(3) He shunned the people of [this] world: his station and abode[14] was a corner of a cave.
(4) He spent his days in pious acts. In the service of God he spent his life.
(5) One day, having finished his morning prayer, that man of good repute had just raised his hands in supplication[15]
(6) When the sound of bitter weeping reached his ears, [a sound so pitiful] that the mountains began to tremble.
(7) The voice cried out, "I have committed a sin, [and now] my face will remain black in the Two Worlds."
(8) The old man came out of the cave and went off to see who it was and why he was lamenting.

138v LoM

(1) He saw a person on the ground lying face down, covered from head to foot with blood, like a tulip.
(2) [And then] from the air a bird suddenly swooped to the ground. It dragged the man along the ground and then stood him upright.
(3) To the old man in rags that bird was terrifying. The bird of life would perish in fear of it.

139r LoM

(1) Each of its claws was a dragon. Whatever it seized, it would never again release.
(2) [Then the bird] pulled at [the man's body and] cut it into two. [Then he] swallowed half of it, took off suddenly, and flew away.
(3) The [other] half [of the man's body] lay writhing on the ground, suffering the torments of those condemned to hellfire.[16]
(4) The faces of the cut through his body showed traces of the lead feather of Gabriel's wing.[17]

139r UM

[14] "His station and abode" for *manzil u ma'vā*, literally "the place where he stopped and the place where he stayed."
[15] ". . . raised his hands in supplication" for *äl kötürüp ḥācata. Ḥācata el kötür-*, literally "to raise one's hands in need," refers to the short prayer (*du'ā*) following the *namāz*: the worshipper asks God's assistance. A synonym for this phrase is *ḥācat tilä-*, as it occurs in the following example: *ziyārat qïlmaġa kelip namāz qïlïp hācat tilädi* 'He came to visit [the place], prayed, and asked for God's assistance' (Sayf, *Gulistān bi't-turkī*, 19v: 2).
[16] ". . . those condemned to Hellfire" for *dōzaḫī*, literally "infernal." For our interpretation see Ju. A. Rubinchik, *Persidsko-russkij slovar'*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1970), p. 678a, s.v. دوزخی :3. "osuždennyj na adskie muki."
[17] The lead feather of Gabriel's wing is compared to a giant sword, which, in turn, reminds one of the *Ẕū'l-fiqār* (literally "The Lord of the Vertebrae of the Back"), 'Alī's famous sword. In Shiite legends 'Alī was renowned for cutting his enemy in two with one blow.

(1) [The bird] flew on toward the blue firmament. It followed the current of the morning wind.
(2) The old man was horrified. What he had witnessed had distressed him.
(3) [When] the old man regained his composure, he heard a voice saying:
(4) "Go over to that corpse [now]. Do not be fearful, do not be hesitant, do not worry."

139r LeM

(1) [Now] the bird flew down to the ground again to carry out his [assigned] task,[18] again with the same ferocity and awesomeness.
(2) Whenever it opened its mouth to breathe, flames, like fiery flags, issued from its mouth.
(3) So intense were the flames that curled from its mouth that everything before it was scorched.
(4) Joint by joint [that bird] tore [the man] to pieces. That victim could think of no way to escape.
(5) [Then] the bird gobbled down all these morsels as if they were tasty food. For a moment it rested there.
(6) [Then] on the ground it threw up [what it had eaten of] that man. [Now] that man again assumed his previous form. He became the same person he had been.

139v RM

(1) The old man came up to that wailing one, up to that miserable and distracted one.
(2) He saw a person on the ground, lying face down, covered from head to foot with blood, like a tulip.
(3) He said to him, "O you who are suffering in abandonment![19] Tell me what sin you have committed, O Destitute [Sinner]!"
(4) "Do not ask about my situation, O Man of Pure Faith!" [the man] replied. "Leave me in the grasp of sorrow without recourse and grieving.
(5) "If you knew what I did, more fiercely than this bird would you strike me with your sword!"
(6) The old man replied, "O you who are bereft of reason and understanding! You who confess that you have committed a sin,
(7) "You who are aware that you have sinned and now seek [God's] forgiveness,

139v LoM

(1) "[Remember] that God is Merciful, the One, and the Peerless. No one shares His essence, nor is there a flaw in it.
(2) "[Just] repent of your sin, O Transgressor. Repentance is accepted by God.

18 ". . . his assigned task" for *'ādat bilä,* literally "as a habit." The bird's "habit," however, was, in fact, a task that God had assigned him.
19 ". . . in abandonment" for *hacr elindä,* literally "in the hands of separation," i.e., cut off from all source of help.

(3) "Whether your sin is as vast as a mountain or very small, be thankful [to the Lord] that the door of repentance is open."

140r LoM

(1) Weeping he said, "The sin I have committed is not one for which anyone could ask God to forgive me.
(2) "It is my lot to suffer and remain [in this condition] to eternity. Help will never come to me from anyone.
(3) "With my sword I struck that person [whom I had served].[20] O Sheikh! My sighing and wailing are of no benefit to him [now]."
(4) The old man said, "Who is that person, O Man Covered with Shame, who[21] was wounded by your sword?"

140r LeM

(1) He answered, "Although I am deeply ashamed at what I have done, listen, I will tell you who that lion-hearted person was.
(2) "It was he who was never afraid to use a sword,[22] he who cautioned Salmān not to touch the lion's tail.
(3) "It was he who, while still in the cradle, with one blow split the dragon in two from head to tail.
(4) "It was no doubt for his sake that the sun, after it had left the sky, returned again on the same path by which it had departed.[23]
(5) "It was he who had the Virgin [Fāṭima] for a wife,[24] it was he who stood on the shoulders of the Prophet [to break the idols].
(6) "It was he who achieved openly at the side of the Prophet all that the Prophet achieved in secret during the Ascension to Heaven.[25]

140r UM

(1) "That is, it was 'Alī, the rider of Duldul, he, who wielded [the famous sword] Ẕū'l-fiqār."[26]
(2) The old man, overcome by zeal, pulled out his sword and mercilessly severed [the sinner's] head from his body.
(3) He had [just] started to cut him to pieces joint from joint when suddenly he heard a voice:

[20] According to one legend, Ibn Muljam was 'Alī's stirrupholder. See R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnavī of Jalālu'ddin Rūmī,* E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., vol. 4, no. 2 (London, 1926; reprinted 1977), pp. 208–214.
[21] Literally "whose body."
[22] In legends 'Alī is often pictured as waiting motionless for an enemy attack.
[23] According to one legend the sun, after it had set, returned to the sky again so that 'Alī could say the afternoon prayer he had missed.
[24] Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad and his first wife Khadīja, was born at Mecca about the year 605 A.D.
[25] Muḥammad obtained closeness to God through his Ascension to Heaven, whereas 'Alī, the Friend of God, obtained it at the Prophet's side through his sainthood.
[26] See fn. 17.

140v UM

(1) "Do not tire yourself, for the Nourisher has ordered this bird of prey to be this man's tormentor.
(2) "To tear him to pieces every day and to make him food for hawks and panthers, O Man of Good Fortune!
(3) "[By God's decree this bird] can do naught but take vengeance on the enemy of His Majesty, the King [i.e., 'Alī], O Man of Good Repute!"
(4) As soon as the old man heard these words, tears of blood began to flow from his eyes [down] his face.

140v RM

(1) He spoke, "O Creator of Earth and Heaven! [I can see that] you mete out appropriate punishment to sinners.
(2) "Although I am weak and ashamed, I am thankful that I am among those who love 'Alī.
(3) "As long as Khiyālī is alive, he will look upon himself as the lowliest of the King's dogs.
(4) "After that destitute one has died with the King's name on his lips, the flower of love will raise its head from his grave.
(5) "But I do not have eyes in my head for beholding those who die without [having mentioned Muḥammad] the Prophet and ['Alī] the Saint."
(6) Copied by [God's] humble servant, Abū'l-Qāsim bin Kunc.

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A Nineteenth-Century Master of Turkish Literature: Notes on Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem (1847-1914) and His Literature Course

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The years 1859–1875 represent a turning point in the history of Turkish literature. It was then that Turkish writers began to break with old forms and to build a new literature based largely on Western traditions. The pioneers in the movement were Şinasi (1826–1871),[1] Ziya Paşa (1825–1880), and Namık Kemal (1840–1888), and they were soon joined by younger men. One representative of this second generation was Ekrem (son of Recai Efendi — scholar and writer, and director of the government press), whom Namık Kemal encouraged to publish his first poems and some translations from French in the early 1860s.

Those familiar with Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*[2] will recall that Gibb frequently referred to Ekrem's evaluation of the old poets, but did not extend his study of the modern school to a discussion of Ekrem himself. The new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* contains an article on Ekrem by Fahir İz which gives biographical data, a short discussion of his works, and a bibliography of eight Turkish works.[3] Apart from these two sources, however, information on Ekrem in Western publications has been scanty.

In Turkish sources Ekrem figures in biographical collections and general histories of literature; for instance, twenty-eight pages are devoted to him in Tanpınar's work on nineteenth-century Turkish literature.[4] He is also represented in most anthologies, albeit not as generously as one might wish. A good selection of his poetry and a sympathetic profile is given by

[1] Modern Turkish orthography is used for Turkish names and titles.
[2] E.J.W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols. (London, 1900–1909).
[3] The first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* carried a very short entry by Huart.
[4] A. H. Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu asır Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul, 1967), pp. 467–95.

Akyüz in his anthology of modern Turkish poetry.[5] Kaplan, in addition to dealing with Ekrem in a number of articles, has given a detailed critique of one of his major poems.[6] A number of short monographs appeared between 1890 and the 1940s.[7] More recently a general study of Ekrem was the topic of a doctoral dissertation at Ankara University,[8] and I am informed by Dr. İnci Enginün that another dissertation, concentrating on Ekrem's *Talim-i edebiyat* as a turning point in Turkish poetic theory, is in the early stages of preparation at Istanbul University.

How is Ekrem judged by the Turks? Abdülhak Hamit (1852–1937), most gifted among the first two generations of modern Turkish writers, valued Ekrem's poetry well enough to know some of it by heart. Even Ekrem's son, however, wrote that although his father was a great figure in the new literature, he could not be called a great poet.[9] Modern Turkish literary tastes find some of Ekrem's best-known poems excessively subjective and sentimental, and his innovations in verse form, meter, and rhyme are outshone by the many "-isms" of the twentieth century. As for Ekrem's prose works, very few of these are read today, even though some are important landmarks along the road Turkish prose has traveled in the last hundred years. His reputation rests elsewhere, sanctified through the title by which he has long been known in Turkey — *Ustad Ekrem*, or Ekrem the Master. This title, applied in its broadest sense, recognizes Ekrem's role as a leader in the Turkish literary and intellectual movements of his age. In a restricted sense, it is applicable to him as a teacher, and it is on this aspect of Ekrem's activities that the present paper concentrates.

* * *

Ekrem's teaching posts. Ekrem taught literature for some eight years at the Imperial Civil Service School (hereafter referred to as Mülkiye) and for a time also at the Imperial Lycée at Galatasaray. One indication of his success as a teacher is the achievements of his students, especially Tevfik

[5] K. Akyüz, *Batı tesirinde Türk şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara, 1953), pp. 69–105.

[6] M. Kaplan, *Şiir tahlilleri I: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete*, 6th ed. (Istanbul, 1978), pp. 82–91.

[7] See F. İz in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (hereafter EI^2), vol. 1, s.v. "Ekrem Bey," and Akyüz, *Batı tesirinde*, p. 738.

[8] Unfortunately this dissertation, by İsmail Parlatır, was not accessible when I prepared this paper.

[9] E. E. Talu in "Ekrem, Recaizade, Mahmud," *Aylık Ansiklopedisi*, fasc. 9 (1945), pp. 269–70.

Fikret (1867–1915), the leading poet of the 1890s and early twentieth century. More tangibly, we can study part of what Ekrem taught, since he published some of his Mülkiye lectures in book form under the title *Talim-i edebiyat* (*Literature Course*).[10] Below, I shall discuss the background to the *Course* and outline its contents and main ideas. First, however, it should be noted that the *Course* does not give the full picture of Ekrem's theory of literature. He expounded his opinions in other works, too, and these must be taken into account for any overall study of Ekrem.[11]

Format of the Course. Ekrem planned a two-year syllabus (p. 2),[12] and in 1879 he proceeded to make material available to students at the Mülkiye in lithograph reproduction. He was dissatisfied, however, complaining of technical problems with this method and of material for his students being "days late" (p. 3), and so he applied to the Ministry of Education for permission to publish. Permission was granted, but only the first part appeared, as a book of 398 pages published in 1882 (a second edition came out in 1914).[13]

The title page identifies Ekrem as a member of the Council of State and carries a short extract from an article on Ottoman literature by Namık Kemal, which ends with his oft-quoted words: "A nation without a literature is like a person without a tongue."[14] Fourteen pages of preliminaries include a statement of purpose, a copy of Ekrem's application to the ministry, introductory comments, acknowledgment to Abdülhamit II and eulogy of him, acknowledgment to Ahmet Cevdet Paşa with his comments on the *Course*, and a preface. The text starts with a five-line statement on the ordering of contents and is then divided into four

[10] Various translations have been proposed for this title, including "Lessons in Composition" and "Literature (or Composition) Lessons." I use *Literature Course*, and for ease of reference refer to it here as the *Course*.

[11] Of particular importance is the preface to the last volume of his three-volume collection of poems called *Zemzeme* (1885), and *Takdir-i Elhan* (1886), a critique of a work by one of his students. His essays and letters are also pertinent, as are some of his poems.

[12] All references to the *Course* are to the 1882 edition published in Istanbul by the Mihran Press.

[13] İsmail Hikmet, *Recaizade Ekrem*, Millî Kütüphane Edebiyat Serisi, no. 7 (Istanbul, 1932), p. 9, mentions that some parts were published in *Hazine-i Evrak*. I have not been able to verify this statement as yet.

[14] See Namık Kemal, "Lisan-i Osmaninin edebiyatı hakkında bazı mülâhazatı şâmildir," in M. Kaplan, et al., *Yeni Türk edebiyatı antolojisi*, vol. 2: *1865–1876* (Istanbul, 1978), pp. 183–92.

sections: (1) Role of the intellectual faculties in literature (pp. 15–60); (2) Style (pp. 61–125); (3) Stylistic embellishment — the various figures of speech (pp. 216–324); (4) Verbal artifices (pp. 325–380).

The four sections are divided into chapters containing numerous subdivisions. There are also a number of excursuses and a very ample selection of quotations of all kinds. The concluding statement is followed by an addendum, an appreciation by Namık Kemal, an apology and reminder, and an announcement that certain sections promised in the preface (i.e., further observations, selections, and biographies) are being prepared as a supplement (this did not materialize).

There is no index and, since topics occur under more than one heading, the book is difficult to use for reference. Ekrem himself explained that the volume did not contain a discussion of the educational or moral value of literature because this was "well-known and accepted by everyone" (p. 13).[15] Thus, although Ekrem accepted the social role of literature, he did not allow it priority, as Şinasi and Namık Kemal did. He treated literature as an independent art form and, in so doing, represented a transition from the "art for society" cry of the pioneers to the "art for art" trend of the Hamidian era.

Aim of the Course. Ekrem wrote (p. 2) that the *Course* was for students already familiar with the fundamentals of literary composition and that it was intended to teach:

> the basic rules and important points of acceptable styles of Ottoman writing; to ensure familiarity for scanning all kinds of Ottoman poems in accordance with the generally recognized meters; [16] to have them memorize a wide selection of pieces in prose and especially in poetry; to acquaint them with the famous men of letters from whose works examples were taken.

The text itself shows that Ekrem's goal was twofold in its pedagogical approach, but firmly monolithic in its idealism. As a teacher Ekrem sought first to improve students' writing and speaking, and to this end he had advice on such matters as spelling mistakes (p. 133), general orthographic problems (p. 283), and the need to avoid foreignisms in speech (p. 131). His second goal was to develop students' literary appreciation and

[15] Ekrem's text is not completely without reference to this aspect of literature. He said, for instance, that although comedy contains drolleries and can make the audience laugh, it must be considered among the important literary genres that aim at moral improvement of the people (p. 90).

[16] Although Ekrem dealt with certain aspects of meter, the text does not discuss technical details of scanning, etc.

their good taste. He could readily provide rules for spelling or word usage, but, as he pointed out when discussing figures of speech, a decision as to whether a particular figure is suitable or unsuitable must rest not on a rule, but on good taste (p. 377). Ekrem believed fervently in the new Turkish literature, and his mission was to make it known and to have it evaluated by Western standards. He did not exclude the old literature from such evaluation, but the novelty of his work was in the large number of quotations it included from contemporary writers.

Ekrem's style. Ekrem's preface states that the text is as he delivered it to students in lectures, which may account for the fact that the singular usually appears when Ekrem spoke in the first person (pp. 296, 329, 350, etc.). The first person plural is much less frequent (pp. 289, 290, 299, etc.), but Ekrem also used *bendeniz* 'your servant' (p. 351), and, particularly in the preliminaries and end matter, referred to the "humble" author or work (e.g., p. 382). In general the language is clear but formal in syntax, and although there are occasional sentences that are almost chatty, there is little evidence of an attempt to write in simple Turkish. Nor does there seem to have been any effort to make the text entertaining. Students were no doubt expected to obtain their entertainment from the quotations. I assume that there was some kind of *extempore* lecturing, as well; indeed, there is textual evidence that on occasion Ekrem added explanations that were not included in the text until later (p. 243). He used a few comparisons dealing with music and art (p. 198) and nature (pp. 111, 154, 171, 192). Ekrem's method was to quote both good and bad examples of what he was demonstrating, sometimes from the same author. Occasionally, having pointed out a fault, he suggested a way in which it could have been avoided (p. 243); or, giving two interpretations for a quotation, he commented on them, stating his preference or even rejecting both (p. 298).

Support and criticism. The 1892 edition indicates that the *Course* gained support from both official and intellectual circles. Ekrem published as a teacher at the Civil Service School, an institution "honored and blessed by being under the patronage of His Royal Highness, which brings adornment to learning" (p. 6). He therefore included a nine-couplet poem eulogizing Abdülhamit II (pp. 7–8). This affords an interesting sidelight on Ekrem's desire to live with the realities of the period, for it contains such familiar terms as "Shadow of God," and "Possessor of Majesty," and also refers to the sultan as a *gazi.* Ekrem praised the buildings and institutions the sultan had established and referred to his reign as a period

of blessing and good fortune for the nation; he described Abdülhamit himself in glowing terms and prayed, "May God long bring honor to his exalted throne."

The appreciation by Kemal included in the back matter says that Ottoman literature has turned recently to "its natural style" (p. 394), but that there has remained a special need to put together the canons of literature as they apply specifically to Ottoman. Ekrem has taken the initiative and met this need with his *Course,* Kemal wrote, and he is proud that it was written by someone who believes, as he does, in supporting the new style (p. 395).

Ekrem also thanked Ahmet Cevdet Paşa (1833–1895) for having read his material, and included remarks Cevdet had made on the *Course* (pp. 9–10). In these Cevdet referred first to the nature of the Ottoman language, saying that although it is apparent that Turkish is the basis of Ottoman, it has been enriched by loans from Arabic and Persian. As a literary language, it is also "extremely elegant and colorful by reason of containing so many of the qualities and good points of Arabic and Persian." Cevdet discussed the lack of recognized principles for the study of Ottoman literature, and conceded that the teaching of literature in any language "must be in conformity with the mood of the period." He, too, praised Ekrem's initiative, calling him a most distinguished and eminent figure among contemporary men of letters.

The background to Cevdet's remarks adds significance to their tenor. A leading statesman, especially active in the field of education and law, Cevdet was also a scholar. Among his works was a twelve-volume history of the Ottoman Empire covering the period from 1774 to 1826. He was also co-author with Fuat Paşa of *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* (*Ottoman Grammar*). Published in 1850, the work was reissued in 1873 in simplified form and redesignated *Kavaid-i Türkiye* (*Turkish Grammar*), a sign of progressive thinking on the part of its authors. Cevdet also taught literature at the law school in Istanbul, and in 1881 (that is, after Ekrem's *Course* material had first been made available) he published a manual on Ottoman poetics called *Belâgat-i Osmaniye* (*Ottoman Eloquence*), based conservatively on the old books of poetics.[17] In addition, one of Cevdet's colleagues published an attack on Ekrem's *Course* in the publication *Saadet.* Ekrem, retaliating in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat,* was finally adjudged the vic-

[17] On the mixture of progressive and conservative in Cevdet Paşa, see H. Bowen in *EI*², vol. I, s.v. "Aḥmad Dj̲ewdet Pasha."

tor in what was one skirmish in a long vendetta between the respective supporters of the old and the new. Cevdet's praise, published in the *Course,* was Ekrem's trophy on this occasion.[18]

Preface. The preface to the *Course* (pp. 11–14) showed Ekrem's outlook to be indeed "in conformity with the mood of the period." It opens with a discussion of the term *edebiyat,* one used very commonly by writers, especially — Ekrem wrote — during the last five to ten years, without giving a satisfactory definition. Ekrem, therefore, took it upon himself to explain how he defined it to his students. First, literature can be defined, in broad terms, as any product of thought put into good, methodical order by the art of writing. Second (and this Ekrem considered to be the definition more widely acceptable), one can limit literature to those works arising from good taste, feeling, and imagination, and — basing an evaluation on the same criteria — refer to "knowledge of the rules and models deduced and taken from the most select and highly esteemed works of the best known writers." In short, literature is not simply any product of the art of writing, but a psychological phenomenon that must be judged at the highest level of accepted taste.

Ekrem next noted the division of literature into poetry and prose. This might seem a superfluous statement today, but traditionally Ottoman literature had meant poetry, and one of the novelties of Ekrem's approach, as of the new Turkish literature in general, was its treatment of prose as a serious art form. Ekrem said that prose was subject to the rules of the Turkish language and of logic and to what he called two indispensables of literature: aesthetic sense, and a harmonious and fluent style. In poetry, attention must also be paid to meter and rhyme. The principles and rules in force in Ottoman literature correspond, Ekrem maintained, to aesthetic taste and are systematized in books of verbal eloquence (*belâgat*). Here, in one of his few footnotes, Ekrem referred to Cevdet Paşa's work as an example of such a book, stating that part of it had recently been published.

This reference to *belâgat* and Cevdet Paşa immediately precedes Ekrem's discussion of the topics he would deal with. The first is "the quality and nature of thoughts and feelings" (p. 13), which, he said, "deserve very first attention in literature." Here, the fundamental difference between the two literary men is evident. Cevdet adhered to the old school of

[18] Appreciations, e.g., by Abdülhak Hamit, appeared in other publications; also see below (pp. 131–132) for Süleyman Paşa's reaction.

Ottoman literary theory, in which form and embellishment were the real criteria for evaluation. Ekrem, although devoting the greater part of his book to style, figures of speech, and verbal artifices, nevertheless believed that none of these can do anything for a writer who has nothing to say. When discussing style he stressed that although the force of an idea may be enhanced by the way in which it is expressed, "If the idea is nonsense, style has no importance at all" (p. 62).

Ekrem's Turkish sources. Ekrem displayed wide familiarity with the history and content of the old Turkish literature and quoted from many writers, the most frequent choices being Fuzuli (d. 1556), Nef'i (d. 1635), Nedim (d. 1730), and Şeyh Galip (d. 1799). Ekrem also included a Nasreddin Hoca story (pp. 315–316). Of the new writers, he most frequently quoted Abdülhak Hamit and Namık Kemal. The introduction states (p. 4) that the author has profited from earlier works on literature but does not specify which. As we have seen, Ekrem referred to Cevdet's *Belâgat* and quoted Kemal on his title page. He presented more of Kemal's ideas in his text (e.g., p. 64), and quoted also (e.g., p. 166) from the preface to Ziya Paşa's *Harabat* (an anthology of Arabic, Persian, Chagatay, and Ottoman literature published in 1874). Another work that he surely read is *Mebaniyü'l-inşa* (*Foundations of Literary Composition,* also published in 1874) by Süleyman Paşa (1838–1892).

Süleyman Paşa, a famous military hero and one of the leaders in the deposition of Abdülaziz, was a pioneer in Turcology. As commandant of the Military Academy, he was active in revising military educational curricula and wrote a number of texts for students, including the two-volume *Foundations.* He used Western sources for the work, and thus preceded Ekrem in this respect. In addition, according to one critic, Süleyman's understanding of language and literature in general was better than Ekrem's.[19] We do know that Süleyman read the *Course,* because he wrote to Ekrem about it. His letter praised the *Course* extravagantly (and is duly humble about his own work, labeling it merely imitative). Süleyman wrote that he had a "slight quarrel," however, with Ekrem's use of *Ottoman* instead of *Turkish* as the name of their language. Ekrem himself discussed this usage in his conclusion (p. 386), saying it is valid because their language was composed of not only Turkish but also

[19] V. M. Kocatürk, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi* (Ankara, 1970), p. 687. A study of these two men's theories and influence would be useful.

of Arabic and Persian words, and therefore was subject to the rules of those languages as well as its own. Süleyman, for his part, argued that *Osmanlı* (Ottoman) denoted the allegiance of an individual to the state established by Sultan Osman. Had the Seljuk dynasty been perpetuated and the Ottomans not come to power, he asked, would Turkish have been referred to as *Selçukiye*?[20]

Ekrem and Western sources. Ekrem made only one short visit to Europe, to Vienna in 1891. He was educated in Turkey, but in secular rather than religious schools. At the age of fifteen he entered the chancellery of the Foreign Ministry as an apprenticed clerk. It was there, and through association with the progressive intellectuals of the day, that he acquired his knowledge of the West. He learned French and, like other writers of this period, came under the influence of the Romantics.[21] His little collection of prose and verse translations entitled *Naçiz* (*A Trifle*), for example, included works by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo, and Lamartine, as well as some fables from La Fontaine. He also published a translation of Chateaubriand's *Atala* and turned this work into a play. In his preface to the *Course* (p. 13) Ekrem stated that he did not hesitate to use French material in its preparation, "nor was I fanatical about passing on things from their research and literary definitions that I thought would be of use to us, as well."

In fact, Ekrem not only passed on to his students some French theories of literature, but familiarized them a little with French literature and gave them a few glimpses of French culture and history. For instance, he referred to Molière (e.g., p. 90),[22] and he related an anecdote about Richelieu which he said he "saw in a French work" (p. 277). He used a French proverb to illustrate a neat use of anastrophe (p. 319), and turned to the wit of a French writer to stress the need for harmony of expression (p. 172). In pointing out that it takes work and effort to keep from verbosity, he quoted from a letter of "one of the French writers" which ends: "My letter has become very long, I know that, but what can I do? I couldn't find time to write a short one!" (p. 171).

A number of Ekrem's quotations are from nineteenth-century Turkish translations of works by such authors as Rousseau (pp. 29, 30, 308–309,

[20] M. Kaplan et al., *Yeni Türk edebiyatı*, 2:659–61.
[21] Ekrem also studied Arabic and Persian.
[22] He also referred to Shakespeare.

etc.), Fénelon (pp. 249, 353, 362–363), and Bossuet (pp. 186, 279), and he referred to other translations, for example, from Volney (p. 289). Especially interesting are the lines he quoted from a Turkish poem by Charles Vernay. This man had started to learn Persian and Turkish at the age of eleven, and in 1860 he published in Paris a collection of poems in French, Italian, Turkish, and Persian. Ekrem commented that among the Turkish poems are pieces "that are really beautiful in thought and fairly faultless in language" (p. 132).

As for French works that were of major use to Ekrem, two are mentioned by Turkish scholars: Lamartine's *Cours familier de littérature,*[23] and what is referred to as Émile Lefranc's *Edebiyat* (*Literature*). A detailed study of the connection between these works and the *Course* needs to be undertaken. Meanwhile, I offer a few observations.

(1) Lamartine's *Cours* was not conceived as a textbook. It is a miscellany of essays designated "Entretiens avec le lecteur." These were published in a series of twenty-eight volumes available on a subscription basis to general readers over a period of four years (1856–1860). Some of the material was autobiographical, and the style in general was literary rather than didactic. The conception, format, and style of Ekrem's *Course* is quite different. Many of its theories are close to Lamartine's, however, and it is more than likely that Ekrem was familiar with part, if not all, of Lamartine's material. Three of Lamartine's essays are of particular interest in this respect: "Qu'est-ce que la littérature?" (vol. 1, 1^er^ Entretien, 1856); "Qu'est-ce que la poésie" (vol. 1, 4° Entretien, 1856); "De la poésie lyrique" (vol. 5, 17^e^ Entretien, 1856). Whether or not Ekrem actually read them is unimportant. What is important is that they show Ekrem's proximity to contemporary French literary theory and taste. One example must suffice.

In "Qu'est-ce que la poésie?" Lamartine referred to poetry as the divinity of language. Man instinctively uses it for things that are above the customary and rational exercise of thought. The sensitive and thoughtful man is a sonorous instrument of sensations, sentiments, and ideas. When he feels extreme pain, his response may be articulated not in prose or poetry, but in a cry. Otherwise, he normally expresses his emotions in a language as simple, ordinary, and tempered as they are. When his emotions are truly great, however, he turns to poetry. As the art of arts, poetry

[23] For reference to Lamartine as a source, see Kocatürk, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi,* p. 687.

alone sings for all the senses at once as well as for the soul — the divine and immortal center of all the senses. Thus, for a transcendent impression, there is a transcendent mode of expression: "Voilà, selon nous, toute l'origine et toute l'explication du vers, cette transcendance de l'expression, ce verbe du beau, non dans la pensée seulement, mais dans le sentiment et dans l'imagination."[24]

Ekrem, as a theorist and writer, came to believe that rhyme and meter are not indispensable to poetry and that poetry is any beautiful thing. Nevertheless, he would have agreed with Lamartine's general thesis here, no matter how poetry is defined. Also, above all, it is the same three elements — thought, feeling, and imagination — that Ekrem presented as the basis of literature and according to which he evaluated the quality and beauty of writing.

(2) Recently I noticed in the memoirs of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgıl (1866–1945) a statement that Ekrem's *Course* is based on Émile Lefranc's *Literature.*[25] Although not one of his students, Halit Ziya was very close to Ekrem; the latter encouraged him when he was beginning to write in Izmir, and later brought him into the *Servet-i Fünun* family in Istanbul.[26] There is good reason to believe Halit Ziya's statement. Lefranc (b. 1798) wrote a number of works on literature, one of the most important being a *Traité théorique et pratique de littérature.* This first appeared in 1838, in three volumes, for use in institutions that based their teaching on ancient languages. It was soon followed by a one-volume abridgement designated "Specialement destinée par sa rédaction aux maisons d'édification où l'on ne fait d'études qu'en français." It may well be that Ekrem was familiar with the abridged version, or *Abregé,* rather than with the original work. A preliminary reading of the former leads me to recommend a detailed study of the Lefranc-Ekrem connection. Here, I confine my remarks to the following.

(a) The *Abregé* and the *Course* are both instructional books, didactic in conception and style. The *Abregé* has five sections: (1) Style, (2) Composition, (3) Genres in verse, or poetics, (4) Genres in prose, or rhetoric and eloquence, (5) Extracts from French writing. Although Ekrem borrowed

[24] A. Lamartine, *Cours familier de littérature: Extraits,* ed. by J. des Cognets (Paris, 1926), pp. 44–46.
[25] H. Z. Uşaklıgıl, *Kırk Yıl* (Istanbul, 1969), p. 274.
[26] The *Servet-i Fünun* (literally *Treasury of the Sciences*) was a journal that became the organ of the second school of modern Turkish literature and gave the school its name.

from *Abregé* at large, a basic correspondence of material is limited to:

Course		*Abregé*
Section 2 Style	=	Section 1 Chap. 1. Style in general
Section 3 Stylistic embellishment Section 4 Verbal artifices	=	Section 1 Chap. 2. Figurative style

Two questions arise. First, did Ekrem envisage that the further selections he promised, but did not produce, would correspond to Lefranc's section 5? Second, since only one volume of the *Course* was published, did Ekrem intend his second volume to correspond to the remaining sections of *Abregé,* i.e., sections 2–4?

(b) No full section in Lefranc corresponds to Ekrem's section 1, entitled "The role of the intellectual faculty in literature." Such topics as thoughts, feelings, and imagination are dealt with by Lefranc under "Style." Ekrem, however, in keeping with the importance he places on these faculties, dealt with them in a separate (opening) section, in which he also included taste, ingenuity, memory, genius and skill, and beauty in the arts. At the same time, however, the *Course* contains an interesting reflection of the *Abregé,* in that Ekrem analyzed thoughts according to general and special qualities, closely following Lefranc's analysis of style.

(c) Instances of close textual correspondence between the *Course* and *Abregé* do occur. The following is from Lefranc's general discussion of style:

La première condition, pour bien écrire est de bien penser; et bien penser, c'est se rendre maître de son sujet, au point que les différentes parties de nous en soient tellement familières, qu'il n'y ait plus ni embarras ni obscurité. . . . Le style est quelque chose par lui-même, indépendamment de la pensée. En effet, presque toujours les choses qu'on dit frappent moins que la manière dont on les dit; car les hommes ont tous à peu près les mêmes idées de ce qui est à la portée de tout le monde: la différence est dans l'expression ou le style. Le style rend singulières les choses les plus communes, fortifi les plus faibles, donne de la grandeur aux plus simples; en un mot, c'est l'âme de tous les ouvrages qui sont faits pour plaire ou pour instruire. . . . Bien écrire, c'est tout à la fois bien penser, bien sentir, et bien rendre; c'est avoir en même temps de l'esprit, de l'âme, et du gout.[27]

[27] E. Lefranc, *Abregé du traité théorique et pratique de littérature,* 8th ed. (Paris, 1846), pp. 3–4.

We can compare this with a statement of Ekrem's (pp. 63–64):

To write well consists in thinking well, in feeling deeply [literally, well], and in expressing oneself well. To think well is to comprehend the subject of thought in such a way as to leave no point unknown or vague as regards its various aspects. For whatever degree of clarity or vagueness our thoughts reach, our words will be in keeping. That is, the better a thing is understood, the better it will be expressed. And as for words and expressions, they coincide easily with the mind.

Style of expression is distinct from thought; it is completely independent. And this matter is clear in that a number of unimportant things that have been stated continually may suddenly attract attention by a sudden change of style in the way they are expressed. In the majority of ordinary matters, men's ideas and conceptions are in agreement. The difference among them is seen in their words, that is, in their styles of expression. Style of expression makes the most commonplace and general ideas special, and gives elevation to the most simple and unimportant.

The Course *as a point of departure.* Tanpınar speaks of Ekrem's *Course* as a point of departure, the start of the Turks' settling accounts with the Arabs' theory of literature.[28] Ekrem's teaching did, in fact, offer his students a new breadth of vision and a new freedom — not from all rules, but from the excesses of the old technical restrictions and priorities.

Ekrem insisted that the basic beauty of literature is in the thought, feelings, and imagination that produce it. Thoughts must be true and logically sound, they must have clarity and order. They may also have simplicity, ingenuousness, subtlety, force, brilliance, or elevation (pp. 17–31). Yet thoughts alone, even if expressed in good style, do not produce real literature. The things that strike our minds must also be felt in the heart (p. 31). Our feelings must be true and natural (pp. 33–35). They may be ingenuous, tender, aroused, or elevated (pp. 37ff.). As for the imagination, it is this faculty that creates, illuminates, and beautifies; it does for literature what color does for painting (p. 48).

Discussion of style occupies more than one-third of the *Course.* Ekrem (like Lefranc) cited Buffon's "Le style est l'homme même," and he saw style as a mirror of each man's temperament, moral qualities, deeds and behavior (pp. 61–62). A passage quoted earlier shows that his main theory was based on the words of Lefranc.[29] He also introduced his students to the following division of style: *sade* (simple), *müzeyyen* (decorative), and *âli* (elevated or sublime) (pp. 190ff.). Ekrem told them,

[28] Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu asır Türk,* p. 492.
[29] See above, p. 135.

moreover, that usually only a great writer can express a simple idea colorfully (p. 21), but he carefully added that this does not mean a simple idea is of itself useless. For sometimes the simplest observation, expressed in a spontaneous and natural way, can soar to great heights.

Ideas such as these are among the most important Ekrem gave his students. Together with his insistence on clarity and on moderation in such things as embellishment, use of Persian vocabulary and grammatical constructions, and manipulation of Turkish words to fit the meter, they showed the younger generation a way to build a literature that would be truly Turkish. Ekrem's stress on literature's being an art form rather than a socio-political tool led, for a time, to a slowdown in the process of building a modern Turkish literature. He nevertheless remains a master, however, and a pioneer in the teaching of a new theory of literature.

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The Biography of the Empress Čabi in the *Yüan shih*

FRANCIS WOODMAN CLEAVES

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The *Yüan shih,*[1] the official dynastic history of the Mongolian rule in China,[2] contains the biographies of a number of imperial wives and concubines.[3] Among them is that[4] of Čabi, one of the wives of Qubilai.[5]

Although the biographies were rewritten by K'o Shao-min[6] in his *Hsin Yüan shih*[7] (i.e., *New Yüan shih*), and by T'u Chi[8] in his *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi*[9] (i.e., *Historical Records of the Mongols*), we must not overlook

[1] For the *Yüan shih,* cf., e.g., E. Bretschneider, M.D., *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources,* vol. 1 (London, 1910), pp. 180-91; Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan,* vol. 1, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. 4 (Paris, 1937), pp. v–vi; and William Hung, "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols,*" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (hereafter *HJAS*) 14, nos. 3/4 (1951): 433–92 (p. 472). For this article I have used the *Po-na-pen Erh-shih-ssu shih* edition published by the Commercial Press.

[2] For the problem of dating the dynasty, cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12, nos. 1–2 (June 1949): 1–133 and plates 1–27 (p. 38, fn. 6).

[3] Cf. the "Hou-fei [Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 114 (*ts'e* 36).1r4–13r4.

[4] For another biography, namely, that of the Empress Budaširi (< Sanskrit Buddhaśrī), cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," *HJAS* 13, nos.1–2 (June 1950): 1–131 and plates 1–35 (pp. 35–36, fn. 35).

[5] See fn. 2 to the translation of the biography below.

[6] 1850–1933. For his biography, cf. Howard L. Boorman, ed., and Richard C. Howard, assoc. ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China,* vol. 2: *Dalai-Ma* (hereafter *Dalai-Ma*) (New York and London, 1968), pp. [241]a–[242]a.

[7] Cf. Boorman and Howard, *Dalai-Ma,* pp. [241]b–[242]a.

[8] 1855–1921. Cf. Yao Yü-hsiang (a posthumous publication), "Min-kuo li-shih-hsüeh-jen piao [Table of Historians of the Republic]," (*Shang*) [1], *Ta-lu tsa-chih,* 27, no. 6 (30 September 1963): 183 (19)–190 (26) (p. 186 [22]. For this reference I am indebted to my former student and colleague, Dr. Paul H. Ch'en, who kindly communicated it to me on 30 August 1979.

[9] Chien-i-huan ed., 1934.

the fact that the *Yüan shih* is in and of itself a primary source and, despite the additions and modifications of these later scholars, should be regarded as such.[10] For this reason I view the biography of Čabi in the *Yüan shih*, whatever its shortcomings, as a text which merits independent translation and annotation. Eventually, this document, together with other Chinese sources, as well as the *J̌āmiʿ al-tawārīx*[11] (i.e., *Collection of Histories*) of the Persian historian Rašīd al-Dīn,[12] and the *Erdeni-yin tobči*[13] (i.e., *Precious Button = Historical Résumé*) of the Mongolian historian Saγang Sečen,[14] should be used in the compilation of a truly comprehensive biography of the remarkable lady. Nor should we overlook among the sources for such a biography the *Hu-lan deb-ther*[15] (i.e., *The Red Register*) compiled by the Tibetan historian Kun·dga' rdo·rǰe[16] in 1346.

It is with particular pleasure that I offer the work that follows to my dear friend Omeljan Pritsak on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. In bringing to our shores an historical-philological tradition that reflects centuries of scholarship, he has invigorated Altaic studies in general and Turcological studies in particular, pursuing them far beyond the confines by which most of us are restrained. *Tümen nasulatuγai!*

10 A reading of the biography as rewritten by K'o Shao-min, as well as of that by T'u Chi, reveals, for example, that the precious text of the patent of canonization has been totally omitted, even though replaced by a summary of the events to which it alludes.

11 Cf. *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. by John Andrew Boyle, Persian Heritage Series (New York and London, 1972), pp. 7–13. For references to the empress called *Čābūī Xātūn* ("Chabui Khatun" in Boyle's translation), cf. pp. 228, 229, 241, 242, 243, 245, 248, and 288.

12 Cf. Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 3–6.

13 Cf. the *Erdeni-yin tobči: Mongolian Chronicle by Saγang Sečen*, with an introduction by Antoine Mostaert and an editor's foreword by Francis Woodman Cleaves, in *Scripta Mongolica II*, pt. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), pp. 38–41. Cf. also Isaac Jacob Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus* (St. Petersburg, 1829). For references to the empress called *Čambui*, cf. Schmidt, *Geschichte*, p. 114, l. 6: *Čambui Γoo-a* ("*Tschambui Goa*" in Schmidt's translation, p. 115), p. 114, l. 7: *Čambui Qatun* ("*Tschambui Chatun*" in Schmidt's translation, p. 115), p. 114, l. 10: *qatun* ("*Chatun*" in Schmidt's translation, p. 115), p. 114, l. 14: *Čambui Qatun* ("*Tschambui Chatun*" in Schmidt's translation, p. 115), p. 116, l. 19: *Čambui Qatun-u ečige inu* ("von dem Vater der *Tschambui* [119] *Chatun*" in Schmidt's translation, pp. 117–19), and p. 118, ll. 9–10: *Γoo-a Čambui* [10] *Qatun* ("von seiner Gemahlinn *Goa Tschambui*" in Schmidt's translation, p. 119).

14 1604–16??. Cf. Mostaert, *Erdeni-yin tobči*, pp. 7 and 27.

15 Cf. Š. Bira, "Some Remarks on the *Hu-lan deb-ther* of Kun-dga' rdo-rǰe," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 17, no. 1 (1964):[69]–81 (especially pp. [69]–70, fn. 2). In the *Hu-lan deb-ther* and other Tibetan sources the empress is called *Čha'u* and *Čha·bu*. Cf. Bira, "Some Remarks," p. 79, fn. 35.

16 Cf. Bira, "Some Remarks," pp. 70–71.

Yüan shih

114 (*ts'e* 36).2r9-4r9

The *Chao-jui shun-sheng Huang-hou*[1] (Bright and Wise, Compliant and Sagacious Empress) of Shih-tsu,[2] Ch'a-pi[3] (Čabi), *née* Hung-chi-la (Qunggi-

[1] The posthumous title granted in the 5th moon of the 31st year of the Chih-yüan period, that is, 26 May–24 June 1294. See below 3v5–6 and 4r7.

[2] I.e., Qubilai, canonized Sečen Qaγan, who was born on 23 September 1215, ascended the throne on 6 May 1260, and died on 18 February 1294. Cf. A. C. Moule, "A Table of the Emperors of the Yüan Dynasty," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 45 (1914): [124] and "A Table, etc." Cf. also *The Rulers of China 221 B.C.–A.D. 1949,* with chronological tables comp. by A. C. Moule and an introductory section by W. Percival Yetts (London, 1957), p. 103, F. Cf. further Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan,* Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. 4 (Paris, 1957), p. xi, fn. 4. Cf., finally, Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), pp. 565–69: "186. Cublai."

[3] In the entry in the "Hou-fei piao [Table of Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 106 (*ts'e* 36).3ra–3va, Ch'a-pi is registered under the "*Ti-erh wo-erh-to* [Second *Ordo*]" of Qubilai. Cf. also Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo,* 1: 567. As to her name, Pelliot (pp. 567–68) cited the forms: "(2) 察必 Ch'a-pi, چابوی Čabui in Rašīdu-'d Dīn, altered to Čambui in «Sanang Setsen» [568] «Čabui» remains unexplained; contrary to Blochet (Bl. II, 352), it can have nothing to do with Skr. *jambu.*" Confronted by the forms *Ch'a-pi* in Chinese, *Čābūī* in Persian, and *Čambui* in Mongolian we are, indeed, in the presence of a philological problem. That the Chinese *Ch'a-pi* represents a Mongolian *Čabi* seems, nonetheless, virtually certain. (No credence can be given, of course, to the ridiculous revised transcription *Ch'a-po-erh* of the Ch'ien-lung period, for which cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," *HJAS* 13, nos. 1–2 (June, 1950): 1–131 and plates 1–35 [pp. 5 and 17, fn. 12].) There is, moreover, an immediate explanation of this form as such, for in the *Chung-t'ang shih-chi* of Wang Yün, found in his *Ch'iu-chien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 80 (*ts'e* 20), we can read (22r6–7) in reference to K'ai-p'ing fu: "Not [quite] ten *li* to the north-east from the capital, there is a great pine forest. Among the unusual birds which flock [here] are the *ch'a-pi ku* ['*čabi* falcons']. It would seem that they are native here." Cf. also Yan-shuan Lao, "The Chung-t'ang shih-chi of Wang Yün: An Annotated Translation with an Introduction" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1962), p. 102, fn. 405.

With this established, we may then proceed to observe that C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kašγarīs Dīvān luγāt at-Turk,* Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, vol. 1 (Budapest and Leipzig, 1928), p. 51, registered: "*čavly* (R. III, 1936) 1. Falke I, 360, 11; . . . ." V. M. Nadeljaev et al., *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969), p. 142b, also registered: *Čavlï* II сокол (MK 2174)." Richard N. Frye, in his review of Fikret Işıltan, *Die Seltschuken-geschichte des Aḳserāyī* (*HJSA* 10, no. 2 [September 1947]: 230–37), identified (p. 233) the first of two puzzling words as "the modern Turkish *çavlı* 'young hawk or falcon'; cf. W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte* (St. Petersburg, 1905) 3.1936." Cf. also Wilhelm Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte,* vol. 3 (The Hague, 1960), p. 1936, where for the Osmanli Turkish چاولی we find: "ein junger, noch nicht dessirter Falke, ein Sperber."

If the Mongolian *čabi* is a derivative of the Turkish *čavlï,* it is obvious that in Turkish itself or in the passage of the word from Turkish to Mongolian the *l* of *čavlï* was lost. For examples of the loss of *l* in Turkish, my colleague and friend Dr. Şinasi Tekin kindly cited the following in a communication dated 21 May 1979: *atmış* (< *altmış*) 'sixty' in the present-day vernacular of Istanbul, *otur* (< *oltur*) 'sit' in the present-day written language, *gaχ* (<

ra[d]),[4] was the daughter of An-ch'en[5] (Alčin), Chung-wu Wang[6] of Chi-ning.[7]

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kalk) 'get up' in the present-day Anatolian dialect of Southeast Turkey, *gǟ* (< *kel*) 'come' in the present-day Anatolian dialect in West Turkey, and finally *āp-käl* (< *alïp käl*) 'bring' (literally 'having taken come') in Siberian Turkish. Cf. also Martti Räsänen, "Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der Türkischen Sprachen," *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki), 15 (1949): 211–12. These examples of the disappearance of *l* tend to suggest that in *čavlï*, too, the *l* disappeared either prior to or in the course of its passage into Mongolian, if *čabi* in the latter language is, indeed, the Turkish *čavlï* in origin.

That the *v* of *čavlï* became *b* in Mongolian is perfectly normal. Cf. the Mongolian *čab* < Turkish *čav*. For detailed remarks in reference to the latter phonological change, cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "*Aldar čab* ~ *Čab aldar*," *HJAS* 18, nos. 1–2 (June, 1955): 221–33.

As for the form *Čābūī* in the Persian of Rašīd al-Dīn, it would appear to be reflective of a Turkish form in which the *l* of *čavlï* had become *u* with the simultaneous passage of *v* to *b*. It is interesting to observe in passing that there is a male name *Чanu* in Rašid al-din, *Sbornik letopisej*, vol. 1, bks. 1, trans. by L. A. Xetagurov, ed. by A. A. Semenov (Leningrad, 1952), p. 185. However, I do not know whether it is another form of *Čabi* or not.

As for the form *Čambui* in the chronicle of Saγang Sečen, it is essentially the *Čābūī* of Rašīd al-Dīn with the additional phonological feature of *m* before *b*. This is not only a purely secondary Mongolian development, but is also an instance of the inverse of the more commonly attested appearance of *b* after *m*. For the latter, cf. Antoine Mostaert, *Sur Quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrète des Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 329, LV.

In sum the forms *Čabi*, *Čābūī*, and *Čambui* all appear to reflect an original Turkish *čavlï* 'falcon', in which the *l* either in Turkish itself or in Mongolian was subjected to diverse phonological modifications.

4 For the *Hung-chi-la* (Qunggira[d]), cf. Paul Pelliot, "Les Formes avec et sans *q*- (*k*-) initial en turc et en mongol," *T'oung pao* 37, bks. 3–4 (1944): [73]–101 (pp. 77–78, fn. 1).

5 For Alčin cf. Paul Pelliot, "Sur un passage de *Cheng-wou ts'ing-tcheng lou*," in the *Ts'ai Yüan P'ei Anniversary Volume* (= *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica*), vol. 1 (Peiping, 1934), pp. 907–938 (pp. 908–917 and 924–31, fns. 1–24: "I. *Wo-tch'en-no-yen*").

In the "Hou-fei piao [Table of Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 106 (*ts'e* 36).3ra-3va we read: "*Ch'a-pi Huang-hou* ('Empress'), *née* Hung-chi-la (Qunggira[d]), was the daughter of An-ch'en Na-yen (Alčin Noyan), Chung[3v]-wu Wang of Lu." Again, in the biography of T'e Hsieh-Ch'en (Tei Sečen) in the *Yüan shih* 118 (*ts'e* 37).1r4–7r8 we read (4v10): "*Chao-jui shun-sheng Huang-hou* (Bright and Wise, Compliant and Sagacious Empress) of Shih-tsu, named Ch'a-pi (Čabi), [was] the daughter of An-ch'en (Alčin), Chung-wu Wang of Chi-ning."

Rašīd al-Dīn also in Boyle, *Successors*, p. 241, says: "Qubilai Qa'an had many wives and concubines, of whom the most senior was Chabui Khatun, the daughter of Alchi Noyan of the family of the rulers of the Qonqirat."

In his article ("Les Formes," p. 911) Pelliot remarked without comment: "Quand Rašīdu-'d-Dīn dit (Berezin, I, 152; Blochet, II, 352–353) que Khubilai épousa, entre autres جابون Ǯabun (à corriger en چابوی Čabui), fille d'Ilči-noyan, il est clair qu'il s'agit des mêmes personnages que dans le *Yuan che* (106, 2*b*), où il est dit que Khubilai épousa 察必 Tch'a-pi (*Čabi), fille de 按陳 那顏 Ngan-tch'en-no-yen (Alčin-noyan)." However, in his *Notes on Marco Polo* (p. 568), he was constrained to observe that "Čabui was a Qonγrat, and both the *YS* (106, 2*b*; 118, 2*b*) and Rašīdu-'d-Dīn agree in making her a daughter of Alčin-noyan; this is hard to believe, as it would make her three generations older than Tägülün (cf. also T'u Chi, 19, 7*b*)."

6 I.e., "Loyal and Martial Prince." See fn. 8 below.

7 I.e., his enfeoffment. In the *Yüan shih* 118 (*ts'e* 37).1v3–4 we read: "In the 2nd moon of

She gave birth to Yü-tsung.[8]

At the beginning of [the] Chung-t'ung [period] [1260] she was set up as *Huang-hou*[9] (Empress).

In the 3rd [2v] moon of the 10th year of [the] Chih-yüan [period] [21 March–18 April 1273] she was presented a patent (*ts'e*) and a seal (*pao*) and was offered the epithet (*tsun-hao*) *Chen-i chao-sheng shun-t'ien jui-wen kuang-ying Huang-hou* (Chaste and Good, Bright and Sagacious, Compliant to Heaven, Wise in Culture, Brilliant in Responsiveness Empress).[10]

One day four *ch'ieh-hsieh*[11] (*kese[g]*) officers memorialized [to the effect] that the suburb (*chin-ti*) outside the Capital (*ching-ch'eng*) should be set apart to graze horses[12] (*mu ma*).

After the Emperor had approved, while they were presenting a map, the Empress (*hou*) arrived before the Emperor. As she was about to remonstrate, she first pretended to rebuke the *T'ai-pao*,[13] Liu Ping-chung,[14] saying, "If thou, being a *Han-jen*[15] who art intelligent, speak, then the Emperor will listen to thee. Why dost [thou] not remonstrate? Formerly, when we arrived to establish the Capital (*tu*), if we used the land to graze horses, then it would have done. Now, as for the

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the 1st year of Yüan-chen [16 February–16 March 1295] he was posthumously enfeoffed Chi-ning Wang ('Prince of Chi-ning') and was canonized Chung-wu ('Loyal and Martial')."

8 This is the posthumous name of Chen-chin, the second son of Qubilai, who died before his father. Cf. Hambis, *Le Chapitre cvii*, p. 115, fn. 3. For his biography cf. the *Yüan shih* 115 (*ts'e* 37).3v10–10r5. Cf. also "P.P." *apud* Hambis, *Le Chapitre cvii*, p. 115, fn. 2. Cf., further, Pelliot, *Notes to Marco Polo*, 1: 278–80, "156. Cinchim." Cf. additionally Rašīd al-Dīn in Boyle, *Successors*, p. 242: "Second son of Qubilai Qa'an — Jim-Gim." Cf., finally, Schmidt, *Geschichte*, p. 118, ll. 9–10: *Tendeče Čakraward Sečen Qaγan-u γoo-a Čambui qatun-ača törögsen Dorǰi Manghala Činggim: Nomoqan dörben köbegün Čečeg kemekü γaγča abaγai buyu.* In Schmidt's rendering (*Geschichte*, p. 119) this reads: "*Tschakrawartin Ssetsen Chaghan* hatte von seiner Gemahlinn *Goa Tschambui* vier Söhne Namens *Dordschi, Mangghala, Tschinggim* und *Nomochan*, und eine Tochter Namens *Tsetsek*."

9 Cf. the "Hou-fei piao [Table of Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 106 (*ts'e* 36).3va: "At the beginning of [the] Chung-t'ung [period] [1260] she was set up as *Huang-hou*."

10 Cf. the "Hou-fei piao [Table of Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 106 (*ts'e* 36).3ra–3va, where we read (3va): "In the 10th year of [the] Chih-yüan [period] [1273] she was presented a patent and seal. Subsequently she was granted the honorific title: *Chen-i chao-sheng shun-t'ien jui-wen kuang-yung Huang-hou* (Chaste and Good, Bright and Sagacious, Compliant to Heaven, Wise in Culture, Brilliant in Responsiveness Empress)." Cf. also the *Yüan shih, Ti-liu-ts'e*, Chung-hua shu-chü, p. 2883, fn. 6.

11 For *keseg* (~ *kesig*) cf. Ch'i-ch'ing Hsiao, *The Military Establishment of the Yüan Dynasty*, East Asian Monographs 77 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1978), p. 148, fn. 10.

12 This episode is not recorded in the entry on "Ma cheng [Horse Administration]" in the *Yüan shih* 100 (*ts'e* 34).1r5–6v5.

13 I.e., "Grand Guardian." For the significance of this title, cf. p. 140 of the article cited in fn. 14 below.

14 Cf. Hok-lam Chan 陳學霖, "Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (1216–74), A Buddhist-Taoist Statesman at the Court of Khubilai Khan," *T'oung pao* 53, bks. 1–3 (1967): [98]–146.

15 I.e., Northern Chinese. For the history and use of the term, cf. Ch'i-ch'ing Hsiao, *Military Establishment of the Yüan Dynasty*, p. 176, fn. 70.

army (*chün*) and the *chan*[16] (*ǰam*), the allotted property (*fen-yeh*) is already fixed.[17] Would it do to snatch it?"[18]

The Emperor was silent. He ordered that the matter be pigeonholed (*ch'in ch'i shih*).

The Empress (*hou*) once requisitioned from the *T'ai-fu-chien*[19] silks (*tseng-po*) — inners and outers[20] (*li-piao*) — one each. The Emperor addressed the Empress (*hou*), saying, "These are what the army (*chün*) and the state (*kuo*) need. They are not things for [our] private family. How should the Empress be able to requisition [them]?"

The Empress (*hou*), from this [moment], leading the women of the palace[21] (*kung-jen*) personally took upon [herself] ladies' [garment] work (*nü-kung*). She collected sundry old bow-strings (*kung-hsüan*), softened them by boiling (*chien*) and twisted (*ch'i*) [them] into threads (*ch'ou*) in order to make clothing. Their pliable texture (*jen-mi*) was comparable to [that of] damask (*ling-ch'i*).

As the skins of sheep scapulae[22] (*yang-nao-p'i*) in the *Hsüan-hui-yüan*[23] were set aside and not used, the Empress took them and, sewing them together, made

[16] Cf. Paul Pelliot, "Sur *yam* ou *ǰam*, 'relais postal,'" *T'oung pao* 27 (1930): 192–95.

[17] I.e., assigned.

[18] I.e., rob Peter to pay Paul.

[19] For the entry in the *Yüan shih* 90(*ts'e* 30).17r6–17v2 on the *T'ai-fu-chien*, cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The 'Fifteen "Palace Poems"' by K'o Chiu-ssu," *HJAS* 20, nos. 3–4 (December 1957): 391–479 (p. 451, fn. 103).

[20] For *li-piao* 'inners and outers', cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Edict of 1453 in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi," *HJAS* 13, nos. 3–4 (December 1950): 431–46 and plates 1–8 (p. 438, fn. 6).

[21] For another example of *kung-jen*, cf. Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," p. 257.

[22] For the use of sheep scapulae by the Mongols for divination, cf. the *Yüan shih* 149(*ts'e* 45).13v1–2, where we read: "Jui-tsung (= Tolui) ordered [his] army (*chün-chung*) to pray for snow and also to scorch sheep scapulae (*yang-chia-ku*) to divine. An auspicious omen (*chi chao*) was obtained. In the night there was a heavy snowfall three feet deep."

[23] For the *Hsüan-hui yüan* cf. the *Yüan shih* 87(*ts'e* 29).15r9–16r6, where we read (15r9–15v4): "Principal third grade in rank. It had charge of the provisioning of imperial food (*yü-shih*). All sundry items such as (*shu-p'in chih shih*) cereals (*tao-liang*), sacrificial meat (*sheng-lao*), beverages (*chiu-li*), vegetables and fruits (*su kuo*), things pertaining to the entertainment of imperial relatives and guests (*yen-hsiang tsung-ch'i pin-k'o chih shih*) as well as things such as food for the *chu-wang* ('princes'), imperial guard, and *ch'ieh-lin k'ou* (*kerīn ke'ü*), the service (*ch'ai-fa*) which the Meng-ku (Mongγo[l]) *wan-hu* ('myriarchs') and *ch'ien-hu* ('chiliarchs') should contribute, the grazing and raising of livestock (*mu-yang tz'u-hsü*) belonging to the government or levied [by it] as shares (*hsi-kuan ch'ou-fen*), the annual defrayment of the cost of fodder, millet and pulse, sheep and horses (*sui chih ch'ou-ts'ao su shu yang-ma chih shih*), and the receipt of lost objects (*shou-shou lan-i*) together with the three *Chü* ('Bureaus') — the *Shang-shih* ('Imperial Food'), *Shang-yao* ('Imperial Medicine'), and *Shang-yün* ('Imperial Wine') — which were in all cases subject to its jurisdiction. If the subordinate organs (*ssu-shou*) which it controlled employed people, then they made the selection themselves."

For a splendid annotated translation of this same text as well as a subsequent portion in the *Yüan shih*, cf. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, pp. 143–46.

rugs (*ti-t'an*). As for her diligence and frugality, such are the examples of her being economical and not wasteful (*yu chieh erh wu ch'i wu*).

In the 13th year [18 January 1276–5 January 1277], when the Sung were conquered, the young ruler[24] came to pay court at Shang-tu.[25] There was a grand banquet and the multitude all rejoiced exceedingly. Only that the Empress (*hou*) did not joy.

The Emperor said, "I have now conquered Chiang-nan.[26] From henceforth there shall be no need of warfare (*pu yung ping-chia*). The multitude of persons all rejoice. Thou alone dost not joy. Why?"

The Empress (*hou*) knelt and memorialized, saying, "[Thy] *ch'ieh*[27] hath heard that from antiquity there have been no states of a thousand years [of duration]. If my descendants are not brought to (*wu shih . . . chi*) this,[28] then [I] shall be grateful."

The Emperor took old things (*ku-wu*) in the Sung treasury (*fu-k'u*) and assembled and placed [them] each in the audience hall (*tien-t'ing*). His Majesty summoned the Empress (*hou*) to view them. The Empress viewed [them] thoroughly and straightway departed.

The Emperor dispatched a eunuch to overtake [her] and inquire as to what the Empress (*hou*) wished to take.

The Empress (*hou*) said, "The *Sung-jen*[29] stored [them] up in order to bequeath [them] to [their] descendants. The descendants were not able to keep them and they have come into our possession. How can I bear to take a single thing?"

At that time the Sung *T'ai-hou*,[30] *née* Ch'üan,[31] arrived at the Capital (*ching*). As she was not accustomed to the northern climate (*pei-fang feng-t'u*), the Empress (*hou*) memorialized for [her] to let her return to Chiang-nan. The Emperor refused (*pu yün*). By the time that she had memorialized thrice the Emperor then replied, saying, "Thou, [being] a woman, hast no distant concerns.[32] If we let her return to the south, in the event that a rumor should arise (*fou-yen i tung*), her family shall be straightway destroyed.[33] It is not to do her a favor.[34] If

24 I.e., Chao Hsien canonized Ying-kuo Kung. For his reign cf. the *Sung shih* 47(*ts'e* 12).1r4–22v3. Cf. Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London and Shanghai, 1898), pp. 61–62, no. 156; Paul Pelliot, "L'Édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei," *T'oung pao* 26 (1928): [113]–182 (pp. 136–37, fns. 20–23); and Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," pp. 257–58, fn. 649.

25 On 14 June 1276. Cf. Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," p. 233, fn. 337, for Shang-tu as such, and p. 257 for the date of arrival.

26 I.e., the region south of the Ch'ang-chiang. Cf. Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," p. 208, fn. 44.

27 For union with a *ch'ieh*, or "femme secondaire," cf. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, vol. 2, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. 4 (Paris, 1972), p. 125, fn. 5.

28 I.e., such a fate — the loss of our country and being made captive of another court.

29 I.e., Sung people.

30 I.e., Empress Mother.

31 Cf. the *Yüan shih* 9 (*ts'e* 3).7v7. Cf. also the *Sung shih* 47(*ts'e* 12).1r5.

32 I.e., "Thou dost not see the problems afar (= temporally and spatially)." In other words, "Thou lackest foresight."

33 The Sung might well take her presence as a pretext to restore the dynasty. The Yüan troops in the south would then kill her and her family.

34 Literally, "It is not whereby we may spare her."

(*kou*) we are able to favor[35] her, it is to comfort and relieve her frequently so that she may be comfortable and secure. [That] would do."

The Empress withdrew and treated her the more generously.

As to the northern[36] cap (*hu-mao*), formerly it had no visor (*ch'ien-yen*). The Emperor, on the occasion of shooting, was blinded by the sun in his eyes.[37] He told the Empress (*hou*) about it. The Empress (*hou*) straightway added a visor[38] (*ch'ien-yen*). The Emperor was very happy and, as a result, ordered that it become a model.

Moreover, she fabricated one garment. In front there was the *shang*[39] without a *jen*[40]; in the back it was twice as long as in the front. And it had neither collar nor sleeves (*ling-hsü*). She basted it with two loops[41] (*liang p'an*). It was called *pi-chia*.[42] With [it] one facilitated [the use of] bows and horses (*kung ma*). At the time everyone imitated it.

The Empress by nature was intelligent. She understood matters of moment. As to the early governance of the nation (*kuo-chia*), she adjusted (*k'uan-cheng*) to the right or to the left.[43] At that time she participated in the effortful.[44]

She died in the 2nd moon of the 14th year[45] [6 March–5 April 1277].

In the 31st year [28 January–18 December 1294] Ch'eng-tsung[46] ascended the throne.

35 Literally, "spare." The implication is that we might not be able to do her a favor, for she might even commit suicide. Hence, "To detain her is to do her a real favor."

36 For some of the diverse applications of the word *hu*, used here of the Mongols, cf. Mikinosuke Ishida, "Etudes sino-iraniennes, I: A propos du *Hou-siuan-wou* 胡旋舞," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (*The Oriental Library*) (Tokyo), 1932, no. 6, pp. [61]–76 (pp. 63–64).

37 Literally, "[As for] the Emperor, on the occasion of shooting, the sun color dazzled his eyes."

38 Literally, "fore-eave."

39 Cf. Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, 2nd rev. ed. (Shanghai and London, 1912), p. [1181], no. 9734: "The clothes on the lower half of the body."

40 Cf. Giles, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. [700], no. 5613: "The breast of a coat, buttoned under the right arm."

41 For a translation of this passage cf. Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming*, pt. 2: *The Tribute System and Diplomatic Missions (1400–1600)*, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. 14 (Brussels, 1967), p. 245, fn. 105.

42 For other examples of the term *pi-chia* which, as it stands, would appear to mean "comparable to armor" in Chinese, cf. Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations*, pp. 245, 249, and 251. For a discussion of the term, including observations on its occurrence in the biography of Čabi as well as elsewhere, cf. Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations*, pp. 246–47, fn. 105.

43 Literally, "to the left or to the right"; i.e., without resorting to extremes.

44 Cf. the "Hou-fei piao [Table of Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 106(*ts'e* 36).3va: "The Empress by nature was intelligent. She understood matters of moment. As to the governance of [the] Chih-yüan [period] [1264–1294] she rectified mistakes. At that time it was considered that it was probably effortful."

45 In the "Hou-fei piao [Table of Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 106(*ts'e* 36).3va we read: "She died in the 18th year [1284]." Rašīd al-Dīn in Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 241–42, says: "She died before Qubilai Qa'an, in the *bichin* [242] *yïl*, the Year of the Monkey, corresponding to 682/1283–1284." Boyle, *Successors*, p. 242, fn. 1, remarks: "Actually 1284." Cf. also the *Yüan shih*, *Ti-liu-ts'e*, Chung-hua shu-chü, p. 2883, fn. 7.

46 I.e., Temür, canonized Ölǰeitü Qaγan, born on 15 October 1265, ascended the throne on 10 May 1294 and died on 10 February 1307. Cf. Moule, "Table of the Emperors," p. [124]; Moule and Yetts, *Rulers of China*, p. 103, G.

In the 5th moon [26 April–25 June 1294] she was canonized *Chao-jui shun-sheng Huang-hou* (Bright and Wise, Compliant and Sagacious Empress).[47]

The text of the patent (*ts'e-wen*) reads:

To uphold ancestry (*feng hsien*) and to be mindful of filiality (*ssu hsiao*) [are in keeping with] the deepest emotions (*chih ch'ing*) of subject sons[48] (*ch'en tzu*).

To mete out generosity[49] (*chieh hui*) and to change a name[50] (*i ming*) [constitute] an important ceremony (*ta-tien*) of the past and the present (*ku-chin*).

Mindful that Sung[51] of Yin[52] had the title of Ming-te[53] ("Brilliant Virtue") and that Jen[54] of Chou[55] manifested the appellation of Ssu Chao,[56]

[47] In the "Hou-fei piao [Table of Empresses and Concubines]" in the *Yüan shih* 106 (*ts'e* 36).3va, we read: "In the 31st year [28 January–18 December 1294] she was presented the honorific posthumous title: *Chao-jui shun-sheng Huang-hou* (Bright and Wise, Compliant and Sagacious Empress)."

[48] For another example of *ch'en-tzu*, cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of J̌igüntei," *HJAS* 14, nos. 1–2 (June 1951): 1–104 and plates 1–32 (p. 39, fn. 32).

[49] For other examples of *chieh hui* 'to mete out generosity', cf. Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," p. 298, fn. 19.

[50] Neither in the *Yüan shih, Ti-erh ts'e,* Kuo-fang yen-chiu-yüan / Chung-hua ta-tien pien-yin-hui ho-tso (T'ai-pei, 1966), p. 1111a, l. 2, nor in the *Yüan shih, Ti-liu-ts'e,* Chung-hua shu-chü, p. 2872, l. 7, has the word *wu* been corrected to *i*. For other examples of *i ming* 'to change the name', cf. Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," p. 298, fn. 18, and p. 302, fn. 41. Cf. also the *Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed.) 11 (*ts'e* 3).9r5.

[51] The text has Jung, an error for Sung, the family name of the second wife of the Emperor K'u. Cf. the ode entitled "Ch'ang fa" ("Long had there Appeared") in the *Shih ching* (James Legge, *The Chinese Classics,* vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 638–39), where we read (*op. cit.,* p. 639): *Yu Sung fang chiang* "Then the State of Sung began to be great." Cf. also Édouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien traduits et annotés,* Publication encouragée par la Société Asiatique, vol. 1 (Paris, 1895), p. 41: "Sa seconde femme était une fille de la famille des princes de Song 有娀氏 et s'appelait *Kien-ti* 簡狄; elle enfanta *Sié* 契 (c'est l'ancêtre de la dynastie *Chang*)." Cf. also Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques,* p. [173]: "La mère de *Sié,* (ancêtre des) *Yn,* s'appelait *Kien-ti*; c'était une fille de la famille princière de Song; elle était l'épouse en second de l'empereur *K'ou.*" In fn. 2 on the same page Chavannes remarked: "D'après le commentaire *Tcheng i, Song* est une localité correspondant à la circonscription de *P'ou.* Aujourd'hui, préfecture de *P'ou-tcheou* 蒲州府, province de *Chān-si.* — L'expression 有娀氏 signifie proprement «la famille *qui possède Song*» et c'est pourquoi je traduis: la famille *princière* de *Song.*"

[52] Called Shang at first, this dynasty was subsequently called Yin. Cf. the opening line of the ode cited above (Legge, *Chinese Classics,* p. 638): *Jui che wei Shang* 'Profoundly wise were [the lords of] Shang'. Cf. also the citation from Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques,* in fn. 51 above. Cf. further Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques,* p. [173], fn. 1, wherein we read: "*Sié* fut le premier ancêtre 始祖 de la seconde dynastie. Cette dynastie s'appela d'abord *Chang* 商, du nom de la terre qui, comme on le lira quelques lignes plus bas, fut donnée à *Sié* par l'empereur *Choen*; elle prit ensuite le nom de *Yn* lorsque *P'an-keng* 盤庚 transféra son peuple dans la terre de ce nom."

[53] The source of this title is subject to further research.

[54] I.e., T'ai Jen, mother of Wen Wang. Cf. the ode entitled "Ssu chai" in the *Shih ching* (Legge, *Chinese Classics,* pp. 446–48) which opens: *Ssu chai T'ai jen, Wen Wang chih mu* ("Pure and reverent was T'ae-jin, The mother of King Wan"). For T'ai Jen, cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics,* p. 433 II, 2. Cf. also Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques,* p. 215, where we read: "L'Ancien duc avait un fils ainé qui s'appelait *T'ai-po* et un second fils qui s'appelait

Therefore, we consulted old statutes (*chiu-chang*) and reverently exalted the honorific canonization (*tsun-shih*).

[We] respectfully observe that, [as to] the former *Huang-hou*, [her] liberal virtue (*hou-te*) carried creatures[57] (*tsai wu*) and [her] orthodox position (*cheng-wei*) was next to Heaven[58] (*ch'eng t'ien*).

She elevated good housekeeping[59] (*nei-chih*) in the princely palace (*kung kung*).

She exemplified the great relationship[60] (*ta-lun*) in the empire (*t'ien-hsia*).

Formerly she managed the mansion where the dragon was submerged[61] (*lung-ch'ien-chih-ti*) as well as encountered the autumn when the tiger changed[62] (*hu-pien-chih-ch'in*).

Yu-tchong. T'ai-kiang enfanta le plus jeune fils, *Ki-li*; *Ki-li* prit pour femme *T'ai-jen*. (*T'ai-kiang et T'ai-jen*) furent toutes deux des épouses parfaites." In fn. 3 on the same page Chavannes remarked: "Dans les noms de *T'ai-kiang* 太姜 et de *T'ai-jen* 太任, *Kiang* et *Jen* sont des noms de clan. Ces deux femmes sont mentionnées dans le *Lié niu tchouan* ou Biographies des femmes remarquables."

55 I.e., the Chou dynasty. Cf. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques*, pp. 214–15, fn. 5: "La ville fondée par [215] *Tan-fou* s'appela *Tcheou* 周 ou *Tcheou-yuen* 周原 et c'est de là que vint plus tard le nom de la dynastie."

56 This appellation is from the opening line of the ode so entitled in the *Shih ching*, which has been cited in fn. 54 above. For its possible meanings, cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, p. 446, "St. 1."

57 She is compared to Earth. For *tsai wu* in the *Chung-yung*, cf. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2nd rev. ed., vol. 1 (Oxford, 1893), p. 419, "The Doctrine of the Mean": *so-i tai wu yeh* ("This is how it [i.e., sincerity — F.W.C.] contains *all* things"). Cf. also ibid., p. 429: *Ti chih so tai* ("wherever . . . the earth sustains").

58 I.e., the Emperor.

59 Literally, "internal management."

60 I.e., husband and wife. For the term *ta-lun*, cf. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, 2: 109, fn. 3: "Dans la terminologie confucianiste 大倫 *ta-louen* désigne le principe moral qui régit les rapports entre suzerain et sujets, père et fils, mari et femme, frère ainé et cadet et entre amis."

61 I.e., where Qubilai lived as crown prince. With the words *lung-ch'ien-chih-ti* compare the words *lung-ti-chih-ch'ien* "the submersion of the dragon mansion" in the *Yüan shih* 68 (*ts'e* 23).3v4. For the *locus classicus* of the term *ch'ien lung* ("submerged dragon") cf. the *Chou i* 1 (*ts'e* 1).1r3, where we read: *Ch'u chiu ch'ien-lung. Wu yung.* James Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, pt. 2: *The Yî King*, 2nd ed., The Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, vol. 16 (Oxford, 1899), p. [57]: "1. In the first (or lowest) line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon lying hid (in the deep). It is not the time for active doing." The same words (*ch'ien-lung*) occur several times in subsequent passages. Cf., e.g., 1 (*ts'e* 1).2r2–3, 2v1, 2v4, 3v9, and 4r5.

62 The unrest after the death of Möngke, i.e., the revolt of Ariγ Böke et al. The words *hu pien* are found in the Chou I 5 (*ts'e* 1).9v8 and 9v9 in the following passages (9v8–9): *Chiu wu ta-jen hu-pien wei chan yu fou* and (9v9–10): *Hsiang yüeh ta-jen hu-pien ch'i wen ping yeh.* Legge, *Chinese Classics*, pp. 168 and 328, translated these, respectively, as follows: "5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the great man (producing his changes) as the tiger (does when he) changes (his stripes). Before he divines (and proceeds to action), faith has been reposed in him"; "5. 'The great man produces his changes as the tiger does when he changes his stripes:' — their beauty becomes more brilliant."

That he withdrew [his] forces (*pan shih*) [from] the bank of O[63] [was that] she thoroughly understood the opportunity of the moment[64] (*shih-chi-chih-hui*).

That he trod upon [4r] the fortune[65] (*ch'ien-tsu*) [in] Shang-tu lodged in the counsels whereby she helped (*fu-tso-chih-mou*) [him] much.

[As to her] clarity in anticipating events[66] (*hsien-wu-chih-ming*), it was solely decided in [his] bosom.[67]

[As to her] purpose in recommending worthies[68] (*chin-hsien-chih-chih*), it was truly in accord with His Majesty['s wishes].

She assisted[69] Our[70] Sagacious Grandfather[71] (*Wo sheng-tsu*) in setting up the supreme imperial achievement[72] (*ti-wang-chih chi-kung*).

She reared Our Former Person[73] (*Wo ch'ien-jen*) to inherit the grave trust of the national altars (*she-chi-chih chung-t'o*).

[As to] the services (*ch'in-lao*) of the ministers (*ch'en-hsia*), she saw [them] clearly[74] (*cho-chien*).

[As to] the sufferings (*chih-k'u*) of the people (*sheng-min*), she understood [them] thoroughly[75] (*chou chih*).

She paired with the North Star[76] (*li ch'en-chi*) for twenty-two years.

[63] I.e., O-chou, for which cf. Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," p. 220, fn. 172, and p. 221, fn. 184.

[64] Although Qubilai had already dismissed the news of the death of Möngke Qaγan as a rumor and went on to besiege and occupy O-chou, we learn from Rašīd al-Dīn in Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 229–30: "Immediately afterward there arrived messengers from Chabui Khatun and the emirs of her *ordo*, Taichi'utai Noyan and Yekü Noyan. The messengers whose [230] names were Toqan and Ebügen, brought the news of Möngke Qa'an's death. And when Qubilai Qa'an realized that the news was true, he left the army and mourned for his brother." Still further details are provided by Rašīd al-Dīn in Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 248–50, where we read (pp. 248–49): ". . . Meantime the messengers of Chabui Khatun and the emirs of her *ordo*, Taich'utai and Yekü, arrived and delivered the following message: 'The great emirs Dorji and 'Alam-Dār have come from Ariq Böke and are raising *turqaqs* from the Mongols and Jauqut, and the reason for this is unknown. [249] Shall we give them the troops or not?' *Etc., etc.*"

[65] I.e., ascended the throne. For *chien-tso*, cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," *HJAS* 13, nos. 1–2 (June 1950): 34–35, fn. 34.

[66] I.e., foresight.

[67] I.e., He alone was responsible for the action to be taken.

[68] I.e., worthy ministers.

[69] Literally, "lefted and righted."

[70] I.e., Ch'eng-tung's.

[71] I.e., Qubilai.

[72] I.e., ascending the throne and conquering the Sung.

[73] I.e., Father.

[74] I.e., She knew whom to recommend for reward and promotion.

[75] She saw to it that they were given relief.

[76] For the term *ch'en-chi*, cf. Cleaves, "Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335," p. 53, fn. 173. The meaning is that she had shared the throne with Qubilai for twenty-two years.

She exemplified motherhood[77] (*ch'ui tz'u-fan*) for a thousand myriads of generations.[78]

As she believed in completing [her] beautiful sagacity (*mei sheng*) by[79] being more sagacious,

It is meet that [we] glorify the writing of patents (*ts'e shu*) by[80] repeatedly writing.

Although [we] cannot fully express (*pu sheng*) the sincerity of [our] affection and earnestness[81] (*ch'üan-ch'üan k'en-k'en chih ch'eng*),

[We] reverently display (*ching chan*) the significance of homage and endearment[82] (*tsun-tsun ch'in-ch'in chih i*).

In order to lift aloft [our] glorification (*sheng-lieh*) in order to match [her] true brilliance (*keng-kuang*) [We] have respectfully dispatched such and such[83] an official so and so[84] (*chin ch'ien mou kuan mou*) to present the jade patent[85] (*yü ts'e*) and the jade seal[86] (*yü pao*) and offer up the honorific canonization[87] (*shang tsun-shih*): *Chao-jui shun-sheng huang-hou* (Bright and Wise, Compliant and Sagacious Empress).

[We] respectfully observe: Although [her] pure spirit (*shu-ling*) abides in Heaven, [her] perspicacity (*ming-chien*) reaches [those who are] below.[88]

A lustre is added to the glowing brush[89] (*wei kuan*), which lifts richly aloft the message of [her] graciousness (*hui-i chih yin*).

77 Literally, "suspended."

78 I.e., forever.

79 Here *erh* is for *i*.

80 Here *erh* is for *i*.

81 For *ch'üan-ch'üan* and *k'en-k'en* separately, cf. Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-wa jiten*, vol. 4, pp. 4489 and 4600, nos. 10795 and 11326, respectively.

82 For *tsun-ch'in* as a compound, cf. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-wa jiten*, 4: 3435, no. 7445; cf. also *tsun erh pu ch'in* in Morohashi, *Dai Kan-wa jiten*, 4: 3438, no. 7445.

83 The word *mou* was to have been replaced at the appropriate time by the proper designation of the office in question. It is clear that we have here in the *Yüan shih* a copy of the patent in its original form.

84 The word *mou* was to have been replaced at the appropriate time by the name of the person in question. As in the case of the office immediately above, it is clear that here in the *Yüan shih* we have a copy of the patent in its original form.

85 For other examples of the term *yü-ts'e*, cf. Cleaves, "Biography of Bayan of the Bārin," pp. 207 and 277.

86 As in the case of *ts'e* in *yü-ts'e* just before, the word *pao* is often qualified by the word *yü* 'jade'.

87 For this formula, cf. also the biography of the Empress Shih-lin-ta-li in the *Yüan shih* 114 (*ts'e* 36).4v3–5r4 (5v2).

88 I.e., she appreciates what we have done.

89 I.e., the historian's pen, or, in other words, what is said about her. For the term *wei-kuan*, a juxtaposition of the second (*kuan*) and fourth (*wei*) words of a verse of an ode in the *Shih ching*, cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 4: 69, 2: *Tan kuan yu wei*. "Bright is the red tube; —." Cf. also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 4: 69, st. 2, for a discussion of the words *kuan* and *wei*.

It is fitting to offer sacrifices [in] the *T'ai-kuan*,[90] which increasingly prolongs the blessings of longevity and prosperity[91] (*shou ch'ang-chih fu*).
She has ascended to the Shih-tsu Temple.[92]

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[90] I.e., Imperial Kitchen.
[91] For her descendants.
[92] For the formula *sheng-fu . . . miao*, cf. also the biography of Shih-lin-ta-li in the *Yüan shih* 114 (*ts'e* 36).4v5–5r4 (5r2–3). Cf. also *sheng-fu T'ai-miao* in *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, rev. American ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. (283), no. 1921.

Three Turkic Verse Cycles Relating to Inner Asian Warfare

ROBERT DANKOFF

Among the verse cycles that can be reconstructed from the scattered stanzas recorded by the Karakhanid philologist Maḥmūd al-Kāšgharī in his *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* (c. 1075),[1] there are three which relate to warfare among various Turkic groups. One of these has to do with a Muslim (Karakhanid?) campaign that took place in the first part of the eleventh century and resulted in a victory over a confederation of infidel tribes in the region of the Irtysh Valley. The second recounts a raid of Muslim Turks against Buddhist Uighurs. The third concerns the khān of the Tangut and his putting to rout the troops of Qatun Sīni, "a city between Tangut and China."

Kāšgharī traveled among the Turkic peoples, "throughout their cities and their steppes," as he tells us, "learning their dialects and their rhymes."[2] His aim was to provide a complete lexicon of the Turkic dialects. Following the model of the Arabic lexicographers, Kāšgharī often cited proverbs and poetry to illustrate the usage of words. The poetry invariably consisted of quatrains and couplets which followed the patterns of traditional Turkic folk verse, although there is evidence of some slight influence of Arabic-Islamic forms. When arranged according to contents and to metrical and rhyme scheme, most of the stanzas fall into fifteen or so clearly delineable cycles, relating either to warfare (as the ones treated here), or to the hunt, death (elegy), love, nature, or proverbial wisdom.

In the reconstructions that follow, an attempt is made to arrange the stanzas in a plausible order and to identify as far as possible the geography and chronology of the three campaigns, especially the first. In studying the texts, the reader should keep in mind the following points:

[1] See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (hereafter *EI*²), s.v. "al-Kāshgharī" (Hazai) and "Ilek-khānids" (Bosworth).
[2] See the phototypical edition of the unique manuscript, *Divanü Lûgatit-türk Tıpkıbasımı* (Ankara, 1941), p. 3.

(1) All of the stanzas in the *Dīwān* relating to a given campaign are presented, but there is no assurance that these represent all the stanzas in the original cycle. There is also no guarantee that the ordering of the stanzas reflects the original ordering.[3]

(2) The English translation does not reflect the Turkic directly, but rather, Kāšgharī's Arabic rendering. Places where Kāšgharī is translating from the Turkic are indicated by quotation marks in the English. Within the quotation marks, any additional comments by the author which are not direct translations from the Turkic are in parentheses. In places where Kāšgharī's translation is elliptical or inadequate, my rendering of the Turkic is given in brackets.

(3) Citations are given according to manuscript page number and entry word.[4]

I. WAR OF THE MUSLIM TURKS AGAINST THE COALITION OF YABĀQU, BASMIL, ČÖMÜL AND YEMĀK

Besides the four groups of stanzas relating to this campaign presented below, there is also a prose account which allows us to place it during or just before Kāšgharī's own lifetime. This comes at ms. 545–6, s.v. *bökä* 'dragon':

. . . This word is used as a name for warriors. For example, one of the Yabāqu chieftains was called Bökä Budrač. God Most High put them to rout the day when Ghāzī Arslān Tegīn fell upon them with 40,000 Muslims, while the infidels under Bökä Budrač were 700,000 strong. Maḥmūd [al-Kāšgharī] says: "I asked one who witnessed this battle, 'How is it that defeat fell upon the infidels despite their numerous troops?' He said: 'We also were amazed at this, and we asked the infidels how they were put to flight despite their great host. They told us: "When the drums began to beat and the trumpets began to blow, we saw just ahead a green mountain blocking the horizon, and in it there were gates too numerous to

[3] Carl Brockelmann collected all the stanzas of the *Dīwān* into their various cycles, arranging them within each cycle according to the order they appear in the text: see his "Alttürkestanische Volkspoesie," pt. 1 in *Hirth Anniversary Volume, = Asia Major,* Probeband, 1923, pp. 1–22; pt. 2 in *Asia Major* 1 (1924): 24–44. I. V. Stebleva rearranged the stanzas and discussed the verse in connection with her idiosyncratic theory of Turkic poetics: *Razvitie tjurkskix poetičeskix form v XI veke* (Moscow, 1971). Tahsin Banguoğlu rearranged some of the stanzas (corresponding to cycles II and I-d infra) and attempted to place them in a historical context: "Kâşgari'den Notlar, I: Uygurlar ve Uygurca üzerine," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten,* 1958, pp. 103–106.

[4] Text and translations are based on a complete edition of the *Dīwān* by Robert Dankoff, in collaboration with James M. Kelly, to be published in the near future.

count, each of them wide open and shooting at us sparks from fires. We were dumbfounded, and so you defeated us."' I said: "This is one of the miracles of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him peace!) which persist among all Muslims."

This conversation with a veteran of the campaign shows that a ghazi (*ghāzī*) legend (that is, a legend about a Muslim warrior) had already grown up around the hero, Arslān Tegīn.[5]

In the verses, Buḏrač is associated with the tribes Basmil, Čömül, and Yemāk, while the Yabāqu is not mentioned. According to Kāšgharī (ms. 25) the Yabāqu, Basmil, and Čömül, along with the Qāy and Tatār, knew Turkic well, but each also had a language of its own; all are expressly stated as being nomadic peoples.[6] In the geographical enumeration of the tribes (ms. 20–21), the first ten, who are "opposite Rūm extending toward the East," are listed as follows: Bäčänäk, Qifčāq, Oghuz, Yemāk, Bašghirt, Basmil, Qāy, Yabāqu, Tatār, Qirqiz. On the other hand, the Čömül is enumerated with the other ten, who are "middling between South and North"; the list reads Čigil, Tuxsi, Yaghma, Oghrāq, Čaruq, Čömül, Uighur, Tangut, Khitāy (Ṣīn), and Tawghāč (Māṣīn).

Also mentioned in the verses are the Ärtiš (Irtysh) and Yamār (Ob) rivers. Both appear as entries in the *Dīwān,* as follows: 61 *ärtiš,* "name of a river in the steppes of Yemāk which flows into a lake there and which has many arms and tributaries . . ."; 456 *yamār,* "name of a place over which flows Yamār Sūwi; this is a large river in the steppes of Yabāqu." The geographical disposition of the above-mentioned tribes and rivers on Kāšgharī's map (ms. 22–23) is hardly trustworthy. The Ärtiš and Yamār, together with the Ila (Ili), all flow into the same body of water, which must be Lake Balkhash. Just to the west of this lake are the steppes (*fayāfī*) of Basmil, north of the steppes of Tatār and Bašqirt. The steppes of Yemāk are on the left bank of the Ärtiš, whereas the habitation (*maskan*) of Čömül is found between the Ärtiš and the Yamār, south and east of Qāy. Yabāqu is not on the map.[7]

[5] Note also ms. 227 *buḏrač* 'name of a chieftain of the Yabāqu; they fell into the hands of the Muslims in the time of Bäkäč Arslān Tegīn.' And see R. Dankoff, "Kāšġarī on the Beliefs and Superstitions of the Turks," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereafter *JAOS*), 95, no. 1 (1975): 68–80, 69.

[6] See R. Dankoff, "Kāšγarī on the Tribal and Kinship Organization of the Turks," in *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (1972): 23–43.

[7] On the geography see V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* Gibb Memorial Series, n.s. 11 (London, 1937), pp. 275, 285, 288, 303, 316. Brockelmann, "Alttürkestanische Volkspoesie," pt. 1, p. 12, suggested that the Yamār was the Ishim. A. Herrmann, "Die älteste türkische Weltkarte," *Imago Mundi* 1 (1935): 24, identified the Yamār with Sary-su. The identification of the Yamār with the Ob is due to W. Barthold, e.g., in his

The text of the verses begins with a group of seven stanzas describing the outset of the affair: Bökä Buḏrač musters his troops; the enemy crosses the Ärtiš, causing panic among the people, who call for help to the "Tärkän" or "Khān" (presumably titles of Ghāzī Arslān Tegīn; Kāšgharī's translation as "khāqān" or king possibly refers to his subsequent rank).

I-a

1. (83 alpāγut)
   buḏrač yemä qudurdi
   alpāγutin üḏürdi
   sǖsin yana qadirdi
   kälgǟlimät irkišǖr

"Buḏrač (the name of a former emir of the Yabāqu) [went beyond the limit]; he chose his warriors, turned round his troops, and assembled to approach."

2. (85 urunčaq)
   urunčaq alip yermädi
   alimliγ körü armadi
   adašliq üzä turmadi
   qalin ärän tergäšǖr

Reproaching a man: "He was not too tired to take a deposit, and to put off the creditor when he saw him; nor has he continued in friendship; now he has mustered a huge army (and is heading toward me with it)."

3. (163 kür)
   ärtiš suwi yemǟki
   sitγap tutar bilǟki
   kürmät anig yürǟki
   kälgǟlimät irkišǖr

Yemǟk is a tribe of Qifčāq.[8] "This tribe [lit. the Yemǟk of the Ärtiš River] have rolled up their sleeves, their hearts strong and high-spirited, and now have mustered to come against us."

4. (88 usitγān)
   usitγān quyāš qapsadi
   umunčluγ aḏaš täpsädi
   ärtiš suwin käčsädi
   bōdun anin ürküšǖr

"The [thirst-causing] summer heat encompassed us, the longed-for friend envied us (?), the enemy was about to cross the Ärtiš River; because of that the people were panic-stricken."

5. (472 yan-)
   yandi ärinč uγraγi
   käldi bärü tuγraγi
   ȫzi quyi oγrayri
   alplār qamuγ tergäšǖr

Describing the enemy: "Perhaps he has turned back from his intention; for his mounted messenger came to us; and in the bottom of the valley and on the slope, the warriors are lined up for battle."

6. (222 törkün = 371 čärgäš-)
   kälsä apaŋ tärkänim

Calling the khāqān to help fight the Yabāqu (thus 222 only):

Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens (Darmstadt, 1962), p. 96.

[8] Cf. ms. 456 *yemǟk*, "a tribe of the Turks; they are considered by us to be Qifčāq, but the Qifčāq Turks reckon themselves a different party."

ētilgämät terginim yaḏilmaɣay* törkünüm amdi čärig čärgäsūr *371: tarilmaɣay	"May the khāqān but come! (371: If the king comes and helps us); then my gathered goods will prosper, and my clan's houses will not go to ruin (371: and my clan will not be dispersed); now the battle lines are drawn up; (222 only: may he reach me!)."
7. (231 bičɣās) bičɣās bitig qilurlar and käy yemä berūrlär xāndin basut tilärlär basmil čömül tergäšūr	Calling the khāqān to help in battle with the Yabāqu: "My people write a pact of allegiance not to go against the king; [they even take a firm oath; they seek aid from the khān;] for now the tribes of Basmil and Čömül are gathered to do battle with us." Then the khāqān overtook them and took them captive.

Two stanzas with a slightly different rhyme-ending are closely connected with the preceding.

I-b

1. (421 qomit-) basmil sūsin qomitti barča kälip yomitti arslan tapa ämitti qorqup baši täzginūr	Describing the Basmil troops which warred against the Ghāzī Arslān Tegīn: "The Basmil roused their troops (to war against us); all of them banded together; they went after the lion; (but when they saw us their eyes were dazzled and) they were dizzy with fear."
2. (177 türk) qačan körsä ani türk ayɣa anig aydači[9] muŋar tägir uluɣlug munda naru käslinūr	Praising a man: "When the tribes of the Turks see him they will say: 'Glory and pride befit this one, and after him will be cut off."

"The lion" in the first of these two stanzas is undoubtedly Arslān Tegīn (literally "Lion Prince"); and the remark about the enemy's eyes being

[9] In the text the word *boḏun* 'people' appears at the beginning of this line. When it is omitted, as here, the line is metrically correct and literally means: "a sayer of theirs will say." This translates the Arabic phrase *qāla qā'iluhā* ("one of them would say") in the verse of al-Farazdaq on which this Turkic verse is based, according to A.-Z. Validî [Togan], "Maḥmûd Kaşgarî'ye ait notlar," *Atsız Mecmua* 17 (1932): 126. The Arabic verse in question is: "iḏā ra'athu qurayshun qāla qā'iluhā / ilā makārimi hāḏā yantahī l-karamu (When the Quraysh saw him, one of them would say: 'Nobility reaches as far as this one's noble qualities')."

dazzled undoubtedly refers to the ghazi legend narrated above. It is less certain, but still likely, that the hero referred to in the second stanza is also Arslān Tegīn.

The third group of stanzas is a battle song in the cohortative mood. "Our" troops are to take revenge upon Bökä Buḏrač, pursue the enemy across the Yamār, and restore peace to the realm.

I-c

1. (600 taŋ)
taŋ ata yortalim
buḏrač qanin irtälim
basmil begin örtälim
amdi yigit yewilsün

"We'll set out at the break of dawn; we'll seek the blood (and the blood-price)[10] of Buḏrač (a man of the Yabāqu); and we'll burn the emir of Basmil; now let the young men gather in their squadrons."

2. (266 köč-)
tünlä bilä köčǟlim
yamār suwin käčǟlim
tärŋǖk suwin ičǟlim
yuwγa yaγi uwulsun

"We'll set out at night, and cross the Yamār River; we'll drink seepage water; and the enemy, swerving from us, will crumble in our hand."

3. (221 qalqān)
qiqrip atiγ kämšälim
qalqan süŋǖn čomšalim
qaynap yana yumšalim
qatγi yaγi yawalsūn

Describing the enemy: "We'll attack screaming and shouting; we'll thrust with spear and shield; we'll be violent in the fray — then quiet (for the sake of peace, if it be sued for), that the hard foe may relent."

4. (270 tüš- = 336 käwil-)
tägrä awip ägrälim
attin tüšüp yügrälim
arslanlayu kökrälim
kǖči anin käwilsǖn

"We'll surround the enemy; we'll get down from our horses and advance on foot; we'll roar like lions; that his strength become weak thereby."

5. (66 ändik)
ändik kiši tētilsǖn
ēl törü ētilsǖn
toqli böri yētilsǖn
qaḏγu yemä sawulsūn

"(We'll uncover trouble with the sword) so that the simple-minded will come to his senses, the realm will prosper, the wolf will walk with the lamb close behind, and care will depart from us."

[10] Brockelmann, "Alttürkestanische Volkspoesie," pt. 1, p. 14, points out that "blood-price" does not fit the context, since it implies taking revenge for Buḏrač; however the Arabic can be construed to mean that we are taking revenge upon Buḏrač and thus exacting the blood-price for a dead ally.

A final group of three stanzas probably belongs with this cycle.

I-d

1. (30 üs) käldi maŋa tāt aydīm amdi yāt qušqa bolup ät säni tilār üs böri	"An Uighur infidel came to me; [I said: 'Now lie down!' (or, Now, foreigner!');] I killed him and made him prey for vultures [literally: Be meat for the birds; may the vultures and wolves seek you out]."
2. (52 ār) körüp näčük qačmadiŋ yamar suwin käčmädiŋ tawāriŋni sačmadiŋ yēsü säni ār böri	Describing one of the routed soldiers whom he has captured: "When you saw me, why did you not flee, and cross the Yamār tributary (*xalīj*)? Why did you not cast off your belongings (and escape with your life)? So now (may you be killed and) may the hyena eat you."
3. (35 ēš) aniŋ īšīn käčürdüm ēšīn yemä qačurdum ōlūm ōtin īčürdüm īčti bolup yūzi turi	"I put an end to his affair (by killing him), and I made his companion flee; I gave him the potion of death to drink, and he drank it with a sour face." He means: I made him taste death.

The mention of "an Uighur infidel" (stanza 1) seems out of place in this cycle;[11] but the mention of a captured soldier (stanza 2) relates this group to I-a 7, where it is stated that the khāqān took captives; and the mention of the Yamār relates it to I-c 2, where "our" troops pursued the enemy across the Yamār River.[12]

Departing from the sure ground of the text and venturing into the uncertain realm of hypothesis, we can propose the following. The historical kernel of the ghazi legend and of the four groups of stanzas making up cycle I is the victory of the Karakhanid king Ṭoghān Khān, just before his death in 1017, over a numerous army of infidel Turks who had arrived from the direction of China. The story of this event is given by the Muslim historians Ibn al-Athīr and al-'Utbī. Here is Ibn al-Athīr's report:[13]

11 On the other hand, *tāt* might mean simply "infidel" (as at ms. 265, s.v. *čap-*), and not "Uighur infidel," as Kāšgharī translates it. (Banguoğlu, "Kâşgari'den Notlar," p. 106, suggests that here it means "stranger, enemy.") See below, fn. 20.
12 Note that *näčük* 'why' (also in stanza 2) is a Yabāqu dialectal form (ms. 197, s.v.).
13 *Kitāb al-Kāmil*, ed. by C. J. Tornberg, vol. 9 (Leiden, 1863; reprinted Beirut, 1966), pp. 209–210 (vol. 9, p. 297, in the reprint edition).

In this year [408/1017–1018] the Turks emerged from China in great numbers, more than 300,000 tents belonging to various tribes (*min ajnās at-turk*). Among them were the Khiṭāy who [subsequently] ruled Transoxania and whose rule will be described in due course, God willing.

The reason for their emerging was the severe and protracted illness which Ṭoghān Khān suffered when he was ruling Turkestan. Because of this illness they coveted the lands and went after them, conquering some, and plundering, and taking captive, until there remained only eight days between them and Balāsāghūn. When he heard of this he was sick to the heart at the news, and he asked God to cure him, that he might take revenge on the infidels and defend the country against them; then God might do with him as He willed. God answered his prayer and cured him.

Then he mustered troops and wrote to all the lands of Islam to rouse the people, and 120,000 volunteers (*mutaṭawwi'ah*) gathered to him. When the Turks learned of his cure and of his mustering so many troops they returned to their own country.

He pursued them a distance of three months, and finally overtook them when they thought they were secure because of the great distance. He attacked them and killed more than 200,000 men, taking as captive another 100,000, and taking as spoil an unprecedented number of cattle and tents and vessels of gold and silver and goods of Chinese workmanship. When he returned to Balāsāghūn his sickness came back, and he died. . . .

Some say that this event occurred in connection with Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Qarākhān, the brother of Ṭoghān Khān, in the year 403 [1012–1013].

The more colorful account of al-'Utbī[14] gives 100,000 as the number of tents coming from the frontiers of China, the number of men coming to the aid of the khān as volunteers, the number of infidels killed in battle, and the number of captives taken. Clearly, these figures are no more reliable than the 700,000 which Kāšgharī's informant told him were the number of infidel troops under Bökä Buḏrač; the sources agree only that

14 *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, in the margin of al-Manīnī, *Al-Fatḥ al Wahbī*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1286/1869), 2: 219–26. The following report of Bar Hebraeus (*The Chronography*, trans. by E. A. Wallis Budge [London, 1932], pp. 204–205) may refer to the same event:

And in this year [438/1046] the Nestorian Metropolitan of Samarkand sent a letter to the Catholicus, which was also read in the palace of the Khalîfah, saying, 'A people who are like unto the locusts in their swarms have made a gap in the mountain between Tebit and Khûtân, the [one] which ancient writers say that Alexander the Great closed up, and they have sallied out and gone as far as Kâshghar. There are seven kings, and with each king are seven hundred thousand horsemen. And the name of their great king is "Naṣârath," which is interpreted, "Ruling by the command of God" . . . .'

Cf. O. Pritsak, "Two Migratory Movements in the Eurasian Steppe in the 9th–11th Centuries," in *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi . . . 1964* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 162.

there were a very large number of enemy troops, far outnumbering the Muslims. More striking is the agreement in the overall course of events as narrated by the Muslim historians and as reconstructed from the ghazi legend and verse cycle presented above. The "emerging" of tribes of infidel Turks north of China corresponds to the Yabāqu coalition crossing the Irtysh; their terror-filled approach to the Karakhanid capital of Balāsāghūn,[15] and the delayed reaction of Ṭoghān Khān, were echoed in the panic-stricken state of the people and the calling for help to the khāqān (I-a); the khān's appeal to Muslim fervor, and the characterizing of the campaign as a holy war (more explicit in al-'Utbī's account), are reflected in the ghazi legend (cf., also, I-b); and finally, the pursuit of the enemy a distance of three months, the resulting great victory, and the taking of captives and booty correspond to the Muslims' chasing the infidels back to their own country beyond the Yamār (Ob) River (I-c, I-d).

If the event of 1017 was indeed the historical kernel of the legend and of the verses recorded by Kāšgharī, then the Ghāzī Arslān Tegīn can, perhaps, be identified with Ṭoghān's brother, Arslān Khān, who became king when Ṭoghān died.[16] Or he might have been an otherwise obscure figure who played Roland to Ṭoghān Khān's Charlemagne and who then became the focus of pious legends and epic-like poems among the troops and the people witnessing or hearing of the marvellous events. The ghazi legend, at any rate, is similar to the ghazi tales later told about other heroes among the Turks, such as Danishmend.[17] And the four groups of stanzas must originally have been part of one larger verse cycle, perhaps interspersed as songs within a prose narrative as in the later Turkish minstrel cycles of Dede Korkut and Köroğlu.[18]

II. THE CAMPAIGN OF THE MUSLIM TURKS AGAINST THE BUDDHIST UIGHURS

Five (or six — see below) stanzas describing a raid on the Uighur. The raiders, presumably Karakhanid troops, first cross the Ili River and

15 See *EI*², s.v. "Balāsāghūn" (Barthold — [Boyle]).

16 Or else another Arslān Khān, who ruled over Kāshghar, Khotan, and Balāsāghun when his father Qadir Khān died in 1031.

17 See *EI*², s.v.v. "Baṭṭāl," "Ghāzī," "Dānishmendids" (Melikoff); *Dāniṣmendnāme*, ed. and trans. by I. Melikoff, 2 vols. (Paris, 1960).

18 See *EI*², s.v.v. "'āshiḳ" (Lewis), "Dede Ḳorḳut" (İz), "ḥikāya — Turkish" (Boratav).

conquer[19] the "realm" or "province" (TK. *ēl*) of Minglaq — an ethnic or geographic name otherwise unattested — and then attack the Uighur cities and profane the Buddhist temples.

1. (549 kemi)
kemi ičrä oldurūp
ila suwin käčtimiz
uyγur tapa bašlanip
miŋlaq ēlin ačtimiz

"We rode on the boat, and crossed the Ila (a large river); then we headed towards Uighur, and conquered Minglaq."

2. (218 käsmä)
tünlä bilä bastimiz
tägmä yaŋaq bustimiz
käsmǟlärin kästimiz
miŋlaq ärin bičtimiz

Describing their raid on the Uighur: "We attacked them at night; we lay in ambush on every side; then we cut their (horses') forelocks, and killed the men of Minglaq (the name of a place)."

3. (242–3 bäčkäm)
bäčkäm urup atlaqa
uyγurdaqi tatlaqa
oγri yawuz itlaqa
qušlar kepi učtimiz

"We put badges on the horses; we headed for the Uighur dogs (meaning 'people');[20] we flew toward them like birds (until we fell upon them)."

4. (237 qudruq)
qudruq qatiγ tügdümiz
täŋrig üküš ögdümiz
kämšip atiγ tägdimiz
aldap yana qačtimiz

"We tied the horses' tails securely; we praised God Most High greatly (meaning the cry *allāhu akbar* among the heathen ranks); we attacked them driving the horses, and then feigned flight (that they would come after us and we might turn on them and rout them)."

5. (173 känd)
kälginläyü aqtimiz
kändlär üzä čiqtimiz
furxan äwin yiqtimiz
burxan üzä sičtimiz

Describing their raid on the Uighur: "We came down on them like a flood; we went out among their cities; we tore down the idol temples; we shit on the idols' heads." It is customary for Muslims, when they capture a country of infidels, to defecate

[19] Note that Tk. *ač-* 'conquer' is a calque from Ar. *lataḥa,* literally "open."

[20] The line *uγyurdaqi tatlaqa* literally means "to the Tats among the Uighurs" (note the elision of *r* in the plural suffix before the dative ending); the words modifying "dogs," not translated, mean "hidden and evil." According to Kāšgharī (ms. 406–7), "Tat" is used by most of the Turks to mean "Persian," but to the Yaghma and Tuxsi it means "Uighur infidels," which is the meaning it has here. See H. H. Schaeder, "Türkische Namen der Iranier," in *Festschrift Friedrich Giese,* = *Die Welt des Islams,* Sonderband (Leipzig, 1941), pp. 1–34.

on the heads of their idols to profane them.[21]

There is another stanza with the same rhyme scheme which can be considered as belonging to this cycle. It mentions a skirmish with the Oghrāq tribe, which is defined in the entry at ms. 72 as "a tribe of Turks inhabiting a frontier district called Qara Yiγāč"; it appears between the Yaghma and the Čaruq in the list of tribes "middling between South and North" given in the geographical enumeration mentioned above.[22] We may assume that the skirmish took place on the way back from the Uighur country, since it caused a delay in the return of the troops.

6. (525 tōγ-)	"The red banner was raised (among
aγdi qizil batrāq	the Muslim troops); the black
tōγdi qara toprāq	dust rose up; the Oghrāq (cavalry)
yetšü kälip oγrāq	reached us; they battled with us and
toqšip anin kēčtimiz	therefore we were slow (in returning)."

Although there are no clues as to the date of this campaign, we may suppose that it, too, took place in the first part of the eleventh century, and perhaps relates to the conquest of Khotan by Qadir Khān Yūsuf.

III. WAR OF THE TANGUT AGAINST QATUN SĪNI

The Tangut appear between the Uighur and the Khitāy in the geographical enumeration of the Turkic tribes. As an entry in ms. 602 we find: *taŋut* 'name of a tribe of the Turks; they dwell near China, but claim to be of Arab origin.'[23] Elsewhere, in ms. 24, we are told that "some of the Tangut" are settlers (*nazīla*) in the lands of the Turks, like the Khotan and the Tübüt (Tibetans). In ms. 504, s.v. *sīn* 'grave', we find: *qātūn sīni* ['the queen's grave'] 'a city between Tangut and China.' On Kāšgharī's map the city, spelled Khātūn Sīni, appears between the country (*bilād*) of the Uighur and Māṣīn.

21 See Dankoff, "Kāšġari on the Beliefs," p. 69.

22 The Oghrāq are mentioned in two other heroic cycles, in each case as the enemy (257 *taturγān* [but not in the variant at 306 *qatar-*) and 376 *qaḏriš-*); they are described as generous and brave in an isolated stanza at 235 *tiγrāq.*

23 The Tübüt (Tibetans) are also given an Arab origin (ms. 179, s.v.). With regard to the Tangut, the phrase "but they claim to be of Arab origin" (*wa-hum yaz'amūna anna aṣlanā min al-'arab*) can also be interpreted to mean: "and they claim that we [i.e., we Turks?] are of Arab origin."

In the verse cycle, composed of fifteen stanzas,[24] the Tangut are the "good guys" and the poet speaks in their person, while Qatun Sīni and its people are always referred to as "the enemy." The Tangut leader has the title *beg* (Ar. *amīr*, stanzas 1, 2, 5), but once is called *khān* (Ar. *khāqān*, stanza 4).

Ordering the stanzas is difficult because they are many and often obscure (the pronouns in stanza 3 are particularly difficult to sort out). In the following reconstruction the stanzas are somewhat arbitrarily arranged in three groups.

III-a: The Attack and the Ruse

1. (586 čaγīla-)
qatun sīni čoγīlādi
taŋut bēgin yaγīlādi
qani aqip žaγīlādi
boyin sūwin qizil saγdi

Qatun Sīni is a city between the Tangut and China; the people of Qatun Sīni and the Tangut were warring, and the Tangut routed the people of Qatun Sīni. "(The people of) Qatun Sīni shouted, and warred against (the people of) Tangut and their emir, until their blood flowed like gurgling water, and their necks milked red water (meaning blood)."

2. (152 oγurla-)
begim ōzin oγurlādi
yaraγ bīlip uγurlādi
uluγ täŋri aγirlādi
anin qut qiw tozi toγdi

Describing the emir of the Tangut who prepared an ambush for the enemy: "My emir stole away from the army and lay in ambush, waiting for the right moment; God Most High honored him with victory, and thus arose the dust of Luck and Fortune."

3. (155 älüklä-)
taŋut sūsin üšiklādi
kiši īšin älüklādi
ärin atin beläglādi
bulun bolup baši tiγdi

"(The enemy) attacked the troops of Tangut (a realm or province near China) at night in the bitter cold (so that he would not gain victory); then he [the Tangut beg] mocked them, until they presented to us their horses and men; he [the king of Qatun Sīni] bowed his head from the hardships he suffered [literally: he fell captive and hid his head]."

[24] There are five other stanzas in the *Dīwān* with the same rhyme scheme that are usually included in this cycle but whose connection with it is most unlikely. One describes a night watch (554 *sa-*); the other four describe a wolf hunt (82 *iqīlāč*, 93 *ew-*, 276 *čal-*, 541 *kečä*).

4. (587 yopīla-)
taŋut xāni yopīlādi
ölüm birlä töpūlādi
qaḏašlāri tapālādi
ölüm kōrüp yüzi aγdi

"The khāqān of the Tangut tricked (the king of Qatun Sīni), and struck him on the top of his head with death; his brothers reproached (the routed one and his enemy took pleasure in his misfortune); when he saw that death (was inevitable) his face turned pale."

5. (592 qonuqla-)
yaγi begdin uḏiqlādi
körüp sūni aḏuqlādi
ölüm ani qonuqlādi
aγiz ičrä aγu saγdi

"The enemy was overcome with sleep in the presence of the emir; when he saw the army (had attacked him unawares) he was amazed and found it strange; Death had him as a guest; poison milked into his mouth (and he died)."

III-b: Battle Scenes

6. (101 uruš = 181 qilič)
ärän alpi oqištīlār
qiŋir kōzin baqištīlār
qamuγ tulmun toqištīlār
qilič qinqa küčün siγdi

Describing battles (thus 181 only): "The warriors called out to one another; they looked at one another askance; they fought with all their weapons; until the swords hardly fit in their sheaths (because of the great amount of dried blood on them)."

7. (200 tälim)
tälim bašlar yuwuldīmat
yaγi andin yawaldīmat
küči aniŋ käwildīmät
qilič qinqa küčün siγdi

Describing a battle: "The warriors' heads rolled; the enemy's rage was stilled because of it; their strength waned; until the sword hardly fit in the sheath (because of all the gore clotted on it)."

8. (156 orīla-)
özin ögnüp orīlādi
yorip yērig qarīlādi
atiγ kämšip orīlādi
uwut bōlup töpü aγdi

Describing a warrior whom he attacked: "He was proud and boastful and puffed up with pride; he came measuring the ground in cubits; he spurred on his horse [and shouted]; (then he turned back) in shame, climbing up the hill."

9. (229 böktir)
aγa böktir üzä yordim
yiraq bāqip qara kördim
ani bilip taqi turdim
tükäl yāγi tozi toγdi

"I climbed a hard outcropping of the mountain; I saw a black spot from afar; I stayed in my place after I recognized it; then the dust of the enemy all rose up."

10. (310 qiqir-)
qoḏi qiqrip oγuš terdim

"I shouted out to the foot of the mountain and gathered the clan

yaγiqāru kiriš qurdum
toqiš ičrä uruš berdim
ärän kȫrüp baši tiγdi

with my call; then I strung my bow against the enemy; I shot and fought with him; when he saw the men of my army he hid his head (and fled)."

11. (620 mäŋīlä-)
ani yētip süŋǖlādi
bašin yandru yaŋīlādi
ärän bāyup mäŋīlādi
anig alpin qira boγdi

Describing a man who routed some troops: "He caught him up and speared him; he opened anew his old wound; the men savored their plundered wealth; he strangled the enemy warriors."

III-c: The Ransom

12. (547 sökä)
äräṇ īḏip sökä turdi
baši boynin sökä turdi
uwut bōlup bükä turdi
uḏu qama tebän yiγdi (?)

Describing one who was routed: "He sent men who sat kneeling near me (referring to the chief of the people); he continually reviled his head and neck (for what he did); he was ashamed and skulked and hid from the people; he held me back saying 'You must not follow me' (so I stopped)."

13. (590 satiγsa)
äwin barqin satiγsādi
yuluγ bērip yaziγsādi
tirig ärsä turuγsādi
aŋar sāqinč küni tuγdi

"The enemy wanted to sell his houses and his landed property, to ransom himself thereby; he wanted to stay alive; the sun of sadness arose for him (meaning the day)."

14. (113 äšüt-)
iḏu bērip bošuttum
tawār yūluγ tašuttum
ärän äsin äšüttüm
yükin barča özi čiγdi

Describing a captive: "I let him go free; (he ransomed himself for something and) I had the ransom conveyed to its place; I ordered the men's corpses to be concealed (underground); their chief tied his load with his own hand (not finding anyone to help him)."

15. (201 bulun)
apaŋ qolsa uḏu bārip
tutar ärdim sǖsin tārip
bulun qīlip bāši yārip
yuluγ barča maŋa yiγdi

Describing the routed enemy: "Had I wished I would have followed him, taken him and dispersed his troops, made him captive and split open his head; but he gave me much ransom (so I granted him freedom)."

Little can be said with certainty about the geography and the chronology of the events described in this cycle. Qatun Sīni is perhaps the K'o-tun

Ch'êng which Chinese sources place on the Etsina-ghol.[25] The Tangut are undoubtedly the Hsi-hsia Tangut, who occupied Kan-chou in 1028. It is possible that Karakhanid foreign policy paralleled that of the Hsi-hsia for a short period after ca. 1012, when the Tibetan king Kio-sseu-lo in alliance with the Uighur prince of Kan-chou opposed the Hsi-hsia and diverted the caravan traffic running between Central Asia and China. It is hard to know, however, why a Karakhanid poet celebrated a Tangut victory and attributed the victory to God (stanza 2: *uluγ täñri,* translated with the Islamic phrase *allāh ta'ālā*).

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[25] See V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, The Turks and India* (London, 1942), p. 73. There was also a K'o-tun ch'êng in Mongolia on the Orkhon, and one near the northern bend of the Yellow River. See, further, E. Esin in *Türk Kültürü El-Kitabı,* Cilt II. Kısım Ia (Istanbul, 1972), p. 304, fn. 239.

Armenians in the Ukraine at the Time of Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (1648–1657)

YAROSLAV DASHKEVYCH

The uprising of 1648 led by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj derived from the social, economic, religious, and national tensions of mid-seventeenth century Ukraine. The formation of a new polity, the Cossack Hetmanate, changed the constellation of political forces in Eastern Europe. Although the struggle was fought mainly by Ukrainians and Poles, its outcome profoundly affected the lives of the minorities on the Ukrainian territories. For some, such as the Jews, who were identified with the old political and social system, the period was one of great suffering and destruction. For others, such as the Greeks and Russians, who shared a common religion with the new polity, the revolutionary events offered great opportunities. Particularly complex were the effects of Xmel'nyc'kyj's revolution on the Armenian communities in the Ukraine.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the Armenians were a small minority in the Ukrainian lands, then divided among the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Moldavia, Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. Around 1630 they numbered some 12,000 people, some 5,000 or 6,000 of whom lived in the territories under Poland,[1] not counting the several hundreds of "foreign" Armenians from Iran, the Ottoman Empire, the Crimea, and the Danubian Principalities traveling at any one time on business or trade throughout the Kingdom of Poland. The importance of the Armenians in the Ukraine was determined not by their numbers, however, but by the role they played in the economy. A great part of the profitable trade with the East was in their hands. They were also important in local commerce, dealing in handicrafts and in luxury goods, particularly furs and textiles. A group of very wealthy Armenian patricians maintained connections

[1] For more detailed information, see Ja. R. Daškevyč (Daškevič), "Istoriko-demografičeskoe izučenie armjanskoj migracii na Ukraine XI–XVIII vv.," in *Vtoroj Vsesojuznyj seminar po istoričeskoj demografii: Tezisy dokladov* (Riga, 1977), pp. 107–109.

with the Polish court and the magnates by providing them with Eastern luxuries and with capital. Thanks to their knowledge of Eastern languages and customs, some were even entrusted with diplomatic missions.

The Armenians were exclusively urban dwellers, and in the towns they formed separate communities in which they had been granted limited religious and administrative autonomy by the Polish crown. At the time of the uprising of 1648 the largest of these settlements in territories then part of Poland were in Lviv, Kam"janec'-Podil's'kyj, Jazlivec', Zamość (Zamostja), and Kiev; in territories then part of Moldavia, in Suceava (Sočava), Seret, and Xotyn; and in territories then part of the Ottoman Empire, in Bilhorod (Akkerman). Roman Catholics (Germans and Poles, as well as Italians and Scotsmen) controlled the towns in Polish territory, and Ukrainians, Armenians, Jews, and other non-Catholics living in them were often subject to religious and economic discrimination.[2] The result was an anomalous position for the Armenians. While enjoying benefits decreed by a distant king and his noblemen, they suffered from political and economic disadvantages at the hands of the local urban political elite.

The "Armenian problem" became particularly acute after 1630, when to retain their position in the trade with the East and to gain equality with the Poles, the Armenian elite broke with the catholicos in Ejmiacin (Etchmiadzin) and joined the Church of Rome. The Armenian-Gregorian archbishop in Lviv, N. T'orosyan (Torosowicz), agreed to a union, thus embroiling the Armenian communities situated on Polish lands in a bitter struggle that ended in the emigration of a greater part of the Armenian population to Moldavia and Transylvania. In gaining the support of the Catholic church and the Polish state for the union, the small group of Armenian Uniates exacerbated the anti-Polish sentiments of the majority of the Ukraine's Armenian population.

The consequences of this short-sighted policy were evident in 1648,

[2] According to a German contemporary, M. Zeiller (1580–1661): "Heutigs Tags aber werde nicht bald mehr ein Frembder zu einem Burger allhie auffgenommen, wann er nicht der catholischen Religion. Es wiedersetzen sich auch die [Catholic rule of towns —Ya.D.], so der griechischen, armenischen und jüdischen Sect, seyn, den Reformirten oder Calvinisten gar hefftig." M. Zeiller, *Newe Beschreibung dess Königreichs Polen un Grosshertzogthumbs Lithauen* . . . (Ulm, 1647), p. 136. A Polish student of the period, J. Ptaśnik (1876–1930), came to similar conclusions: "Both the Ukrainians and the Armenians did not have full civic rights, nor did they have the privileges the Catholics had. Thus the Armenians and Ukrainians alike were citizens of a secondary kind, without political and [with only] limited civic rights." J. Ptaśnik, *Walka o demokratyzację Lwowa od XVI do XVIII w.* (Lviv, 1925), pp. 23-24.

when a link formed between the Ukrainian insurgents and the Armenian town dwellers. Xmel'nyc'kyj's successes at the battle of Žovti Vody on May 15, near Korsun' on May 26, and near Pyljavci on September 23 were attributed in part to the Armenians. It was feared that the Ukrainian and Armenian populations in the large cities, particularly in Lviv and Kam"-janec', would hand the cities over to the Cossacks. "All the cities were seized with such horror," wrote an anonymous participant in the battle near Pyljavci, "that they were at their wits' end, but even in Lviv they were making no preparations for defense because there were many heretics and Armenians and so the [Roman Catholic] citizens of Lviv fled."[3]

Among those who remained in the cities besieged by the Cossack army, hatred and mistrust of the Armenians were evident.[4] The Armenians, guarding the city defenses from the east, were placed under the surveillance of German mercenaries and Jews, who were considered to be more dependable[5] and more efficient warriors.[6] When the Cossacks managed to break through the eastern fortifications on 9–10 October 1648, temporarily seizing the Monastery of the Barefooted Carmelites, the Polish chroniclers indirectly attributed their defeat to the Armenians.[7]

The attitude toward the Armenians in Kam"janec'-Podil's'kyj was no different. A Podolian judge, L. Miaskowski, in a letter from Kam"janec' dated 27 October 1648, wrote, "There is much treason. The Ukrainians and even the Catholic Armenians are revolting against the injustices of the soldiers and are fleeing."[8] The Polish historian S. Temberski (ca. 1610–1679) simply wrote that in laying siege to Kam"janec' in 1648, the Cossacks "hoped to get the support of numerous schismatics and other sympathetic inhabitants, both the Armenians and others."[9]

Although the panic among the Polish nobility in 1648 encouraged

3 *Dokumenty ob Osvoboditelnoj vojne ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg.* (Kiev, 1965), p. 119.

4 V. Kochovski (Kochowski), *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislai IV, Climacter I* (Cracow, 1683), p. 84.

5 S. C. Kuszewicz, "Arma Cosacica (1648–1655)," *Žerela do istoriji Ukrajiny-Rusi* (hereafter *Žerela*) (Lviv), 6 (1913): 60.

6 M. Wielewicz, "Historia Collegi Leopoliensis Societatis Jesu," *Žerela* 6 (1913): 161–62.

7 Kuszewicz, "Arma Cosacica," p. 60; Wielewicz, "Historia," p. 163.

8 J. Michałowski, *Księga pamiętnicza z dawnego rękopisma, będącego własnością Ludwika Hr. Morsztyna . . .* (Cracow, 1864), p. 211; *Pamjatniki, izdannye Kievskoju komissieju dla razbora drevnix aktov* (hereafter *Pamjatniki* [Kiev]), vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1898), p. 307.

9 S. Temberski, *Roczniki 1647–1656*, ed. by W. Czermak (Cracow, 1897), p. 91.

exaggeration, the mistrust of the Armenians was not without foundation.[10] Armenians living in insurgent towns often did take an active part in the war on the side of the Ukrainians; some even joined the Cossacks. During the uprising of 1648 in the west Ukrainian town of Javoriv, two local Armenians, Ohas Zanko and Demko Sorkez, were among the rebels.[11] According to a tradition still alive at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Armenians of the Carpathian region joined the detachments of insurgents formed in 1648 by S. Vysočan, who would become a Cossack colonel.[12] Armenians from Jazlivec' headed detachments of insurgent peasants in 1648.[13] In the rolls of the Cossack regiments of Bila Cerkva and Uman' formed in 1649, the Armenian nationality of some Cossacks was noted in Čornyj Kamin', Hryščiv, and Uman' (e.g., Stepan Vurmenyn,

[10] Ch. Jołbejowicz, an Armenian from Lviv who was in the camp of the Polish army and witnessed their defeat near Korsun', defended himself against the accusation of having presented documents without Potocki's signature by remarking: "Were I to have waited for the signature, I would have not only lost my goods, but would have been forced to visit the Crimea," an allusion to Potocki's imprisonment there. The Armenians long remembered the Ukrainian victory near Pyljavci. On 30 May 1650, during an armed skirmish in Lviv between a group of Armenians and Poles, "one of the Armenians from Brody, dressed in a white cloak (*kindjak*) made a thrust with a short sword at his lordship Zbrożek, who was dressed in red, and turning away from him [. . .] said, 'Why don't you defend yourself properly, but just like you did near Pyljavci.'" The news about the victories of the Ukrainians was carried far beyond the boundaries of Poland by the Armenians. The Armenian merchants Lusik and Kirakos told the Moldavian hospodar Vasile Lupu in October–November 1648 of how the "Polish Kingdom was destroyed when the enemy approached Lviv and Zamość after the battle near Pyljavci." Incited by such information, the Polonophile Lupu, while holding court at Iaşi, cried to a stubborn merchant from Zamość: "You dog, this is not Poland for you." Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv (Central'nyj deržavnyj istoryčnyj arxiv URSR u m. L'vovi, hereafter CDIA-L), *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 529, pp. 321–22 (from the legal proceedings of 8 May 1651). Cf. Ja. Daškevyč (Dachkevytch), "Sur la question des relations arméno-ukrainiennes au XVII^e^ siècle," *Revue des études arméniennes,* n.s. 4 (1967): 284; CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 61, p. 624 (from the legal proceedings of 1 April 1650). Cf. Ja. R. Daškevyč (Daškevič), "Ukrainsko-armjanskie otnošenija XVII v. i istočniki ix izučenija," in *Ukrainsko-armjanskie svjazi v XVII v.: Sbornik dokumentov* (Kiev, 1969), p. 21; CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 402, pp. 1081 and 1084 (record of 15 September 1649).

[11] CDIA-L, *fond* 122, *op.* 1, *tom* 133, pp. 3–4 (verdict of the Lublin Crown Tribunal of 19 August 1650). Cf. Daškevyč, "Ukrainsko-armjanskie otnošenija," p. 21. The document, but omitting the names of participants of the uprising (including the Armenians), was published in *Pravda pro uniju: Dokumenty i materialy,* 2nd ed. (Lviv, 1968), pp. 60–63. On the uprising in Javoriv, see also S. Tomašivs'kyj, *Narodni ruxy v Halyc'kij Rusi* (Lviv, 1898), pp. 87–88.

[12] F. A. Ossendowski, *Huculszczyzna, Gorgany i Czarnohora* (Poznań [ca. 1930]), p. 131.

[13] W. Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem: Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku,* 3rd ed. (Lviv, 1913), p. 476.

Fedor Jarmjak, Makar Ormenenko, and others).[14] Establishing the extent of Armenian participation is difficult because their Christian names and surnames seldom differed from those of the Ukrainian population;[15] there is some evidence, however, that Armenians might have held high ranks in the Cossack army. In some sources a Perejaslav colonel, I. Karajimovyč (died 1648), is called "Ormjančyk,"[16] and the Uman' colonel S. Urhijanenko may also have been Armenian.[17]

Apparently the Ukrainian-Polish wars of 1648–1657 interfered little with Armenian trade in the Ukraine, and in certain ways may even have stimulated it.[18] The situation was more complicated for local commerce, since the Armenian merchants' activities were hindered by the Cossacks' Tatar allies, although the Cossacks themselves let the Armenians pass freely during military action. On 25 November 1648, for example, Armenians arriving in Lviv from the besieged Zamość brought news of the tribute the city paid to Xmel'nyc'kyj,[19] while a soldier who had arrived from Zamość three weeks earlier had complained of the problems he had getting through.[20] The Tatars, in contrast, were known to interfere with Armenian merchants: for instance, on 31 July 1649, near Berežany, they seized some Armenian merchants who were traveling to Jazlivec'.[21]

[14] "Reestra vsego Vojska zaporožskogo posle Zborovskogo dogovora," ed. by O. M. Bodjanskij, *Čtenija v Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix* (hereafter *ČOIDR*), (Moscow), bk. 2 (1874): 120, 128, 133.

[15] F. P. Ševčenko, "Armjane v ukrainskom kazackom vojske v XVII–XVIII vv.," in *Istoričeskie svjazi i družba ukrainskogo i armjanskogo narodov* (hereafter *ISD*), vol. 2 (Kiev, 1965), p. 96; idem, "Učast' predstavnykiv riznyx narodnostej u Vyzvolnij vijni 1648–1654 vv. na Ukrajini," *Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal'* (Kiev), 1978, no. 11, pp. 20–21.

[16] *Litopys Samovydcja*, 2nd rev. ed., by Ja. I. Dzyra (Kiev, 1971), p. 47.

[17] Ševčenko, "Armjane," pp. 96–97.

[18] The war barely touched the international Eastern trade passing through Moldavia and Wallachia, although at least once, in 1650, during the taking of Iaşi, the capital of Moldavia, by the Cossacks and Tatars, a number of Armenian merchants returning from the East to Jazlivec' were molested. See the anonymous letter from Jazlivec' dated 24 September 1656 in the Manuscript Division of the Lviv Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (L'vivs'ka naukova biblioteka Akademii nauk URSR, hereafter LNB AN), Ossoliński collection, no. 225, p. 321; published in *Žerela* 12 (1911): 135 (with an erroneous date — September 26 — and the omission of the sentence about the losses of the Armenians). For the complete text in Ukrainian, see M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusi*, vol. 9, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1928), p. 92.

[19] S. C. Kuszewicz, the so-called Nineteenth Letter (dated November 1648 by S. Tomašivs'kyj), LNB AN, Ossoliński collection, no. 2346, pp. 42–44; published in *Žerela* 4 (1898): 125–28.

[20] Kuszewicz, the so-called Nineteenth Letter, p. 42; published in *Žerela* 4 (1898): 125.

[21] Kuszewicz, the so-called Twenty-First Letter (dated 12 August 1649 by S. Tomašivs'kyj), LNB AN, Ossoliński collection, no. 2346, p. 47; published in *Žerela* 5 (1901): 17.

After 1648, Armenian traders in the Ukraine prospered during peaceful intervals because their most powerful competitor, the Jewish traders, had been destroyed by the Cossacks, and there remained only the competition of Greeks from the Danubian principalities, the Balkans, and the Crimea. In periods of war, the Armenians profited even more by trading with both sides — commerce with the Ukrainian army was not considered treasonous for Armenians under Polish rule, even if the objects of trade were booty. One of the best-known representatives of the Armenian community, Ch. A. Zachnowicz (Lviv's representative in negotiations with Xmel'nyc'kyj in 1648 and 1655), carried on transactions near the besieged city in 1655 with such important representatives of the Ukrainian side as the general chancellor (later hetman) I. Vyhovs'kyj, the general aide-de-camp I. Kovalivs'kyj, and the colonels H. Lisnyc'kyj and P. Teterja (later hetman). Zachnowicz remarked, no doubt facetiously, to the Polish court in Lviv that he had not had the time to complete his business dealings with the Ukrainians because Xmel'nyc'kyj had lifted the siege of the city too soon.[22]

The Armenians who traded in the Cossack-controlled Ukraine were not just looking for profits: they must also have realized that by supplying the Cossacks they were breaching what would otherwise have been an economic blockade from the west. As N. Segredo, the Venetian ambassador to Vienna, wrote to the Venetian senate on 20 November 1649, "Only the Armenians are trading with the Cossacks."[23] They came from the south and from western Ukraine to "rent yards and shops for their wares in the town."[24] In conformity with the universal of Xmel'nyc'kyj published in Čyhyryn on 28 April–8 May 1654, E. Stamatenko received the right to levy duty on "foreign" Armenian merchandise.[25] It is possible to infer from Zachnowicz's detailed description of the Armenian trade that Armenian merchants from Lviv went to Cossack-held territories

[22] This interesting document from CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 530, pp. 789–94 (recorded in legal proceedings dated 12 March 1658), was published in Daškevyč, "Ukrainsko-armjanskie otnošenija," pp. 108–112.

[23] Letter published in M. Korduba, "Venec'ke posolstvo do Xmel'nyc'koho (1650 r.)," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka* (Lviv), 78 (1907):67.

[24] Report from the Russian ambassadors R. Strešnev and M. Bredixin to the tsar (from Uman', dated 23 December 1653); *Akty, otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii* (hereafter *AJZR*) (St. Petersburg), 10 (1878):84.

[25] The latest publication of the universal is by M. Vasylenko, "Zbirnyk materialiv do istoriji Livoberežnoji Ukrajiny ta ukrajins'koho prava XVII–XVIII st.," in *Ukrajins'kyj arxeohrafičnyj zbirnyk*, 3 vols. (Kiev, 1926), 1:60–61. *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho*, ed. by I. Kryp"jakevyč and I. Butyč (Kiev, 1961), p. 343.

twice a year. They traveled from fair to fair, from town to town, on a tour that took some nine weeks, usually in July and August and again in September and October. Zachnowicz himself, for instance, visited Kiev, Lysjanka, Orlivka, Čyhyryn, and other towns in the summer of 1656. Another Armenian from Lviv, Ch. Warteresiewicz, made a similar tour, while his brother, wanting to purchase sables, joined Ukrainian ambassadors I. Skorobohatyj and O. Fed'kovyč, who were setting out from Čyhyryn for Moscow.[26]

A description of another kind of Armenian trade is provided by the Austrian ambassadors to Xmel'nyc'kyj, Archbishop P. Parchevich and Ch. Marianovich, who were at his court from February to May of 1657. During their travels they constantly borrowed from Armenian moneylenders: one can go so far as to say that the embassy of Emperor Ferdinand III was financed by Armenians from the Ukraine. In mid-February, in Dubno they borrowed 1,000 florins from the Armenians, and in Bila Cerkva an Armenian credited them with another 1,000 florins.[27] On about February 24 in Korsun' they acquired yet another 1,000 florins, possibly also from Armenians, since there was an Armenian community nearby.[28] Finally, on February 25,[29] on the eve of their arrival in Čyhyryn, they borrowed 6,000 florins from three Armenians of Lviv — Michael, Joannes, and Bartholomeus. The resulting debts were the subject of bureaucratic wrangling for many years. The loans also indicate the large amounts of ready capital the Armenian merchants, both foreign and local, had at their disposal.

Although the Armenian merchants aided the beleaguered new Cossack polity by their trade, they were just as willing to deal with the Poles. Armenians earned large profits by catering to the Polish army, and they could often be seen in Polish military camps. An Armenian from Lviv, M. Jakóbowicz, accompanied the Polish army in 1651 during its retreat westward from Bar to Sokal, supplying a Polish cavalry unit (*chorągiew*)

26 Daškevyč, "Ukrainsko-armjanskie otnošenija," pp. 108–112.

27 In Ch. Marianovich's report, the chronology of the travels is wrong. An attempt is made here to reconstruct a more accurate sequence.

28 J. Pejacsevich, "Peter Freiherr von Parchevich, Erzbischof von Marianopel . . . und Kaiserlicher Gesandter bei den Kosakenhetman Bogdan Chmielnicki (1612–1674)," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* (Vienna), 59 (1880):554–56.

29 According to the report of Ch. Marianovich, the ambassadors were at the Villa Zanika (i.e., Vilšanka, now Vilšanycja; the name has only recently been identified) on February 25, but in fact, it was probably around February 22. The date of February 25 (with no indication of the place, however) was given in a promissory note of the ambassadors. Cf. Pejacsevich, "Peter Freiherr von Parchevich," pp. 579–80.

with ornaments for uniforms and a silver and gold-plated mace.[30] In September 1654, I. Torosowicz, an Armenian from Lviv, went to the military camp near Zboriv, taking with him linen, woven belts, carpets, blankets, furs, caps, bows, quivers, arrows, swords, hatchets, and knives.[31] M. Hadziejowicz, an Armenian from Zamość, did business with Prince D. Wiśniowiecki and the Hussar, Tatar, and Cossack cavalry units under his command.[32]

This commerce was not only profitable, but also provided an opportunity for social mobility. In 1654, Hadziejowicz and Warteresiewicz were ennobled for having provided money to the state.[33] After his death in 1655, Hadziejowicz's property was valued at 700,000 florins, exclusive of jewelry, furs, carpets, and clothing.[34] Eventually he was given the title of king's secretary, and to his name, "Mikołaj," he added the second, more aristocratic "Melchior." Hadziejowicz gave up his Armenian-Gregorian faith for the Armenian-Catholic (Uniate), and his descendants were Polonized. To disguise the fact that their title of nobility had been bought, they invented the legend that in the eighteenth century Hadziejowicz had been rewarded with a title for bribing the Tatar khan Islam Giray III into betraying Xmel'nyc'kyj, thus saving Poland. A panegyric to Hadziejowicz published in 1655, however, said nothing about the feat.[35]

[30] CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 530, pp. 108-110; ibid., *tom* 545, pp. 459-60, 725. (During the court proceedings, five of 1653 documents were presented; they had been drawn up on 2 February 1651 in Bar, on 25 April 1651 in Lviv, and on 9 April 1651 in Sokal.)

[31] CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 371, pp. 1295-96 (list of goods drawn up in Lviv on 28 September 1654).

[32] M. Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy i ich rola w wymianie handlowej i kulturalnej miedzy Polską i Wschodem* (Lublin, 1965), p. 237.

[33] *Volumina legum*, vol. 4 (Warsaw, 1786), pp. 458-59.

[34] For interesting data on the trade activity of M. Hadziejowicz, see Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, pp. 226-28.

[35] We first find this story in the works of the Polish herald K. Niesiecki (1684-1744); see his *Herbarz polski*, vol. 4 (Lipsk, 1839), p. 338. Following him, many authors combined the lives of two men into one biography: that of M. Hadziejowicz of Zamość (d. 1655) and that of another Armenian by the same name who lived in Lviv at the end of the eighteenth century. Cf. S. Barącz, *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce* (Lviv, 1856), pp. 136-38; A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, pt. 1, vol. 7 (Warsaw, 1904), p. 225; S. Uruski, *Rodzina: Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 5 (Warsaw, 1908), p. 88; L. Korwin, *Ormiańskie rody szlacheckie* (Cracow, 1934), p. 85; M. Bohosiewicz, "Hadziewicz Mikołaj h. Wieniawa," *Polski słownik biograficzny* (hereafter *PSB*), vol. 9 (Wrocław, Cracow, and Warsaw, 1960-61), pp. 225-26. The posthumous panegyric to M. Hadziejowicz was not known to these authors. See also B. Rudomicz, *Fama superstes virtutis et nobilitatis pie in Christo defunct magnifici domini Melchioris Nicolais Hadziejowicz* . . . (Zamość, 1655), where the patent of nobility of M. Hadziejowicz was also published.

On the contrary, the sources state that the Polish king, surrounded in Zvanec' by the Tatars and Cossacks, paid a ransom of 140,000 ducats to the Tatar khan Islam Giray III and his army.[36] In any case, Hadziejowicz's title clearly displeased the hereditary Polish nobility, who in 1668 proclaimed that he had received his "nobility not for any merit, but for a large sum of money."[37]

Warteresiewicz was the richest Armenian and probably also the richest inhabitant of Lviv, with a total worth of 600,000 florins in 1656.[38] He was also a leader of the assimilated Armenians.[39] After he was ennobled,[40] Warteresiewicz left the Armenian community altogether and changed his name to the more Polish form Słoniewski. His position in Polish society can be judged by the fact that in 1657 he twice visited Anna Xmel'nyc'ka, the wife of the hetman, on behalf of the Polish queen Marie Louise.[41]

[36] This was an oral agreement made in Kam"janec' on 15 December 1653. At any rate, in 1668 the Lublin Crown Tribunal investigated the controversy between the descendants of Hadziejowicz and another Armenian, the king's cavalry captain, G. Seferowicz-Pilawski (granted nobility in 1658), who had taken a large sum of money, many gold and silver ornaments, and promissory notes from M. Hadziejowicz to Kam"janec', and had not reckoned satisfactorily for the received treasure. An entry of the verdict of the Lublin Crown Tribunal is dated 10 July 1668 in the Peremyšl' castle court register; CDIA-L, *fond* 13, *op.* 1, *tom* 414, pp. 1245–68.

[37] *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie,* vol. 21 (Lviv, 1911), p. 478; cf. also ibid., p. 170, 343, 352.

[38] W. Łoziński, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII w.,* 3rd ed. (Lviv, 1892), p. 170.

[39] Ja. R. Daškevyč and E. Tryjarski, "Pjat' armjano-kypčakskix dokumentov iz lvovskix kolleckcij (1599–1669)," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warsaw), 39, no. 1 (1978): 92–93.

[40] The patent of nobility is dated 30 July 1654, in CDIA-L, *fond* 9, *op.* 1, *tom* 407, pp. 1107–1116.

[41] L. Kubala, *Wojna brandenburska i najazd Rakoczego w roku 1656 i 1657* (Lviv and Warsaw [1917]), pp. 192, 194. Kubala does not mention Słoniewski's first name nor where he came from. There is no doubt, however, that the queen's envoy was Ch. Warteresiewicz-Słoniewski, as it had been in 1659, and that at the request of the Zaporozhian army, he had been made a Polish noble. The two visits of the queen's envoy to Čyhyryn are mentioned by Ch. Marianovich in his report to Emperor Leopold I on 7 August 1657 (cf. Pejacsevich, "Peter Freiherr von Parchevich," pp. 544–46). The diplomatic activities of the Armenians on behalf of Poland were no more intensive in 1648–1657 than they had been at other times. See B. Baranowski, "Ormianie w służbie dyplomatycznej Rzeczypospolitej," *Myśl Karaimska* (Wrocław), n.s. 1 (1946): 119–37; G. Petrowicz, "Gli Armeni al servizio diplomatico del Regno di Polonia," *Antemurale* (Rome), 1960–61, pp. 206–216; Dž. O. Galustjan, "Armjane na diplomatičeskoj službe v Reči Pospolitoj v XVII v.," *Patma-banasirakan handes* (Erevan), 1971, no. 2, pp. 251–58; N. S. Rašba and S. I. Averbux, "Armjane na polskoj diplomatičeskoj službe v XVI–XVII vv.," *Patma-banasirakan handes,* 1974, no. 2, pp. 181–91. All these works do not completely elucidate the subject and tend toward panegyric.

Other rich Polonized Armenians also managed to buy titles of nobility. I. Torosowicz, worth 200,000 florins in 1656, gave 16,000 florins for the defense of Lviv and had a title conferred on him in 1658.[42]

Armenian businessmen also rose in the ranks through diplomatic activities and, more generally, the selling of strategic information, always a valuable commodity in wartime. Rumors and facts alike filled both diplomatic and private correspondence, which was often referred to as "Armenian news" by contemporaries. Trade made it easy for the Armenians to amass information as they conducted business with politicians, diplomats, officers, or simply the inquisitive. S. C. Kuszewicz (d. 1672), a memoirist from Lviv, wrote to Cracow on 5 July 1650 that merchants — undoubtedly Armenians — returning from Istanbul spoke of a possible conflict between the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire.[43] Merchants arriving in Jazlovec' in September 1650 brought news of the taking of Iaşi (Jassy) by the Cossacks and Tatars and of the escape of the Moldavian hospodar. The papal nuncio in Warsaw, P. Vidoni, wrote in June 1653 of the arrival of an Armenian in Lviv who had brought news from Moldavia about the sultan's appointment of a new hospodar, Gheorghe Ştefan.[44] It was Armenians who brought tidings of the death of Xmel'nyc'kyj's son, Tymiš, in besieged Suceava (Sočava).[45] In 1653 the Armenian archbishop in Lviv, M. Torosowicz, returned to the city with information from Turkey that the Armenian catholicos P'hilippos had gathered for him in Istanbul. He also reported unrest in Moldavia and the dispatch of Ottoman soldiers from Anatolia to help the Cossacks. In the opinion of the catholicos, so long as the Tatars were allied with Xmel'nyc'kyj, Poland could not improve its relations with the Ottomans.

All this "Armenian news" then passed from Warsaw to Venice and thence to Rome.[46] Giustiniani, on 4 April 1654, wrote to the Venetian

42 This happened even though the money was carried off by Prince J. Wiśniowiecki, who fled to Zamość on 5 September 1648. T. Józefowicz, *Kronika miasta Lwowa od roku 1634 do 1690* . . . (Lviv, 1854), p. 113.

43 LNB AN, Ossoliński collection, no. 189, p. 346. This fragment was published in Ukrainian by Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija,* 9, pt. 1: 53.

44 *Žerela* 16, pt. 1 (1924): 179.

45 The personal letter of the king's secretary P. Doni to nuncio P. Vidoni, dated 17–18 September 1653, from the military camp near Kam"janec'; S. Tomašivs'kyj, "Do istoriji perelomu Xmel'nyččyny. Lysty korolivs'koho sekretarja P. Doni do ryms'koho nuncija P. Vidoni z 1653 roku.," in *Jubilejnyj zbirnyk na pošanu akademika D. I. Bahalija,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1927), pp. 554, 558.

46 Letter of the ambassador of Venice, dated 16 August 1653, in *Documente privitóre de la istoria românilor,* ed. E. de Hurmuzaki, vol. 9, pt. 1 (Bucharest, 1887), p. 31. Letter of P. Vidoni, dated 30 August 1653, in *Žerela* 16, pt. 1 (1924): 181. On correspondence and other information of M. Torosowicz from Istanbul, see G. Petrowicz,

senate that an Armenian had arrived in Warsaw from Istanbul with the report that a Ukrainian embassy was at the sultan's court offering to strengthen the Ottoman protectorate over the Ukraine, and that the offer had evoked no response from the Ottomans, who already knew about the agreement between the Ukraine and Muscovy.[47] At the end of 1655, an Armenian merchant from Baxčysaraj informed the Russian embassy at the court of the khan of Crimea that Ukrainian and Russian forces had surrounded the Tatars and Nogais and defeated them.[48] This "Armenian news" from the Balkans and the Middle East probably played much the same role for Poland and the Ukraine as the "Greek news" about the same territory did for Muscovy.

Armenian merchants were also involved in ransoming prisoners from the Tatars, often redeeming prisoners almost as soon as they were seized. E. Morawiec, captured near Lviv in 1648, was ransomed on the spot by an Armenian for thirty florins.[49] Armenians and the Greeks together negotiated for the freedom of some sixty high-ranking Polish officers imprisoned in the Crimea, among them the hetmans Potocki and Kalinowski.[50] The intermediary was the Moldavian hospodar Vasile Lupu, who later suffered for his role during the Ukrainian-Tatar campaign in 1650 against Jassy.[51] The Ukrainians in bondage in the Crimea also kept in touch with the local Armenians. At the end of 1655 Armenian merchants brought many Ukrainian captives to a Russian embassy at Baxčysaraj so that they could appeal to the tsar to redeem them from the Tatars. One Ukrainian, M. Danylovyč, the son of a priest in Vasyl'kiv who was in the service of the eldest wife of the deceased khan Islam Giray III, also informed the embassy about the hostility between the Armenians in Baxčysaraj and the new khan, Muḥammed Giray IV.[52]

The Armenians ransomed a variety of objects — as well as people —

L'Unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626–1686) (Rome, 1950), pp. 138–40.

47 *Žerela* 12 (1911):305.

48 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (Kiev, 1935), pp. 1140–41.

49 Józefowicz, *Kronika*, pp. 121–22.

50 Temberski, *Roczniki 1647–1656*, p. 144.

51 Relation of Russian ambassadors V. Unkovskij and Ja. Kozlov to the tsar in September 1650; *AJZR* 8 (1875):326. On complications caused by this ransom, see Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, 9, pt. 2: 80.

52 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, 9, pt. 2: 1068 and 1174. Instruction to the Polish ambassador M. Jaskólski, dated 20 February 1654, in *Pamjatniki* (Kiev), vol. 3, 2nd ed., p. 190. Relation of same ambassador from Baxčysaraj, dated 2 May 1654, in *Pamjatniki* (Kiev), vol. 3, 2nd ed., pp. 198–99.

from the Tatars. In 1655, an Armenian named Petrus bought a gospel from a Tatar in the Crimea, who had stolen it from somewhere in the Ukraine. Accompanied by another Armenian, Kryštofor, he handed it over to a Ukrainian church so that "Our Lord would be prayed for the good health of that one who had redeemed it; and in this way he granted it to the church in order to be absolved of his sins."[53]

Knowledge of Eastern, particularly Turkic, languages (many Armenians in the Ukraine spoke a colloquial Kipchak) and of Crimean, Turkish, and Iranian customs brought many Armenians into diplomatic service. They seldom reached the highest positions, however, because they were distrusted and were also often of humble birth. They usually began their careers as interpreters, and a good many reached the position of semi-official or official diplomatic agent. The services of private persons, especially merchants, were also used in diplomacy from time to time.

The only Armenian professional diplomat in the Polish service at the time was Romaszkiewicz (first name unknown), who died around 1666. He became an interpreter in the king's chancery in Warsaw as early as 1634.[54] He was an active but not particularly gifted diplomat whose loyalty was doubted in Polish circles.[55] In August 1649, Romaszkiewicz took part in the talks with Xmel'nyc'kyj near Zbaraž.[56] In 1651 he was sent to the Crimea, but his mission was not successful, and he himself was "satis barbare a barbara gente tractatus."[57] In July 1652, again with the help of the Moldavian hospodar, he organized the escape of a group of Polish magnates who had been taken prisoner in the Crimea on their way to Italy via Istanbul. Under pressure, the hospodar turned Romaszkiewicz over to the khan and then saved Moldavia from Cossack retribution by marrying his daughter Roxanda to Tymiš, son of the Ukrainian hetman.[58] (This incident may have been connected with the imprisonment of

[53] Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw), manuscript no. 2774. Colophon published in M. M. Rozov, "Malovidomi džerela z istoriji ukrajins'koji movy (Rukopysy hreko-uniats'koho kapitułu m. Peremyšlja," in *Pytannja ukrajins'koji movy*, ed. by L. L. Humec'ka (Kiev, 1970), p. 182.

[54] B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVII w.* (Łódź, 1950), pp. 142–43.

[55] "Relacja legacji p. Miaskowskiego podkomorzego lwow. do Amurata i Ibraima . . . ," in J. U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce . . .* , 6 vols. (Puławy, 1822–1833), 5:53, 62–64, 69, 77.

[56] "Diariusz obszerny oblężenia Zbaraża," in Michalowski, *Księga pamiętnicza*, p. 468.

[57] Letter of G. M. Girardini, Austrian resident in Warsaw, dated 31 December 1651, *Žerela* 12 (1911):176.

[58] This conflict was often mentioned in diplomatic correspondence from 1652 to

the Lviv merchant Warteresiewicz, who had acted as interpreter and had also negotiated the release of prisoners. He spent three years in prison, and was released only after exhaustive negotiations.) In 1656 Romaszkiewicz set off for Baxčysaraj to get the Tatars' aid for the Poles in the war against the Swedes and Ukrainians.[59] In January of the following year he again went there, this time to persuade the khan to act as intermediary in the conflict between Poland and the Ukraine and to help bring about a break between the Ukraine and Russia.[60]

Another diplomatic agent was the Armenian merchant K. Sinanowicz-Szymański from Zamość (died 1656/57). A participant in the successful Polish embassy to Iran headed by E. Ilicz, he was given the post of town interpreter of Lviv after his return in 1649.[61] In April 1655, when Polish authorities conceived the idea of helping the Kalmyks to occupy the Crimea, Szymański was appointed to negotiate with them.[62] It is difficult to determine whether he actually went on the mission or not,[63] and it is likely that the trip was canceled. In 1655 he turned up in Transylvania, from which he returned with a letter from Prince György II Rákóczi.[64] Szymański then departed for the Crimea, a mission that was evidently

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1653. Cf. relations of an Austrian resident in Istanbul, S. Reniger, an Austrian resident in Poland, G. M. Girardini, and the letter of the Hungarian palatine P. Pálffy to the Austrian general P. Picolomini, *Žerela* 12 (1911): 172, 182, 185, 187, 189, 191. Walerian, the son of Hetman M. Kalinowski, was among the prisoners who escaped (cf. entry in the Lviv court register, CDIA-L, *fond* 9, *op.* 1, *tom* 406, pp. 613–17).

[59] On the imprisonment, see Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, p. 234. On his mission, see the letter of J. Szomowski from Baxčysaraj dated 29 April 1656, *Žerela* 12 (1911): 381; letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to the tsar from Hadjač dated 7 April 1656 and Xmel'nyc'kyj's instruction to the ambassadors I. Skorobohatyj and O. Fed'kovyč dated 7/17 April 1656, in *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho*, pp. 497, 499, 502.

[60] Instruction to Romaszkiewicz dated January 1657, *Žerela* 12 (1911): 428–30; letter of Khan Muḥammed Giray IV from Baxčysaraj dated 4 March 1657, ibid., p. 445; letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to the tsar from Čyhyryn dated 13/23 March 1657, in *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho*, p. 566. Notwithstanding Xmel'nyc'kyj's opinion, Romaszkiewicz was not given a title of nobility. A modern historian, B. Baranowski, regarded Romaszkiewicz as a typical Armenian diplomat, with all the negative and positive connotations that that implied: Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu*, p. 143. The author says nothing about the international complications caused by the activity of Romaszkiewicz.

[61] The king's charter dated 3 March 1650; text in CDIA-L, *fond* 9, *op.* 1, *tom* 400, pp. 258–61.

[62] Instruction to "St. Szymański" dated 29 April 1653, *Žerela* 12 (1911): 200.

[63] B. Baranowski considered that the relations with the Kalmyks had already been settled: *Znajomość Wschodu*, p. 218. M. Hruševs'kyj doubted this: *Istorija*, 9, pt. 2: 506.

[64] Letter of György II Rákóczi from Gheorgheni dated 4 September 1653, *Žerela* 12 (1911): 258.

successful because in 1656 the Crimean grand vizier Sefer Ġāzī Aġa asked the king to confer nobility on him, though in the end the Armenian merchant did not get his title.[65]

In 1648 and 1655 the merchant Zachnowicz of Lviv took part in the talks between the city and the besieging Ukrainian forces, establishing close personal contacts with both Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj and the general staff.[66] In February and March 1656, he was a member of the Polish embassy headed by K. Tyszkiewicz and M. Zaćwielichowski that was sent to persuade the hetman to break with Russia.[67] Some scholars claim he was ennobled, but there is no evidence to support this.[68]

Xmel'nyc'kyj also used Armenians to conduct diplomacy. During the siege of Kam"janec' in 1648, he sent two Armenians from Lviv to convince the inhabitants of Kam"janec' that they should pay tribute as Lviv had done.[69] The king of Sweden, Gustav X Adolfus, had as diplomatic agent at Xmel'nyc'kyj's court an Armenian from Podolia named Z. Gamocky (1620–1679),[70] who had lived in Sweden from childhood, had been ennobled, enjoyed success at court and in the army, and was widely regarded as an expert in Turkish.[71] Gamocky had once tried to organize a

65 Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu,* p. 123.

66 On the talks of 1648, see A. Czołowski, "Relacja oblężenia miasta Lwowa przez B. Chmielnickiego 1648 r.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 6 (1892): 547–48; S. C. Kuszewicz's description of the siege of Lviv in 1648, *Žerela* 4 (1898): 101, 103; Wielewicz, "Historia," p. 166; Józefowicz, *Kronika,* p. 123; A. Czechowicz, "Epitome gestorum anni 1648 . . . ," manuscript in CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 668, p. 114. On the talks of 1655, see Kuszewicz, "Oblężenia drugiego," pp. 129–50; Józefowicz, *Kronika,* pp. 179, 196, 197, 201, 203.

67 Daškevyč, "Ukrainsko-armjanskie otnošenija," p. 110; cf. letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to the tsar from Myrhorod dated 12/22 April 1651, in *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho,* p. 503.

68 Korwin, *Ormiańskie rody,* p. 175.

69 Letter from a Polish priest in Lviv, A. Mokrski, dated 9 September 1648, to the king; published in *Dokumenty ob Osvoboditelnoj vojne,* p. 193.

70 T. Józefowicz and S. C. Kuszewicz (cf. fn. 66) considered Gamocky to be an Armenian from Lviv. Gamocky himself stated that he came from Riszlova or Rislova (evidently Raškiv) in Podolia. Cf. B. Schlegel and C. A. Clingspor, *Den med sköldebrev förlänade men ej å Riddarhuset introducerade svenska adelns ättar-taflor* (Stockholm, 1875), p. 82; *Sveriges Kyrkor: Stockholm VIII (Klara Kyrka)* (Stockholm, 1927), p. 286 (his name is sometimes spelled "Gamoiski" in the Swedish literature). His portrait is found in D. K. Ehrenstrahl, *Das grosse Carrosel und prachtige Ring-Rannen . . . Certamen equestre caeteraque slemnia Holmiae . . .* (Stockholm [1673]), plate 39.

71 J. Herbinius, *Horae Turcico-catecheticae sive institutio brevis catechetica* (Gdańsk, 1675), p. 3: this is an addition to J. Herbinius's book, *Symbola fidei Christianae catholica . . .* (Gdańsk, 1675). On Gamocky, see A. Zajączkowski, "Gamocki," *PSB,* 7 (1948–1958): 263 (the article is weak because the author made no use of the Swedish literature).

leather-goods industry, a luxury product characteristic of Armenian enterprise in Sweden.[72] He arrived near Lviv for a parlay with the hetman on 16 November 1655, after the Swedish army had occupied Cracow.[73] With the help of Gamocky, Xmel'nyc'kyj concluded an alliance with Sweden against Poland. When the ambassador departed on 8 November 1656, the hetman gave him a letter to the king of Sweden, offering to divide Poland into a Swedish and a Ukrainian sphere of influence.[74]

The situation of the Armenians was far different in areas controlled by the Polish authorities than in areas controlled by the Cossacks. Insofar as the Poles were concerned, the Armenians, like the Ukrainians, were schismatics; therefore, the Armenian communities in Ukrainian territory that remained under Polish rule found themselves in a difficult position. The upper class, which had tried to overcome mistrust and had succeeded to some extent by becoming Polonized, pro-Catholic, and Uniate, won privileges from the king in return for personal service or large sums of money and other donations. Privileges were also given to two of the largest colonies, in Lviv and in Kam"janec', to ameliorate discrimination in business and trade and as a device for weakening pro-Ukrainian sympathies among the general Armenian population. On 14 January 1651, in Warsaw, King John Casimir granted a charter to the Armenians in Lviv as a result of a request by the rich Armenian merchant Ch. A. Bernatowicz, who in 1648 had contributed 17,296 of the 49,694 florins paid as tribute by the Armenian community of Lviv to Xmel'nyc'kyj.[75] The charter permitted the Armenians to sell textiles and alcoholic beverages at markets in their district. The charter asserted that the community had been loyal during the siege of 1648, when the Armenians had "manifested faith and constancy to the Republic and together with other citizens of the town had given for the safety of the town not only their property and valuables, but the life of hostages and their own, and had also given a large sum of money in payment of the tribute."[76] A similar

[72] G. H. Stråhle, *Alingsås manufakturverk* (Stockholm, 1884), pp. lvii–lviii.
[73] S. C. Kuszewicz, "Oblężenia drugiego miasta Lwowa od woysk kozackich y moskiewskich w roku 1655 fragmentum," published in *Žerela* 6 (1913): 145, 150; Józefowicz, *Kronika*, pp. 196, 202.
[74] *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho*, p. 459.
[75] For a list of Armenians who donated money for the tribute, see *Žerela* 4 (1911): 117–18 (the list erroneously includes Krzystoph Azerkatowycz).
[76] The original can be found in CDIA-L, *fond* 131, *op.* 1, *tom* 733; the charter was published in F. Bischoff, *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Armenier in Lemberg* (Vienna, 1865), pp. 115–17.

privilege was granted to the Armenians of Kam"janec' on 15 March 1652. They received, "for their faithfulness and courage," freedom to trade at the Armenian market and in the other streets and to make and sell alcoholic beverages.[77] As a result of the threat that loomed over Kam"janec' in June and July of 1657, when the Ukrainian Cossack army again approached the city, another privilege was granted to the Armenian community, issued in Warsaw on 23 March 1658, "for courage shown during the attack of the Cossacks, Hungarians, and Swedes." The actual effect of the privilege was extremely limited. The Armenian magistracy — that is, only the upper class of the colony — again received the ravaged suburbs (*khutors*) that had earlier belonged to them, together with the right of building a tavern there.[78]

These privileges affected only economic life, leaving unsolved the problems of political and religious discrimination. Even in economic matters their practical value was minor, since they came nowhere near to renewing the privileges Armenians had enjoyed in Lviv and Kam"janec' in the sixteenth century. In any case, as soon as the danger had passed and the question of Armenian loyalty lost its importance, all the earlier restrictions were reinstated. On 21 December 1651, in Warsaw, the king's regulations governing the production of needles and knives in Lviv forbade the Armenians to make armor or any other metal objects.[79] The privilege of 14 January 1651, although it had almost insignificantly increased the trading rights of the Armenians of Lviv, evoked fierce opposition on the part of the Polish magistrate in Lviv, who demanded its revocation; the king, after an examination which lasted three and a half years, complied on 11 August 1654.[80]

77 The text of the privilege has not been published and, indeed, could not be found. It is described in W. Marczyński, *Statystyczne, topograficzne i historyczne opisanie gubernii Podolskiej . . .*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1820), p. 176 (erroneously dated 1650). The charter is mentioned also in A. Przeździecki, *Podole, Wołyń, Ukraina: Obrazy miejsc i czasów*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1841), pp. 152–53, as dated 1652. The date 15 March 1652 is taken from the charter of King Stanislaus Augustus dated 5 August 1766, in which the privilege of 1652 is confirmed. The charter of 1766 is listed in the manuscript register "Zbiór historyczny przywilejów miastu Kamieńcowi służącemu . . ." (Kam"janec', 1791) in LNB AN, Czołowski collection, no. 2250, p. 27.

78 The text of the privilege has not been published. It is described in Marczyński, *Statystyczne . . . opisanie*, 1:176, and also 3 (1823):15, where the description is more detailed.

79 The original of the regulations is to be found in CDIA-L, *fond* 131, *op.* 1, *tom* 735. They are described in D. A. Kupčyns'kyj and E. J. Ružyc'kyj, *Kataloh perhamentnyx dokumentiv Central'noho deržavnoho istoryčnoho arxivu URSR u L'vovi, 1233–1799* (Kiev, 1972), p. 446.

80 The text of the decree is to be found in CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 2, *tom* 619, pp.

The privileges of 1651, 1652, and 1658 did not protect the Armenians from local prejudice, although attempts were made to conceal that defect.[81] Any actual lessening of discrimination came not from the king's charters of privilege, but simply from the breakdown of the dominant order and the resulting domestic chaos. Efforts to force the Armenian church into union with Rome ceased as the Catholic power structure was shaken, while anti-union activities in the Ukrainian and Armenian communities revived. For the Ukrainians, Xmel'nyc'kyj demanded that the government cease aiding the Uniates and that the places of deceased bishops and metropolitans in the Ukrainian Uniate church be filled with members of the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy. The triumph of anti-Uniate forces among the Ukrainians influenced religious affairs among the Armenians. An agreement was signed in Istanbul between the Armenian catholicos P'hilip and the Armenian Uniate archbishop of Lviv M. Torosowicz in April 1653. According to this agreement, the Armenian church in the Ukraine once again became Gregorian, the successor of M. Torosowicz had to be appointed by Ejmiacin and not by Rome, and the name of the pope was to be mentioned only when M. Torosowicz himself conducted the liturgy.[82]

To understand fully the fate of the Armenian communities in territories under Cossack control, we must examine the source material. A major question is the Armenians' attitude toward the social radicalism and violence in the Ukrainian revolution. There survive five accounts — two chronicles and three colophons — in which Armenians describe the events of 1648–1653. The first, by the anonymous writer from Lviv who continued the Kam"janec' Chronicle,[83] gives a brief account of the siege of Lviv in 1648, mentioning the lack of food in the town (a loaf of bread cost one florin) and the collection of ransom money. "How much sorrow," he says, did we "endure for our sins."[84] The king "saw that through the sea of

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725–34; it was published in Bischoff, *Urkunden*, pp. 118–24; Russian translation in Daškevyč, "Ukrainsko-armjanskie otnošenija," pp. 99–106.

81 Thus, for instance, the Polish chronicler W. Kochowski, speaking of the political unreliability of the Armenians in Lviv in 1653, accused the Armenians of loving to dress with Eastern opulence: *Annalium Poloniae*, p. 371.

82 Aṙak'el Dawrižec'i, *Patmut'iwn* (Vagaršapat, 1896), pp. 386–87. Russian translation, Arakel Davrižeci, *Kniga istorij*, trans. by L. A. Khanlarian (Moscow, 1973), pp. 304–305. Cf. also Petrowicz, *L'Unione*, pp. 137–38.

83 Tarēgirk' Kamenic'ay, in *Kamenic': Taregirk hayoc'Lehastani ew Rumenioy hawastč'eay yaweluacovk'*, ed. by Ł. M. Ališan (Venice, 1896), pp. 110–12.

84 Tarēgirk' Kamenic'ay, in *Kamenic'*, p. 110.

our sins God got angry with the Poles. . . . All of this [i.e., the uprising of the Ukrainians] was caused by the stupidity of our masters."[85]

Xač'atur Kafaec'i, an Armenian chronicler in the Crimea (1592–1658/59) observed the events from distant Kaffa. He mentioned the Tatar marches to the Ukraine and Poland on Xmel'nyc'kyj's behalf of both 1648 and the following years; in the year 1649 he reported that three hundred Armenians had been taken prisoner by the Tatars and that Potocki had been captured.[86] He condemned the Tatar invasion of Christian lands. Another reporter from Kaffa was the scribe Avetik, who contributed the colophon in a hymnal (*šaraknoc'* and *tōnac'oyc'*) of 1648. There he, too, wrote about the Tatar march on the Ukraine and Poland, when the khan "robbed the country and took both women and men prisoner."[87]

Much closer to these events was the scribe Murat Sarkavag, who signed the colophon written on 8 to 18 December 1648, in the book of canons in Suceava.[88] He stated that "Xmēlin . . . left many ruins in the land of the Poles."[89] Varderes, son of Krištof Mustafa, who wrote the colophon against Xmel'nyc'kyj in Kam"janec' on May 22 to June 1, 1653, described the preceding five years as a "sad and sorrowful time." Xmel'nyc'kyj, whom Varderes referred to as C'-Bogdan ("not God-given"), had "mercilessly and heartlessly tortured and imprisoned the Christians and handed them over to foreigners who were called the tribe of Tatars."[90] The Armenian historian V. Hakobyan regarded Varderes's animosity as representative of the attitude prevalent among the upper class of the Kam"janec' colony.[91]

In general, the attitude of the Armenian authors in the Ukraine toward

85 Tarēgirk' Kamenic'ay, in *Kamenic'*, p. 110. In Ališan's edition the dates of the Armenian calendar are computed erroneously as 1649 and 1650; they should be 1648 and 1649.

86 The chronicle is published in *Manr žamanakagrut'yunner XIII–XVIII dd.*, vol. 1, ed. by V. Hakobyan (Erevan, 1951), p. 225.

87 The colophon has not been published. The manuscript can be found in the Matenadran (Erevan), no. 7524 (the colophon is on fol. 333b).

88 I leave this date, although the date ṘŁĒ of the Armenian calendar in the colophon corresponds to 21 October 1647 — 19 October 1648.

89 The colophon is published in *Kamenic'*, pp. 189–90. The manuscript can be found in the Library of Mekhitarists in Venice.

90 The colophon was published in Ya. Tašean (J. Dashian), *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Kayserakan matenadarani i Vienna (Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in der k. k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna, 1891), p. 28; and in *Kamenic'*, pp. 190–91 (where the date of the Armenian calendar is computed erroneously as 1654). The manuscript is held in the Austrian National Library under no. Cod. Arm. 5.

91 V. Hakobyan (Akopjan), "Armjanskie istočniki ob Ukraine i ukraincax," *ISD* [1] (1961): 225.

Xmel'nyc'kyj was determined by his alliance with the Tatars.[92] This was particularly true for the Armenian authors in the Crimea, who were little concerned about the causes of the Ukrainian uprising, and for the Armenians under Ottoman rule, who dreamed of uniting all Christian forces in the struggle against the Ottomans and the Crimean Tatars. In the Ukraine, however, Armenians opposed to Xmel'nyc'kyj were aware of the causes of the uprising, but usually favored the Polish order.

In discussing the sources for Armenian-Ukrainian relations, we must investigate a number of fallacious opinions and myths based on questionable sources. Among them is the notion that Armenians were involved in the earliest plans for the uprising of 1648. The Ukrainian chronicler S. Velyčko (d. after 1728), in his work, "Narration of the Cossack War against the Poles," described in detail how in March of 1648 Xmel'nyc'kyj traveled to the Crimea and by order of the khan was quartered at the home of a rich Armenian merchant. Velyčko also maintained that Tymiš, Xmel'nyc'kyj's son, when he was left as a hostage, resided at the same Armenian's home.[93] Historians of the nineteenth century (M. Kostomarov and A. J. Rolle, among others) accepted this information,[94] but since then it has been disproved. Xmel'nyc'kyj did go to the Crimea, but only after his flight to the Zaporozhian Sich, not in 1648, and Tymiš was never held hostage.[95] The source of the legend is unknown. However, many historians (W. Kochowski, W. Rudawski, S. Twardowski, S. Puffendorf, Samovydec') do not say that Xmel'nyc'kyj resided in the Crimea. The myth turned up as early as 1654, in an account by the Arab traveler Būlus al-Ḥalabī. No substantive evidence exists for an Armenian input in the planning of the revolt.

A second myth about Ukrainian-Armenian relations concerned the sack of Armenian monasteries by Cossack forces. It seems to have been created by Būlus al-Ḥalabī, or Paul of Aleppo (ca. 1627–1669). Būlus al-Ḥalabī had accompanied his father, the Antiochene patriarch Makarius, on a journey from Damascus to Moscow. He left a picturesque and detailed description, in typically Eastern hyperbole, of his sojourns in

[92] Hakobyan, "Armjanskie istočniki," pp. 225–26.
[93] S. Velyčko, *Skazanije o vojni kozackoj z poljakamy*, ed. by K. O. Lazarevs'ka (Kiev, 1926; *Pam"jatnyky ukrajins'koho pys'menstva*, vol. 1), pp. 25–27.
[94] N. Kostomarov, *Bogdan Xmel'nickij: Istoričeskaja monografija*, vol. 1, 4th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1884), p. 258; A. J. Rolle, "Kobiety na dworze czehryńskim w drugiej połowie XVII w.," *Biblioteka Warszawska* 211, no. 3 (1893):61.
[95] M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2, 2nd ed. (Kiev and Vienna, 1922), pp. 175–76; M. Korduba, "Chmielnicki Tymosz," *PSB*, 3 (1937):337–38; I. Kryp"jakevyč, *Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj* (Kiev, 1954), p. 124.

Moldavia and the Ukraine (1653–1654, 1656) which was subsequently used by scores of historians. In the process, however, it was often forgotten that the memoir was, above all, a literary work. The observations of Būlus, an Arab Christian viewing East European culture, must be checked against other sources, particularly because he was extremely opinionated. Būlus took delight in the Cossacks' violence against non-Orthodox Christians (Poles, Jews, and Armenians), which he saw as retribution for acts committed against the Orthodox during Polish rule. His accounts about Poles and Jews can be compared to many other sources, but his reports about Armenians during the Xmel'nyc'kyj Revolution is one of few such accounts. Būlus's antagonism towards Armenians, his view of the war as primarily one of Orthodox believers against all enemies of the faith, and his exaggeration of the Armenians' role in it all make his account suspect.

One of Būlus's explanations for the Ukrainian-Polish war was that the Poles "began to place them [the Cossacks] under the control of the Jews and Armenians."[96] In describing the Ukraine at the time of the uprising, he stated that "as to the Jews and the Armenians, they have been totally exterminated."[97] In the town of Uman', he wrote, where the houses were large and beautiful, "a greater part of them had belonged to Poles, Jews, and Armenians."[98] Similarly, the most splendid and beautiful houses in Man'kivka "had belonged to Jews and Armenians."[99] Būlus accused the Armenian heretics of having associated with Jesuits (which may be a reference to the union of the Armenian church with Rome).[100] In sum, he portrayed the Armenians as a major antagonist of the Orthodox and the Cossacks.

One of Būlus's stories recounted how Xmel'nyc'kyj's son, Tymiš, "destroyed an Armenian monastery in Suceava, killed the vardapet, priests, monks, and all the Armenians who had taken shelter there. The latter were very rich, and he seized all their property and jewels, their gold and

96 [Paul d'Aleppo], *Voyage du patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, ed. by B. Radu, in R. Graffin, *Patrologia orientalis*, vol. 26, pt. 5 (Paris, 1949), p. 614 (Arabic text and French translation). The Russian translation by G. A. Murkos, entitled *Putešestvie antioxijskogo patriarxa Makarija v Rossiju v polovine XVII v., opisannoe ego synom arxidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim*, is in *ČOIDR* 183, no. 4 (1897):7.

97 *Voyage*, p. 636; *Putešestvie*, p. 21.

98 *Voyage*, p. 638; *Putešestvie*, p. 22.

99 *Voyage*, pp. 642, 646; *Putešestvie*, pp. 24, 27.

100 This statement was not included in *Patrologia orientalis*, owing to the death of the translator, B. Radu. It is also omitted in the Arabic copy in the British Library, Add. MSS 18428. The words are quoted from the manuscript at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, no. B-1230, p. 99b; *Putešestvie*, p. 77.

pearls and precious stones in great numbers; of gold alone there were two barrels full."[101] Later, describing his visit to the village of Subotiv and the new church of St. Michael on 12 August 1656, he again returned to the Armenian theme: "Here [in the church] were treasures of Armenian churches[102] that had been stolen from churches plundered and destroyed by the deceased Tymiš in Suceava, a Moldavian town."[103]

That the Cossacks did not massacre the Armenians in Suceava in 1653 can easily be proved. The news of Tymiš's death in Suceava was brought to the king's camp near Kam"janec' by the Armenians themselves.[104] Surely, P. Doni, the king's personal secretary, whose job it was to register every detail and whose opinion of Tymiš was unfavorable, would not have neglected to record a massacre Tymiš initiated. It is equally unlikely that the Armenians would not have reported such an event. Clearly, Būlus invented it to further glorify the Cossacks as warriors for the faith. Most probably the Cossacks did not share the Arab Orthodox prelate's deep hostility towards Armenians.

The wars of the seventeenth century were certainly vicious, but they did not result in deep-rooted Armenian-Ukrainian antagonism. The discriminatory policy of Polish ruling circles vis-à-vis the Armenians and the attempt to enforce their union with Rome were two problems that formed the basis for Armenians' sympathy with the Cossacks. Some Armenians joined the Cossacks and took part in the uprising. The lower classes of Armenians had little reason to be Polonophile, and were usually closely connected with the native Ukrainian urban population in their daily lives. However, the Tatar-Cossack military alliance did dampen the pro-Ukrainian sympathies of Armenians. Thus, for the majority of Armenians, the best solution lay in the terms of the Agreement of Zboriv of 1649, which would have terminated the need for a Tatar-Cossack alliance, restored peaceful relations between the Cossack polity and the Commonwealth, and alleviated Roman Catholic pressure on Eastern Christians. It is no accident that the anonymous author who continued the Kam"janec' Chron-

[101] *Voyage du patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, ed. by B. Radu, in R. Griffin, *Patrologia orientalis*, vol. 24, pt. 4 (Paris, 1933), p. 515; *Putešestvie antioxijskogo patriarxa Makarija . . .* , in *ČOIDR* 179, no. 4 (1896): 108.

[102] Already a number of churches, and not one monastery, as he had written in 1653.

[103] British Library, Add. MSS 18430, p. 41a; *Putešestvie antioxijskogo patriarxa Makarija*, in *ČOIDR* 187, no. 4 (1898): 193.

[104] S. Tomašivs'kyj, *Narodni ruxy*, pp. 554, 558. For a full discussion of the alleged pillage of Armenian monasteries by Cossack forces, see my forthcoming article in volume 5, of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

icle praised the king who had concluded that agreement, contrasting his wisdom with the foolishness of the magnates who had unleashed the war.[105]

The oldest Armenian colony within the limits of the Ukrainian lands controlled by the Cossacks was that in Kiev; in 1622 it had numbered only nine households.[106] The colony disappeared almost entirely when the Lithuanian army set fire to Kiev in 1651, and the Armenian church there was destroyed in the conflagration.[107] The Ukraine suffered from endless battles, and as a result Armenian merchants on the roads or following Polish troops were in constant danger of finding themselves in Tatar hands and of losing their wares and even their lives. Xač'atur Kafaec'i's estimate that 300 Armenians were in Tatar prisons in 1648–49 is probably exaggerated.[108] There is no reason to doubt, however, the extensive losses of the Armenians in Lviv mentioned in the king's privileges of 14 January 1651, "because of murders, robbery, and devastation as well as various mishaps on the road,"[109] nor the massive sums contributed by them in Lviv in 1648[110] and 1655, nor the destruction of their property (as when the Cossacks tore off the lead roof of the Armenian Church of the Holy Cross in Lviv in 1655).[111] These losses were not, however, attributable to their being Armenians. They were simply the consequences of war, the burden of which fell on everyone, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian alike.

* * *

The diverse activities and interests of the Armenians in the Ukraine were reflected in their varied attitudes, reactions, and fate during Xmel'nyc'kyj's revolution. The final balance is far from negative. The Armenians in the

105 Tarēgirk' Kamenic'ay, in *Kamenic'*, p. 110.
106 According to the agreement between the Armenian communities of Kiev and Lviv; the latter is published in F. Savčenko, "Lystuvannja Ja. Holovac'koho z O. Bodjans'kym (1843–1876 rr.)," in *Za sto lit*, vol. 5 (Kiev and Xarkiv, 1930), p. 138.
107 A letter from the Lithuanian camp near Kiev, dated 22 August 1651, in A. Grabowski, *Starożytności historyczne polskie*, vol. 1 (Cracow, 1840), p. 339.
108 *Manr žamanakagrut'yunner*, p. 225.
109 ". . . per caedes, praedes et spolia, aliaque varia itineris incommoda [because of murders, robbery, and devastation, as well as different complications on the road]." Bischoff, *Urkunden*, p. 116.
110 List of Armenians in Lviv who paid the tribute of 1648, *Žerela* 4: 117–18; list of goods handed over by the Armenians on 16 October 1648, in CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 1, *tom* 814, p. 46; lists of goods of separate merchants, CDIA-L, *fond* 52, *op.* 1, *tom* 445, pp. 601–604.
111 Kuszewicz, "Oblężenia drugiego," p. 142; Józefowicz, *Kronika*, p. 142 (in the autograph found in CDIA-L, *fond* 192, *op.* 2, *tom* 1275, p. 343); A. Pidou, *Krótka wiadomość o obecnym stanie, początkach i postępie misji apostolskiej do Ormian w Polsce, Wołoszczyznie . . .* , in *Zródła dziejowe*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1872), p. 18.

Ukraine preserved fully their position in the Eastern trade. On the Ukrainian lands controlled by the Cossacks, they were completely free from national and economic discrimination. Trade possibilities, both local and foreign, for them increased greatly after competition from the Jews disappeared. The Ukrainian-Polish war brought about a decrease in economic discrimination against the Armenian population on the lands that remained under Poland; many Armenians even prospered by selling arms to the Polish forces.

The Xmel'nyc'kyj Revolution played an important role in ending religious and national discrimination against the Armenians and terminating, for a time, the union of the Armenian church with Rome, first de facto, and later formally, in the Stambul agreement of 1653. Finally, the Ukrainian revolution halted assimilation, thereby helping to preserve the identity of the Armenian communities in the Ukraine for many years to come.

Lviv

Oghusische Lehnwörter im Chaladsch

GERHARD DOERFER

1. Vorübergehend ist das Chaladsch für einen azeri Dialekt gehalten worden. Diese (heute überholte) These basierte auf dem leider ganz unzuverlässigen Material, das Minorsky 1940 ediert hatte.[1] Der hervorragende Forscher[2] hatte kurze Texte (Sätze, einige Glossen) aus drei Dörfern gesammelt. Von diesen dürften jedoch zwei schon damals nicht mehr Chaladsch gewesen sein. (Wie während der Expeditionen 1968/9 festgestellt, wird heute in beiden kein Chaladsch gesprochen.) Der einzige echte chaladsch Text ist der aus Xurak-ābād; er umfaßt ganze 24 (nicht gerade dichtgedrängte) Zeilen. Dagegen stammt der Text aus Kundūrūd gewiß von einem Azeri, er weist einige Wörter auf wie *bir* 'eins' statt *bi:*, *koy* 'blau' statt *ki:ek* usw.[3] Noch schlimmer steht es um das Material aus Pougird. Der Informant hat offenbar kein Chaladsch gekonnt, nur ein paar Wörter aufgeschnappt, darüber jedoch Minorsky nicht informiert. Ein wenig hat dies schon Minorsky geahnt, der von einem "pidgin Khalajī" spricht, das ihm vorgesprochen worden sei. Dieser Text enthält so typisch azeri Formen wie *diyärik* 'wir sagen' statt *hayimiz* usw. Dieser Text kann nicht ernst genommen werden, er ist nicht chaladsch.[4]

Tatsächlich weist das Chaladsch in seinem Kernbestand kein einziges oghusisches Merkmal auf. Dies hat teilweise schon der iranische Forscher Muγaddam festgestellt. Er führt u.a. auf:[5]

[1] "The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10:2 (1940), 417–37.
[2] Vgl. N. A. Baskakov: "Vladimir Fedorovič Minorskij kak tjurkolog," *Sovetskaja tjurkologija* 1977:1, 56–60.
[3] Vgl. Vf.: "Materialien zu türk. h-," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, NF (im Druck).
[4] Auch z.B. *het-* 'machen' (statt *i:et-*, *e:t-*, wie in allen 47 chal. Dialekten) ist eine reine Phantasieform: Der Informant hatte gemerkt, daß dem az. ˀ- oft chal. h- entspricht, z.B. az. *at* 'Pferd' = chal. *hat*, und so schuf er aus az. *et-* ein "chal." *het-*.
[5] *Gūyišhā-yi Vafs va Āštiyān va Tafraš*, Teheran 1318 h.š.; vgl. die Faksimiles in Vf.: *Khalaj Materials*, Bloomington/The Hague 1971, 60–137, speziell 133–36.

Chaladsch	Azeri
t-	d-
k-	g-
h-	?-
-γ	-

Auch die Morphologie ist ganz unoghusisch. Die chaladsch Imperativformen z.B.[6] finden sich in keiner anderen Türksprache wieder, z.B. 'er soll kommen' (az. *gäl-sin*) = *yä-käl-tä*; der Dativ lautet auf *-KA* (az. *-A*!) usw. Gleiches gilt für die Lexik. Die bekannten Schibbolethwörter für 'Lippe, Wolf, Nabel' z.B. (tü. i.a. *ärin, bö:ri, kindik,* aber oghus. **to:taq*, **qu:rt*, **kö:päk*) lauten hier *ärin, bi:eri* (~ *bö:öri*), *kindik*. Wir können also die These vom oghusischen (azeri) Charakter des Chaladsch ad acta legen.

2. Das bedeutet natürlich nun nicht, daß das Chaladsch keinen Einfluß von seinen oghusischen Nachbardialekten erfahren hätte. Freilich: Sprachentlehnung (Randbestand) ist etwas ganz Anderes als Spracherbe (Kernbestand).[7]

Welche Kriterien gibt es nun aber zur Scheidung der altererbten chal. Wörter von den oghusischen Lehnwörtern?

(a) Es gibt zunächst semantische Kriterien. So könnte zwar *säkkiz* 'acht' rein lautlich gesehen ein oghus. Lehnwort sein. Da aber andere Zahlwörter deutliche Erbformen aufweisen (z.B. *äkki* 'zwei', *ti:ert* 'vier', *alta* 'sechs', *toqquz* 'neun'), da ferner Entlehnungen bei niederen Zahlwörtern recht selten vorkommen, wird man auch *säkkiz* als chal. ansehen. Auch wird z.B. niemand annehmen, daß ein Grundwort wie *al-* 'nehmen' aus dem Azeri (wo das Wort ebenso lautet) entlehnt sein könnte.[8] Bei Fehlen morphologischer oder phonetischer Kriterien wird man also Grundwörter als altererbt ansehen.[9]

(b) Morphologische Kriterien spielen eine geringe Rolle. Vgl. aber immerhin chal. (Erbwort) *alum-satun* 'Handel' gegen chal. *alïš-vi:eriš* (gewiß aus azeri *alïš-veriš*).

[6] Vgl. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 39 (1972), 295–340.

[7] Das Persische bleibt ja auch trotz vieler Lehnwörter aus dem Arabischen eine indoeuropäische Sprache.

[8] In fast allen Türksprachen so, außer jakut. *ïl-*, čuvaš. *il-* (von geringen Nüancen abgesehen).

[9] Natürlich sind die Grenzen fließend, s. dazu Vf.: *Grundwort und Sprachmischung* (im Druck).

(c) Es gibt aber klare lautliche Kriterien:

1°. Alttürk. -ə-[10] ist im Chal. > u/ü (in den meisten Dialekten > u/i) geworden. Daher:

Ererbt	Entlehnt
hatuš- 'bekritteln'	*alïš-* 'Feuer fangen'
qa:adun 'Schwager'	*ġayïn* id.

2°. Alttürk. t- ist bewahrt, Formen mit d- sind oghusisch:

Ererbt	Entlehnt
ta:aγ 'Berg'	*da:am* 'Dach'
tävä 'Kamel'	*däli* 'irre'

3°. k- ist bewahrt, Formen mit g- sind oghusisch:

Ererbt	Entlehnt
käl- 'kommen'	*gi:el* 'See'
käli:n 'Braut'	*gäli:n*

4°. q- ist bewahrt, Formen mit ġ- sind oghusisch:[11]

Ererbt	Entlehnt
qač- 'fliehen'	*ġoč* 'Widder' (nach Kāšγarī *qoč* oghus.)
quš 'Spatz'	*ġuš* id.
qa:adun 'Schwager'	*ġayïn* id.[12]

5°. h- im Chal. bewahrt, oghus. meist > ʔ-:[13]

Ererbt	Entlehnt
hüsgün 'todkrank'	*üsgün* id.
hil- 'sterben (Menschen)'	*öl-* 'krepieren (Tiere)'

6°. -t-, -K-, -č- bewahrt, im Oghusischen nach Langvokal und in dritter Silbe[14] > -d-, -G-, -ǰ-; daher:

Ererbt	Entlehnt
a:at 'Name'	*adaš* 'Namensvetter'
haf-qur- 'bellen'	*bi:ö-gür-* 'muhen' (Suffix *-Kər-*)

10 Einer der ersten, die klar erkannt haben, daß im Orchontürkischen nicht ï/i/u/ü zu lesen ist, sondern /ə/, war O. Pritsak, vgl. u.a. *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Turkologie, ed. B. Spuler, Leiden/Köln 1963, 29.

11 Vgl. M. Mollova in *Linguistique Balkanique* 4 (1962), 107–30, zum Ttü., ferner R. Berdyev et al. (s. unten), 163–67.

12 Vor allem nördliche chal. Dialekte haben freilich unter pers. und/oder az. Einfluß stets q- > ġ-.

13 ʔ- bezeichnet hier beliebigen Vokaleinsatz, gleichviel ob fest oder lose.

14 Vgl. ttü. *topuk/topuğum*: chal. *topuq/topuqum* 'Knöchel, mein Knöchel'.

7°. -G-, -G bewahrt, oghus. geschwunden. Daher:

Ererbt	Entlehnt
arïγ 'rein', *sa:ruγ* 'gelb'	*batlaq* 'Morast' < *batïγlaq*

8°. -d-, -d bewahrt, oghus. > y. Daher:

Ererbt	Entlehnt
qa:adun 'Schwager'	*ġayïn* id.

9°. Ferner gibt es eine Fülle weiterer kleinerer lautlicher Veränderungen, z.B. erscheint 'Weizen' im Türk. i.a. als *buγday,* nur azeri *buγda,* eben daher dürfte das gleichlautende chal. Wort stammen. (Vgl. unten: Daher stammen viele Termini für Ackerbau und Viehzucht.) Typisch chal. (Xarrāb) ist auch der Schwund des -y-, z.B. in *u:ona-* 'spielen', *bu:ur-* 'befehlen'; Formen wie *oyïn* 'Spiel', *buyur-* dürften daher oghusisch sein. Typisch oghusisch ist auch die Metathese in *göčü* 'Ziege' (türkmen. *gäči* usw.) gegen echt chal. *äčči/äčki* (vgl. alttürk. *äčkü*). Auch chal. *puz-* 'wegreißen' (alttürk. *buz-*) ist wohl von azeri *poz-* beeinflußt. Typisch azeri ist *vur-* 'schlagen' (gegen echt chal. *hur-*, vor Vokal *hurr-*, was auf alte Länge weist, vgl. jakut. *u:r-*).

Freilich bleibt manches unklar bzw. dem Ermessen überlassen. Vgl. z.B. *ġïli:č* 'Schwert': Ist das Wort oghus. (wegen des ġ-) oder altererbt (wegen des -i:-)? Oder: 'Leinwand' heißt alttürk. *bö:z,* so auch in den meisten heutigen Türksprachen. Im Oghusischen finden wir *be:z.* Ist dies (a) eine Dissimilation aus *bö:z*? Oder ist vielmehr (b) alttürk. *bö:z* eine Assimilation aus *be:z*?[15] Sollte (b) zutreffen, so wäre chal. *bi:ez* viel eher altererbt als ein Lehnwort. Wir müssen also viele Fragezeichen setzen.

3. Interessant ist nun das Faktum, daß es im Chaladsch *zwei* oghusische Schichten gibt. (Auch hier bleibt die Scheidung freilich oft dem Ermessen überlassen.) Die beiden Schichten unterscheiden sich, wie folgt:

(a) In der einen Schicht sind Langvokale bewahrt, in der anderen nicht. Beispiele:

Schicht A	Schicht B
da:am 'Dach' (tü. *ta:m*)	*adaš* 'Namensvetter' (tü. *a:t* 'Name')
ba:γ 'Band' (tü. *ba:γ*)	*ġayïn* 'Schwager' (tü. *qa:dən*)

(b) In Schicht A ist tü. -ə-, -U- (wie in ererbten Wörtern) > -U- geworden, in der anderen > ï/i/u/ü:

[15] Ich nehme eher dies an, vgl. Vf.: *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen,* II, Wiesbaden 1965, 450. Der atü. Beleg ist uigur., also nicht sehr alt; zudem ist auch das Atü. nicht = Urtürkisch, sondern ein tü. Dialekt.

Schicht A	Schicht B
da:nuš- 'reden'	*ayïl* 'Viehhürde' (tü. *a:yəl*)
ġayur- 'machen'[16]	*ayïz* 'Biestmilch' (tü. *ayuz*)
gä:gür- 'rülpsen' (tü. *kä:kər-*)	

(c) In Schicht A ist -q- bewahrt, in B > x geworden:

Schicht A	Schicht B
arqaluq 'Jackett'	*arxaluq* id.
čaqïn 'Blitz'	*yaxa* 'Kragen'
	yïlxï 'Herde'

4. Schicht B ist leicht als azeri erkennbar (zu *yïlxï* s. unten).[17] Aber aus welcher Sprache stammt Schicht A? Auf keinen Fall kann es sich um Türkeitürkisch oder "normales" Azeri handeln, denn dort sind die alten Langvokale längst untergegangen.[18] Deutliche Überreste von Langvokalen existieren heute nur noch a) im Türkmenischen (voll bewahrt), ferner teilweise b) im Chorasantürkischen[19] und c) in der "SQA-Gruppe" (= Sonqori, Qašqa'i, Äynallu), die als Übergang vom Westoghusischen (Türkeitürkisch, speziell Azeri) zum Ostoghusischen (Chorasantürkisch, Türkmenisch) anzusehen ist.[20] Geographisch liegt es am nächsten,[21] an eine Einwirkung der SQA-Gruppe zu denken (vgl. heute noch sonqori *ġuš* 'Vogel': *bụt* [geschlossenes u] < *bụ:t* 'Schenkel', *at* 'Pferd': *a:d* 'Name').

Was die zeitliche Festlegung betrifft, so ist zu beachten, daß sich der oghus. Übergang t- > d-, k- > g-, wie er in den oghusischen Lehnwörtern des Chaladsch vorliegt, zumindest im Türkeitürk. erst im 15. Jahrhundert voll durchgesetzt hat.[22] Damit scheidet als Vermittler dieser wegen Bewahrung der Langvokale altertümlichen Schicht auch das Türkmenische aus; denn im 15. Jh. waren die Türkmenen noch auf ein kleines Gebiet am Ostufer des Kaspischen Meeres beschränkt; die Chaladsch dagegen werden (mindestens) schon i.J. 1403 in ihren heutigen Wohnsitzen er-

16 Aus atü. *qadyu-r-* 'über etwas bekümmert sein, sich um etwas kümmern'.
17 Das Azeri von Chaladschistan ist leider immer noch nicht genügend erforscht, s. aber unten, Vf. 1971, auch die Bemerkung zu *yäkkä*, Abschnitt 21.
18 Vgl. Vf.: "Das Vorosmanische," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yilliğ Belleten* (weiterhin als *TDAY-B* abgekürzt) 1975/76, 111–15.
19 Vgl. Vf.: "Das Chorasantürkische," *TDAY-B* 1977, 127–204.
20 Vgl. Vf.: "Das Sonqor-Türkische," *Studia Orientalia* 47 (Helsinki 1977), 43–56.
21 Vgl. Vf., Semih Tezcan: *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch* (im Druck), Einleitung §5.4.
22 Vgl. Vf. "Das Vorosmanische," *TDAY-B* 1975/76, 118–25; *WZKM* 62 (1969), 250–63.

wähnt.[23] Andererseits hat die heutige SQA-Gruppe Langvokale nicht mehr im selben Maße bewahrt wie Schicht A; der teilweise Verlust der Langvokale dürfte einige Zeit beansprucht haben. Daher mag Schicht A auf etwa 1500–1750 ±50 zu datieren sein.[24]

Diese Schätzungen sind mit einem gewissen Unsicherheitsfaktor behaftet, insofern als ja in anderen oghusischen Sprachen t- > d- früher eingetreten sein mag als im Altosmanischen. Möglich wäre also: Das Chaladsch hat die Lehnwörter der Schicht A z.B. aus einem oghusischen Dialekt des 12. Jh. übernommen, in dem zwar schon t- > d-, aber Langvokale noch bewahrt. Dann wäre auch das Ostoghusische wieder im Spiel, über deren älteres sprachliches Schicksal wir freilich wenig (Chorasantürkisch) bzw. nichts (Türkmenisch) wissen. Wenn ich die SQA-Gruppe bevorzuge, so darum, weil mir eine Übernahme der Lehnwörter im heutigen Raum mehr einleuchtet. Freilich sind hier noch viele historische Rätsel zu lösen. Die Ausführungen Minorskys op. cit. oder Köprülüs[25] sind noch unzureichend; der Zusammenhang mit den Childschi z.B. ist keineswegs gesichert. Feststeht dagegen, daß das Chaladsch eine Nachfolgersprache des Arγu ist.[26] Freilich scheint ein alter (aber eventuell recht schwacher) Zusammenhang mit Oghusen schon im Namen der Chaladsch gegeben zu sein: Vgl. Kāšγarī *Qalač* = einer der Oghusenstämme.[27]

5. Stellen wir nun eine Liste der oghusischen Lehnwörter im Chaladsch zusammen. Diese ist freilich gewonnen fast allein aus dem *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch,* das ja nicht umsonst den Untertitel "Dialekt von Charrab" trägt, also nur einen Teil des Materials umfaßt. Es scheint, daß (s. Anm. 12) der azeri Einfluß in anderen Dialekten wesentlich stärker ist. Freilich scheint das "oghusische" Element (= Schicht A), das allen chal. Mundarten gleichermaßen zueigen ist, doch interessanter zu sein. Wir teilen das Material nach den Schichten auf. Für die oghusischen Parallelen sind folgende Werke zu Rate gezogen worden:

Alttürkisch: Sir Gerard Clauson: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish,* Oxford 1972; V. M. Nadeljaev et al.: *Drevnetjurkskij slovar',* Leningrad 1969.

[23] Vgl. Minorsky, "Turkish Dialect," 434ff., ferner Köprülü in *IA* 5.109–16.
[24] Vgl. dazu Vf.: "Die Stellung des Chaladsch im Kreise der Türksprachen," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (im Druck).
[25] Vgl. Anm. 23.
[26] Vgl. Vf., *Khalaj Materials* 171–74.
[27] Andererseits sind Völkernamen wenig beweiskräftig für deren Sprache, s. Vf.: "Zur Sprache der Hunnen," *Central Asiatic Journal* 17 (1973), 1-50.

Türkeitürkisch: Sir James W. Redhouse: *Turkish and English Lexicon*, Beirut 1974; Karl Steuerwald: *Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1972; ältere Sprache: *Tarama Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1968–77; Dialekte: *Derleme Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1963 ff.; *Söz Derleme Dergisi*, Istanbul 1939–47.

Azeri: Ch. A. Azizbekov: *Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar'*, Baku 1965; G. Gusejnov: *Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar'*, Baku 1941; Dialekte: J̌āvīd: *Xud-āmūz-i zabān-i āzarbāǰānī va-fārsī*, Teheran 1343 h.š. (Iran-Aserbeidschan); Vf.: *Zum Vokabular eines aserbeidschanischen Dialektes in Zentralpersien*, Voprosy Tjurkologii, Baku 1971, 33–62; R. Ä. Rüstämov, M. Š. Širälijev: *Dialektologičeskij slovar' azerbajdžanskogo jazyka*, Baku 1964; M. F. Bozkurt: "Kabil Avşar Ağzi," *TDAY-B* 1977, 206–261; Sonqori: Eigene Expeditionsmaterialien (1973); Qašqa'i: A. A. Romaskevič: "Pesni kaškajcev," *Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i ètnografii* 5 (1925), 573–610 ("Ṛom.," um Šīrāz), ferner eigene Expeditionsmaterialien (Fīrūz-ābād 1968, Paradumba bei Burūǰīn 1971, auch Menges: Samīrum-i 'Ulyā); Äynallu: Tadeusz Kowalski: *Sir Aurel Stein's Sprachaufzeichnungen im Äinallu-Dialekt aus Südpersien*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Mémoires de la Commission Orientaliste 29 (1937).

Chorasantürkisch: S. Arazkuliev et al.: *Kratkij dialektologičeskij slovar' turkmenskogo jazyka*, Ašxabad 1977; R. Berdyev et al.: s. Anm. 11; Mehmet Fuat Bozkurt: *Untersuchungen zum Bořnurd-Dialekt des Chorasantürkischen*, Göttingen 1975; Szabolcs Fázsy: *Das Bodschnurdi*, Zürich 1977; eigene Expeditionsmaterialien (1973) von 23 Dialekten; Oghusözbekisch (im folgenden: oö.) F. A. Abdullaev: *Xorezmskie govory uzbekskogo jazyka*, Taškent 1961; Éva Dobos: "An Oghuz Dialect of Uzbek Spoken in Urgench," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 28 (1974), 75–97; Š. Š. Šoabdurahmonov: *Ŭzbek xalq ševalari luγati*, Taškent 1971.

Türkmenisch: N. A. Baskakov et al.: *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1968; Dialekte: Arazkuliev, Berdyev, s. oben.

11. Sicher oder wahrscheinlich "oghusisch" (= "Schicht A", 23 Belege):

a:yïl- 'zu sich kommen'. Atü. *a:dəl-*, ttü., az. *ayïl-*, türkm. *a:yïl-*. (SQA, Chor., Oö. nicht belegt; Unbelegtheit im folgenden nicht mehr vermerkt.) Wegen der Vokallänge nicht azeri, wegen -d- > -y- nicht altererbt, daher "oghusisch": -u- > -ï- wohl wegen des -y-.

ba:γ 'Band, Gurt'. Atü. *ba:γ*, ttü., az. *baγ* (äyn. *ba:γ-la-*), türkm. *ba:γ*. Zu atü. *ba:-* 'binden' (dies > chal. *va:a-*).

bäydaγ 'Fahne'. Atü. *badroq*, ttü. *bayrak* (Kars *baydax*), az. *bayraġ*, oö. *bayraq*, türkm. *baydaq*. Vgl. auch kurd. *bäydaγ*, lezg. *p'aydax*. (Viell. eher kurd.)

bi:eǰär- 'bewirten'. Ttü. *becer-* 'etwas managen, hinkriegen', az. *beǰär-*, chor. *bäǰär-* (oö. *bäǰäriksiz* 'Tölpel'), türkm. *bäǰär-*. Urtürk. Form wohl **bä:čär-*, jedoch scheint das Wort nur im Oghusischen belegt zu sein.

bi:ögür- 'muhen'. Ttü. *böğür-*, az. *böyür-*, türkm. *bö:gür-*. < atü. **bö:-kər-*, mit dem typischen Suffix für Lautnachahmungen.

čäynä- 'kauen'. Ttü. *çiğne-*, az. *čeynä-* (so auch Kabul; sonqori *čäynä-*, qašq.

Burūǰīn id.), chor. *čeynä-*, türkm. *čäynä-*. Wohl "oghusisch" wegen des ä der ersten Silbe (evtl. älter azeri, bevor ä vor y zu e wurde).

čil 'klein'. Belegt nur ttü. dial. *çil* 'klein'. Da kaum < Ttü., wohl < "Oghus." (vor dem Verschwinden des Wortes im Azeri). Ursprünglich wohl 'Sandkörnchen', vgl. türkm. (Achal-Täkä) *čil yer* 'sandige Erde'.

da:am 'Dach'. Atü. *ta:m*, ttü., az. *dam*, aber sonqori *da:m*, chor. *da·m* (Buǰnūrd), *da:m* (Xasar, Noxur), türkm. *ta:m*.

da:nuš- 'reden'. Atü. *ta:nuš-* (?), ttü., az. *danïš-* (qašq. Fīrūz-ābād *da:nïš-*), chor. *daniš-* (Buǰnūrd), *danïš-* (Anau, Xasar), türkm. *danïš-* (Küren, Alili, < Chor.). Länge unklar.

di:b 'hinterster Teil'. Atü. *tü:p*, ttü. *dip*, az. *dib*, chor. *diß*, türkm. *düyp*.

ġabza- 'erheben'. Wohl zu pers. *qabż* 'Packen, Ergreifen'. Vgl. az. *ġovza-* 'erheben, hochheben'. Ob dazu auch ttü. *kavza-* 'festhalten, beschützen', türkm. *ġabza-* 'hindern'?

ġa:maš- 'stumpf werden (Zähne)'. Atü. *qa:maš-*, ttü. *kamaş-*, az. *ġamaš-*, türkm. *ġa:maš-*.

ġaryo 'Schilf, Flöte'. Ttü. *kargı* (altosm. *qaryu*), az., türkm. *ġaryï*.

gä:gür- 'rülpsen'. Atü. *kä:kər-*, ttü. *geğir-*, az. *gäyir-*, türkm. *gä:gir-*.

gevärči:n 'Taube'. Atü. *kö:gürčgön*, ttü. *güvercin* (dial. *gövercin*, *göverçin*, *göğerçin*), az. *göyärčin* (dial. *gögärčin*, *gövärčin*, Kabul *gegärči*, sonqori *gü/uvärčin*, qašq. Fīrūz-ābād *göärčin*, Burūǰīn *gögärčin*), türkm. *gö:gärčin*.

gi:el 'Teich, Bassin'. Atü. *kö:l*, ttü., az. *göl* (sonqori *gul*), chor. *ge:el*, türkm. *gö:l*.

ġoläy 'nahe'. Ttü. *kolay* 'leicht', az. *ġolay* 'leicht' (dial. 'bequem, passend'), chor., türkm. *ġolay* 'nahe'.

göčü 'Ziege'. Atü. *äčkü*, ttü. *keçi*, az. *keči*, aber anatol. dial., chor., qašq. Fīrūz-ābād, türkm. *gäči*, sonqori *giči*, oö. *gečči*. Wohl auf oghus. **gäčü* zurückgehend. Aber vgl. auch az. dial. *geči* (J̌āvīd, Doerfer 1971, auch Galūgāh am Kaspischen Meer), Kabul *geiǰi*. Freilich setzt auch dies eine frühere az. Stufe *gäčü* voraus.

ġumurġa:č 'Ameise'. Atü. *qumursya* (~ *qarïnčya*, davon ttü. *karınca*, az. *ġarïšya*, chor. *qarinčä*, türkm. *ġarïnǰa*). Vgl. türkm. *ġumursġa*. Vgl. Clauson 1972, 662a. Eigenartige Form, vielleicht doch eher echt chaladsch.

käčä 'Filz'. Atü. nur *kidiz*. Dagegen oghusisch gut belegt: ttü. *keçe*, az. *kečä* (Kabul, sonqori, qašq. Fīrūz-ābād *käčä*, äynallu *käče*), chor., türkm. *käčä*. Vgl. aber auch čuvaš. *kəššä:* Das Wort könnte auch altererbt sein.

qi:x 'Fäkalien (kleinerer Tiere)'. Atü. *qï:y*, ttü. dial. (Bosnien) *qïy*, auch DS 2790 *kığ*, *kıh*, altosm. *qïy*, az. *ġïy*, chor. *ġïyïq*, türkm. *ġï:q* 'Wiederkäuen'.

toqma:q 'Hammer'. Atü. *toqïmaq* (zu *toqï-* 'klopfen'), ttü. *tokmak*, az. *toxmaġ*, türkm. *toqmaq*.

yira:q 'fern', nur in einigen nördlichen Dialekten (Talx-āb, Noudih, Dāristān u.a.) ~ (ganz überwiegend) echt chal. *hira:q*. Atü. *yïraq*, *ïraq*, ttü. *ırak*, az. *iraġ* (qašq. Fīrūz-ābād *ira:y*), chor. *iraġ* (Chasar *yïraġ*), türkm. *yïra:q*. Wegen der nördlichen Verbreitung veilleicht eher älteres Azeri (vor dem Schwinden des y-) als "Oghusisch," vgl. 21 *yïlxï*.

12. Möglicherweise "oghusisch" (10 Belege):

a:al 'böser Geist'. Atü. *a:l*, az. *al*, türkm. *a:l*. Könnte auch altererbt sein, da das a eigentlich etwas labial ist, auch persisch bzw. lokaliranisch (dies aus Azeri).

balduz 'Schwägerin'. Atü. *baldəz*, ttü., az. (auch Kabul) *baldïz* (sonqori, qašq. Fīrūz-ābād *balduz*), chor. *balduz* (oö. *baldïz*), türkm. *ba:ldïz*. Wegen des u der 2. Silbe entweder altererbt oder "oghusisch", nicht az. Die Vokalkürze überrascht. Falls nicht im Türkm. sekundäre Länge, könnte auch das doppelt der Kürzungstendenz ausgesetzte *a: (unbetont und in geschlossener Silbe) im Chal. sekundär gekürzt worden sein; somit auch Altererbtheit möglich.

bäg 'Adliger'. Atü. *bä'g*, ttü., az., chor. *bäy*, türkm. *bäg*. Vielleicht auch aus pers. *bag*, wegen des -g (das im Dialekt von Charrāb nach ä zu y wird) am ehesten daher.

bäk 'fest'. Atü. *bärk, bäk*, ttü. *pek* 'sehr', az., türkm. *bärk* (so auch sonqori). Da schon atü. Nebenform *bäk*, könnte das Wort auch Erbgut sein.

bi:ez 'Leinwand'. Atü. *bö:z*, ttü. *bez*, az. (auch Kabul), oö. *bez*, türkm. *bi:z*. Vgl. oben.

čamur 'Schlamm'. Nur ttü. çamur, az. Kabul *čamïr* belegt, eventuell als *čam-mur* aufzufassen (vgl. *yaγ-mur* 'Regen', *kömür* < **köń-mür* 'Kohle', zu *köń-* 'brennen'). Dies zu *čom-* < *čam-* (Tezcan)? Könnte aus einem alten oghus. Dialekt stammen, aber auch altererbt sein. Ist türkm. (West-Yomut) *čamïr* 'Schilf' dasselbe Wort?

čaqïn 'Blitz'. Nur ttü. *çakın* belegt, aber auch im Čaghatai., wo wohl oghus. Lehnwort. Da *čaq-* im Chal. gut belegt, könnte das Wort auch altererbt sein.

di:räk 'Balken, Pfahl'. Atü. *ti:räk*, ttü., az. *diräk*, türkm. *di:räg*. Wohl oghus. **di:räk*, jedoch könnte das Wort auch aus pers. *dīrak* stammen.

oγun- 'gerührt sein'. Vgl. ttü. *oğ-* 'abreiben', *oğun-* 'ohnmächtig werden', az., türkm. *ov-*, *ovul-*, oö. *ovun-*. Auch chwarezmtü. *oγun-* (ob < Oghus.?), kipčak. *ov-* (oghusisch?). Evtl. doch altererbt zu tü. **oγən-*.

qïra:v 'Tau'. Atü. *qïraγu*, ttü. *kırağı*, az. *ġïrov*, türkm. *ġïrav*. Da die Gruppe *-aγu* (in nichterster Position) im Chal. schlecht belegt, also -aγu > chal. a:v möglich, da ferner q- darauf weist, wohl eher Erbgut.

21. Sicher oder wahrscheinlich azeri (47 Belege):

adaš 'Namensvetter'. Zu atü. *a:t* 'Name' (so auch türkm.), vgl. auch sonqori *a:d*. Aber direkt < az. *adaš* (zu *ad*).

aγïl 'Viehhürde'. Zu atü. *a:γəl* (o.ö., türkm. *a:γïl*). Die Kürze weist auf Herkunft aus az. *aγïl*, ebenso das ï.

aγïz 'Erstmilch'. Zu atü. *aγuz* (= türkm. *ovuz*). Das ï weist auf Herkunft aus az. *aγïz*.

alïš- 'Feuer fangen'. Am ehesten aus az. *alïš-* id. (schon wegen des ï), ttü. nur regional so (Zentral-, Ostanatolien), vgl. aber auch oö. *alïštïr-* 'anzünden'.

alïš-vi:eriš 'Handel'. Echte chal. Form: *alum-satun*. Gewiß aus az. *alïš-veriš* (wobei des i:e des Chal. in Anlehnung an chal. *vi:er-* 'geben', also eigentlich Kontamination).

allan- 'betrogen werden'. Zu tü. *a:l* 'Betrug' (vielleicht identisch mit *a:l* 'Hexe' = 'Trugerscheinung'), vgl. auch türkm. *a:ldan-*. Die Kürze weist auf az. *aldan-*, dial. **allan-* (wozu vgl. Širälijev 113). Freilich ist -ld- > -ll- auch typisch für Sonqori von Farhād-xān: *ballus* 'Schwägerin', *yüllus* 'Stern' (die anderen Mundarten mit -ld-), ferner für qašqa'i Fīrūz-ābād (*ulluz* 'Stern'), Rom., auch türkm. dial. (Berdyev 258–63, 219f.).

arxaluq 'Jackett'. Zu tü. *arqa* 'Rücken'. Ttü. *arkalık*, az. *arxalïġ*. Daneben auch chal. *arqaluq* (kaum Erbgut, eher oghus.) Die Form mit -x- gewiß azeri, das u wohl in Anlehnung an das chal. Suffix *-luq*, also eigentlich Kontamination.

bala 'Kind'. Atü., türkm. *ba:la*, az. *bala* (qašq. Rom. *bālā*, Fīrūz-ābād *ballajï*). Sicher az., im echten Chal. heißt 'Kind' *ka:l* < pers. *kāl* 'unreife Frucht'.

basmarla- 'unterwerfen'. Typisch az. Wort: *basmarla-*, *basmala-*, zu *bas-* 'drücken'.

bayir 'Brachfeld'. (Türkm. *bayïr* 'Hügel', vgl. chakass. *pa:r* id.). Die Bedeutung 'Brachfeld' ist typisch az. (vgl. auch pers. *bāyir*).

bäbäk 'Pupille'. Ttü. *göz bebeği*, az. *bäbäk* (türkm. *bä:bänäk*).

biläm 'ich', *biläy* 'du' usw. Az. idem, vgl. H. S. Szapszal: *Próby literatury ludowej turków z Azerbajdżanu perskiego*, Kraków, 1935, 79.

bošyab 'Teller'. Typisch az: *bošyab*.

buyda 'Weizen'. Atü., ttü., türkm. *buyday*, chor. *boyde/äy* (oö. *bu:day*). Echt az. Form: *buyda* (Kabul *boydä*, qašq. Burūǰīn *buydä*).

čayur- 'singen'. Atü. *ča:-qər-*, türkm. *ča:yïr-*, qašq. Rom. *čāyïr-*. Wegen der Kürze wohl zu az. *čayïr-* (aber vgl. auch oö. *čayïrïšma* 'Ruf'). Das u wohl wegen der zahlreichen chal. Lautnachahmungsverba auf *-kur-*, also eigentlich Kontamination.

čäy 'Fluß'. Ttü., az. *čay* (chor. 'Brunnen'), qašq. Samīrum-i 'Ulyā *čay*, Fīrūz-ābād, Rom., türkm. *ča:y*. Die Vokalkürze weist auf Herkunft aus az. *čay* (a vor y zu ä). Dagegen chal. Čāhak *ča:y* eher oghusisch.

čidar 'Fußfessel'. Gewiß < az. *čidar* < mongol. *čidä/ör*.

čïx 'Scheuchruf für Hunde'. Atü. *tašïq* 'geh heraus, weg!', ttü., türkm. *čïq*, az. *čïx* (freilich auch pers. *čix*).

čov 'Ruhm'. Atü. *ča:b*, türkm. *ča:v*. Gewiß < az. *čov*.

dädä 'Vater'. Lallwort, wohl < az. *dädä* (Kabul, äynallu id.).

dälämä 'geronnene Flüssigkeit'. Am ehesten wohl < az. *dälämä* (vgl. aber auch oö. id.). Pers. *dalama* hätte vielleicht eher chal. **dalama* ergeben; eventuell doch zu 22.

däli 'verrückt'. Atü. *te:lbä* (oö. *dälvä*), türkm. *dä:li*. Wegen der Kürze wohl < az. *däli* (äynallu *däle*).

dustaġ 'gefangen'. Zu tü. *tut-* 'packen' (türkm. *tussaġ*, ttü. *tutsak*, älter auch *dutsaq*, dial. Kars *dustah*). Die Form ist spezifisch az: *dustaġ* (vgl. auch pers. *dustāq*).

ġara-be-ġara 'im Auge behaltend, verfolgend'. Spezifisch az. Form: *ġarabaġara*.

ġarmala- 'herumtasten'. Spezifisch az. Form: *ġarmala-*.

ġayïn-baba u.ä. 'Schwiegervater' ~ echt chal. *qa:adun-baba.* Atü. *qa:dən,* türkm. *ġa:yïn.* Vgl. az. *ġayïn-ata* (dial. Vf. 1971, Kabul *ġaynata,* sonqori id.). Vgl. oben (Abschnitt 2).

gärnäš- 'sich recken'. Türkm. *gärniš-,* aber altosm., ttü. dial., az. *gärnäš-*. Vielleicht doch oghusisch.

ġïmïlla- 'schwingen'. Türkm. *ġï:mïlda-,* az. *ġïmïlda-*.

ġolǰäk 'dünner Beutel'. Ttü. *kolçak,* az. *ġolčaġ.*

halačälpa:b 'Schneeregen'. Typisch az. Wort: *alačalpow* (u.a. chal. Talx-āb *a:lačarpu*). Die Form mit h- wohl Kontamination mit chal. *ha:la* 'bunt'.

irdäk 'Ente'. Atü. *ö:diräk,* türkm. *ö:rdäk*; < az. *ördäk* (in Manṣūr-ābād *urdäk* < pers. *urdak* < az. *ördäk*).

kälin s. *gäli:n,* Abschnitt 31.

kuräkän 'Schwiegersohn' (Talx-āb) < az. *küräkän* < mongol. *kürägän* (türkm. *kö:räkän,* chor. *kirekän*).

nökär 'Diener'. Vgl. ttü., az., türkm. *nökär,* chor. *nokär.* Am ehesten wohl < Az. < mongol. *nökä/ör.*

obašta 'früher Morgen'. Vgl. ostanatol., az. *obašd/tan.*

puz- 'wegreißen'. Atü. *buz-* (so noch altosm., vgl. Vf. in TDAY-B 1975/6, 110), ttü. *boz-* (auch ostanatol. *poz-, puzul-*), türkm. *boz-*. Wegen des p- wohl < Az., eventuell aber Kontamination aus altererbt tü. bzw. aus oghusisch *buz-* mit az. *poz-* > *puz-*.

qaynarvadu 'Schwägerin' (Talx-āb) ~ echt chal. *qa:adun kissi,* < az. *ġay(ï)n-arvadï.*

sačma 'Schrot'. Aus kulturhistorischen Gründen (Schrot ist eine junge Erfindung) nicht oghus. oder ererbt, sondern < az. *sačma.*

san- 'denken'. Atü., türkm. *sa:n-*; < az. *san-*.

šišäk 'zweijähriges Lamm'. Älter tü. *ti:šäk, si:šäk* (zu *ti:š* < *tï:š* 'Zahn' oder zu *si:š-* < *sï:š-* 'schwellen'?, vgl. chal. *ti:š,* ferner **sï:š-* wegen *ši:šuq* 'geschwollen'). Wegen der Vokalkürze < az. *šišäk.* Eventuell auch zu pers. *šīšak*; jedoch sind gerade Viehzuchttermini im Chal. sehr oft az. oder oghus., vgl. *ayïl, ayïz, a'zma:n, bi:ögür-, čidar, čïx, doŋġuz, göčü, eyäč, ġoč, käčä, qi:x, ġoduq, yïlxï.* Vgl. noch sonqori, chor. *šišäy,* qašq. Burūǰīn, oö. *šišäk.*

toppïz 'Keule'. Ttü. *topuz,* az. *toppuz.*

uǰa 'hoch'. Typisch az. Wort (auch Kabul); ttü. *yü-ce* (zusammenhängend mit *yü-ksek*?), az. wäre **üǰä* zu erwarten, wohl dort kontaminiert mit *uǰ* 'das Ende' (< *u:č*) > *uǰa.*

vur- 'schlagen'. Atü. *hu:r-* (lang wegen jakut. *u:r-* und wegen des echt chal. *hurr-* vor Vokal < *hu:r-* 'zerschlagen'). Ttü., az. *vur-* (sonqori, qašq. Burūǰīn, Rom. Samīrum-i 'Ulyā, id.), chor. *vï/ur-,* türkm. *ur-* (dial. *vur-*), so auch az. Kabul (~ *vur-*). Westoghusisch, wohl azeri.

yalïŋg 'nackt'. Atü. *yaləŋ.* Da in echt chal. Wörtern -ŋ der 2. Silbe > -n (*ho:təŋ*

'Holz', *hürəŋ* 'weiß' > *hu:otun, hirin*) ist an oghus. Herkunft zu denken; da nicht u, sondern ï in der 2 Silbe, an einen az. Dialekt. Vgl. Vf. 1971, 62: Der az. Lokaldialekt von Chaladschestan hat -ŋ bewahrt. Ttü., az. *yalïn*, türkm. *yalaŋač.*

yaxa 'Kragen' ~ echt chal. *yaqa.* Die Form mit -x- ist az.: *yaxa* (qašq. Burūǰīn *yaxä*, auch chor. dial. *yaxa*). Freilich auch pers. *yaxa.*

yarma 'Graupen'. Zu atü. *ya:r-* 'spalten' (türkm. *ya:rma*). Die Form ist wohl az.: *yarma* (so auch ttü., chor.).

yäkkä 'massiv' < az. *yekä* (qašq. Rom. *yeke*), ttü. dial. *yeke* (direkt stammt das Wort aus dem lokalen Azeri, vgl. 'Alīqūrčī bei Arāk *yäkkä*). Das az. Wort < mongol. *yeke.*

22. Möglicherweise azeri (10 Belege):

čäkmä 'Stiefel'. Ttü. *çekme*, az. *čäkmä.* Am ehesten aus dem Azeri, als typisches Kulturwort kaum ererbt. Vgl. aber auch pers. *čakma.* Pers. und lokaliran. (das dem Kurdischen nahesteht) a wird im Chal. bald a, bald ä.

čimčäš- 'schaudern'. Erinnert an az. *čimčiš-*, jedoch überrascht das -ä- und läßt an eine andere tü. oder oghus. Herkunft denken.

dülmä 'Knoten'. Wort unklarer Herkunft; möglicherweise aus az. **düyülmä* (zu *düy-*, tü. *tüg-* 'verknüpfen'.

ġarawul 'Wache'. Altosm. *karavul*, az. *ġarovul*, türkm. *ġaravul*, aber vgl. auch pers. *qarāvul.* Alle < mongol. *qarayul.*

gäzmä 'Nachtwache'. Vgl. az. *gäzmä*, aber auch pers. *gazma.*

ġoldur 'Kämpfer'. Vgl. az. *ġuldur*, aber auch pers. *quldur.*

ġurs 'fest, kräftig'. Vgl. az. *ġurs*, aber auch pers. *qurṣ.*

inǰi- 'ermüden'. Zu tü. *e:nč.* Am nächsten liegt Herkunft aus az. *inǰi-*; da aber auch im Chal. -č- nach Konsonant > -ǰ- (z.B. *ya·nǰ-* 'drücken'), da ferner e: über i:e in vortonig-geschlossener Silbe zuweilen zu i wird (*hirkäk* 'männlich', vgl. atü. *e:rkäk*), wäre auch Altererbtheit möglich.

qašow 'Striegel'. Vgl. az. *ġašov*, pers. *qašow.* Zu tü. *qašï(-yu)* 'kratzen'. Das q- überrascht, andererseits weist -ow eher auf az. Entlehnung als auf Erbwort.

yäyla·ġ 'Sommer, Sommersitz'. Atü. *ya:ylay.* Echt oghus. wäre **ya(:)yla*; Formen wie ttü. *yaylak*, az. *yaylaġ* wohl entweder direkt aus čaghatai. *yaylaq* oder über pers. *yaylāq.* Am ehesten az. (ay < äy wie in *čäy*, s. Abschnitt 21); bei pers. Herkunft wäre eher **yäyla:ġ* zu erwarten. Jedoch schwanken a: und a· zuweilen in nichterster Silbe (vgl. auch z.B. Manṣūr-ābād *yeyla:y*).

31. Sicher oder wahrscheinlich "oghus." oder az. (42 Belege):

alčaq 'kurz, klein'. Ttü. *alçak*, az. *alčaġ*, oö. türkm. *alčaq.* Wohl zu atü., chal. *a·lt.* Typisch oghusische Form, wobei aber ununterscheidbar, ob az. oder "oghus." (Schicht A).

ayïrd 'klar, offenbar'. Ttü. *ayırt*, az. *ayïrd.*

a·zma:n 'vierjähriges Schaf'. Auch lokaliran. weit verbreitet. Ttü. *azman* 'Riese, Monstrum' (= atü. *azma*), dagegen az., türkm. *azman* 'sechsjährige Ziege' bzw.

'vierjähriger Ziegenbock'; in mehreren Türksprachen 'kastriertes Tier'. Aus semantischen Gründen am ehesten oghus. oder az., s. *šišäk* (Abschnitt 21). Da in dieser semantischen Sphäre sowohl Wörter der Schicht A ("oghusisch") wie auch B (az.), genauere Zuordnung unklar.

bastuq 'eine Süßspeise'. Kaum pers. (dann wäre **ba:stuq* zu erwarten), aber vgl. ttü. *bastık* (altosm. *basdïq*, dial. ttü. auch *basdux, bastuh*), az. *basdïġ*.

batlaq 'Lehm, Morast'. Atü. **batïγlaq*, oghus. > **batïlaq* > *batlaq*, vgl. ttü. *batlak*, az. *batlaġ* (aber türkm. *batġalïq*).

bayaq 'soeben'. Atü. *bayaqï*. Die Form ohne -ï ist typisch oghus. (vielleicht < *baya-oq*), vgl. ttü., oö., türkm. *bayaq*, az. *bayaġ*.

bäyän- 'mögen'. Tü. **bägän-* (s. Räsänen 68), ein oghus. Wort, vgl. ttü. *beğen-*, az. *bäyän-*, türkm. *bägän-*.

boγaz 'Kehle' < echt chal. *boγï/uz* (zu tü. *boγəz*). Typisch oghus. Form, vgl. ttü., az., sonqori, chor., türkm. *boγaz*.

buyur- 'befehlen' ~ echt chal. *bu:ur-*. Atü. *buyər-*, ttü., az., türkm. *buyur-*.

čimmäl- 'auf dem Spann sitzen'. Vgl. ttü. *çömel-*, az. *čömbäl-*, chor. *čommärä-*, türkm. *čommal-*.

čïqïn 'Bündelchen'. Vgl. ttü. *çıkın* (sonst nicht gefunden). Wegen des ï der 2. Silbe eher az., wegen des -q- eher "oghus." (eher wohl doch letzteres, denn in nichterster Silbe schwanken ï und u zuweilen).

di:mä 'Knopf'. Atü. *tügmä*. Kaum aus pers. *dugma*, vgl. vielmehr ttü. *düğme*, az. *düymä* (so auch chor., oö.), chor. *diymä*, türkm. *düvmä*.

dïmran-/dïrman- 'sich aufrichten'. Vgl. ttü. *tırman-*, az. *dïrman-* (daher wohl doch am ehesten), türkm. *dïrmaš-*.

dirt- 'leicht stoßen'. Ttü., az., türkm. *dürt-*.

doŋġuz 'Schwein'. Atü. *toŋəz*, ttü. *domuz* (älter auch *doŋuz*, so auch dial.), az. *doŋġuz* (so auch sonqori, qašq. Samīrum-i 'Ulyā; qašq. Fīrūz-ābād *duŋŋuz*), chor. *doŋġuz* (oö. *doŋuz*), türkm. *doŋuz*.

dovušya·n 'Hase', Eine chal. Form, die allein für Charrāb typisch ist, sonst überall das altererbte *tovušya·n* oder ähnlich; daher wohl Kontamination eben daraus und einer oghusischen Form. Vgl. ttü. *tavşan* (dial. *dovuşan, davşan* u.ä.), az. *dovšan* (sonqori *däüša:n*, qašq. Samīrum-i 'Ulyā *dowšan* ~ *do:šan*, Fīrūz-ābād *dowša:n*), chor. *towša:n* (Südwestdialekte *dowša:n*, oö. *davšan*), türkm. *tovšan*.

durna· 'Kranich'. Ttü. *turna* (dial. *durna*), az., türkm. *durna*.

düyü 'Reis'. Ttü. dial., az. *düyü*, türkm. *tüvi* (Stavropol' *dügi*).

äm-säm 'schweigend'. Ttü. dial. *epsem*, türkm. *säm*. Daneben echt chal. *häm-säm*.

eyäč 'dreijähriges Lamm'. Dieses Wort ist auch lokaliranisch weit verbreitet. Atü. **ögäč* nicht belegt, wohl eher oghus. Wort: ttü. (dial.) *öveç, öğeç* u.ä., az. *ögäǰ*, chor. *egäč* u.ä., türkm. *öväč*.

ġačaq 'Flucht'. Tü. *qač-* ist im Chal. nicht belegt (dafür *täz-*). Vgl. ttü. *kaçak*, az. *ġačaġ*, türkm. *ġačaq*.

ġaraǰa 'Getreiderost'. Zu türk. *qara* 'schwarz'. Vgl. ttü. dial. *karaca*, az. *ġaraǰa*.

ġayur- 'machen'. Vgl. ttü. dial. *gayïr-*, az., türkm. *ġayïr-* (qašq. Rom. *qayur-*, sonqori *qayir-*), chor. *ġayïrt-*, *ġayïr-*. Vgl. Anm. 16.

ġazanǰ 'Gewinn'. Ttü. *kazanç*, az. *ġazanǰ*, türkm. *ġazanč*.

gäli:n 'Braut'. Kommt nur vor in *k^u o:sä-gäli:n* 'Possenreißer in Frauenkleidung beim Neujahrsfest' < pers. *kōsa* 'Mann mit spärlichem Bartwuchs' + *gäli:n* 'Braut'. Im Dialekt von Charrab heißt 'Braut' gewöhnlich *käli:n*, so auch in vielen anderen chal. Dialekten; in manchen Norddialekten jedoch *käli/ün* (Mazra'a-yi Now, Nowdih, Talx-āb u.a.), was schon eine Kontamination mit az. *gälin* sein mag. Auch *gäli:n* ist jedoch wegen des i: der 2. Silbe eine Kontamination aus az. *gälin* + chal. *käli:n*. Ein schöner Beweis, wie sehr das oghus. Element ins Chal. eingewachsen ist. Vgl. ttü. *gelin*, az., türkm. *gälin* (qašq. Fīrūz-ābād *gälim* [sic], sonqori *gälin*, qašq. Burūǰīn, Rom. id.), chor. *gälin*. Dagegen, daß das Wort eher doch einfach az. sein könnte, scheint oö. *gäli:n* zu sprechen.

gezäl 'schönes Reh'. Ttü. *güzel* (dial. *gözel*), az., türkm. *gözäl* (so auch qašq. Rom., Fīrūz-ābād).

ġïnǰ- 'mit den Zähnen knirschen'. Ttü. dial. *gıncı-* u.ä.

ġoč 'Widder'. Nach Kāšγarī ein oghusisches Wort (sonst tü. *qočŋar*). Vgl. ttü. *koç*, az. chor., türkm. *ġoč*.

ġotur 'kahl'. Ttü. dial. *kotur*, az., türkm. *ġotur*, chor. *ġotïr* 'Pockennarbe', oö. *qotïr* id.

ġuš 'Spatz' ~ echt chal. *quš*. Atü. *quš*, ttü. *kuş*, türkm. *ġuš* 'Vogel'; dagegen az. (auch Kabul, qašq. Rom., Fīrūz-ābād, Burūǰīn, sonqori), chor. *ġuš* 'Spatz'. Auch chal. *quš* 'Spatz' dürfte az. oder "oghus." beeinflußt sein (kontaminiert).

i:nä 'Nadel'. Atü. *yiŋnä*. In den oghus. Sprachen fehlt das y-: Ttü. *iğne*, az. *iynä* (dial., u.a. Kabul *ignä*), chor. *i:nä*, *ignä*, türkm. *iŋŋä* (ähnlich qašq. Burūǰīn *iŋŋe*), oö. *innä* - vgl. jedoch chor. Ḥukm-ābād *yignä*.

istälük 'zusätzliche Last, Belastung (auch psychisch)'. Vgl. az. *üstälik*, ttü. *üstelik* 'Zugabe, Überschuß'.

ketäk 'Stock'. Wohl mit *köt* 'Hintern' zusammenhängend (chal. *ket*). Die Form selbst scheint jedoch typisch oghus. zu sein: ttü. *kötek* (Prügel), az., türkm. *kötäk*, chor. *ketäy*.

oyïn 'Spiel' ~ echt chal. *u:°na-* 'spielen'. Vgl. ttü., az., türkm. *oyun*.

öl- 'verrecken (Tier)' ~ echt chal. *hil-* 'sterben (Mensch)'. Ttü., türkm., az. *öl-* (sonqori *ül-*, *öl-*, äynallu *öl-*, qašq. Fīrūz-ābād, Burūǰīn *öl-*, Rom *öl-*, *ül-*), chor. *el-*, *öl-*.

**qoduq* (so geschrieben, gesprochen eher *ġoduq*) 'Fohlen'. Ttü. dial. *koduk*, *kodak*, az. *ġoduġ*, türkm. *ġoduq*.

sanǰa·q 'Stecknadel'. Wohl (wie *i:nä*) aus dem Oghus., zu *sanč-* 'hineinstechen' (chal. *sanǰ-*). Ttü., türkm. *sanǰaq*, az. *sanǰaġ*.

sïčla- 'springen'. Wohl nicht zu atü. *sačra-*, vgl. vielmehr ttü., az., oö., türkm. *sïčra-*, chor. *sičirä-*.

üsgün 'tödliches Leiden' ~ echt chal. *hüsgün*. Vgl. chal. *hi/üz-* 'zerreißen', sonst. tü. *üz-*. Zur spezifischen Form vgl. ttü. *üzgün* 'betrübt', az. 'erschöpft'.

yap- '(Brot) backen'. Atü. Bedeutung: 'bedecken, zusammenfügen'; ttü. 'machen', aber vgl. az., türkm. 'backen'.

yäŋgi 'neu'. Ttü. *yeni,* az. *yeni* (dial., auch äynallu *yeŋi,* qašq. Rom. *yeŋgi,* Fīrūz-ābād *yäŋŋi*); weiter östlich heute nur noch in Restformen: chor. *yeŋidän* 'von neuem', türkm. *yaŋï* 'neulich'. Atü. *yaŋï,* die Entwicklung zu *yäŋi* ist typisch oghus.

yorγa·n 'Bettdecke'. Atü. *yoγurqan.* Ttü. *yorgan,* az. *yorγan* (Kabul *yo:rγan,* sonqori *yorγan,* qašq. Burūǰīn *yorγa:n*), chor. *yorġan,* türkm. *yorγan.*

32. Möglicherweise "oghus." oder azeri (9 Belege):

boxča 'Bündel'. Zu atü. *bo·γ* oder *bo:γ.* Ttü. *bohça,* az. *boγǰa.* Chal. -č- erinnert an pers. *bō/uγča,* jedoch könnte die pers. Form aus älterem az. **boγča* stammen. Chal. *boxča* könnte also pers., az. (dial.) und "oghus." Herkunft sein.

či:in 'Schulter'. Atü. nicht belegt, reichlich jedoch im Oghusischen: ttü. *çiğin* (dial. *çigin, çigil, çinil, çingil*), az., oö. *čiyin,* türkm. *čigin.* Sicher türk., wegen des typischen Körperteilsuffixes *-ən.* Nun ist aber z.B. *bul-* 'finden' heute (außer im Jakut.) nur noch im Oghus. (ttü., einige chor. Dialekte) belegt, und deshalb dürfte chal. *bul-* als Grundwort dennoch nicht aus dem Oghus. entlehnt sein. So mag denn auch cahl. *či:in* direkt auf tü. **čigən* zurückgehen.

ġïli:č 'Schwert'. Atü. *qïlï:č,* ttü. *kılıç,* az. *ġïlïnǰ* (dial. *ġïlïǰ/č*), türkm. *ġïlïč.* Wohl oghus. wegen des ġ-. Jedoch wäre dann eher chal. **ġïlïč* zu erwarten. Zur Trennung von atü. /ə/ und /I/ vgl. einerseits atü. *qa:dən* 'Schwager' = chal. *qa:adun* (> U), andererseits atü. *kälin* 'Braut' = chal. *käli:n* (vgl. auch ttü. *kayn-ı : gelin-i,* wo der Unterschied bis heute bewahrt: Nur /ə/ schwindet, nicht aber /I/). Weitere chal. Belege: *hidi:š* 'Gefäß', *aγi:r* 'schwer'. In diese Kategorie gehört also auch *ġïli:č.* Entweder Erbgut oder aber "oghus." Lehnwort aus einer frühen Zeit oder einem konservativen Dialekt, wo die Opposition /ə/ : /I/ auch oghus. noch bewahrt war (vgl. oö. *gäli:n*?).

i:län- 'stöhnen'. Vgl. ttü. *inle(n)-,* az. *inlä-,* türkm. *iŋlä-.* Anscheinend typisch oghus. Wort, vgl. jedoch auch atü. *i:glän-* 'sich unwohl befinden'. Oder vgl. Clauson *ilen-* 'to reproach, blame'?

kemäk, kömäk 'Hilfe'. Atü., ttü., az., türkm. *kömäk.* Weit verbreitetes tü. Wort; zumindest die chal. Form mit ö doch eher Lehnwort aus Az. oder "Oghus.". (Das wirft die Frage auf, wann ö im Chal., d.h. in seinen meisten Dialekten, > e geworden ist.)

ke/öpänäk 'Filzumhang'. Ttü., az. *käpänäk.* Möglicherweise auch < pers. *kapanak.*

qïbra:γ 'flink'. Ttü. *kıvrak,* az. *ġïvraġ.* Aber vielleicht doch eher < pers. *qibrāγ.*

**qoča:q* oder eher **ġoča:q* 'tapfer'. Wohl oghus. Wort (im Čaghatai. daraus): Ttü. *koçak,* az. *ġočaġ,* türkm. *ġočaq.* Wohl zu *ġoč,* also 'Böckchen'. Vgl. aber auch pers. *quččāq* (< Az.).

sap 'Faden'. Nach Kāšγarī (plene geschrieben) *sa·p,* jedoch sprechen chal. *sap*

und čuv. *sïpă* eher für **sap*. Daher vielleicht eher Lehnwort, vgl. ttü., az., türkm. *sap* (vgl. auch semantisch *i:nä, sanǰa·q*, s. oben).

Das sind zusammen 141 oghus. Wörter (Stämme, meist Wurzeln) im Chaladsch. Da das "Wörterbuch des Chaladsch" ca. 4000 Wörter enthält, von denen aber viele Ableitungen sind, mag der oghusische Bestandteil bei den als Wurzeln aufzufassenden Wörtern etwa 5% betragen. Das ist kein ganz unbedeutender Anteil.

Wie aus dem vorliegenden Material ersichtlich, weisen einige aus dem Oghus. stammende chal. Wörter sehr klar vom Az. fort, hin zum Ostoghusischen, so (Abschnitt 11) *ġoläy* 'nahe'. Leider ist die zwischen Ost- und Westoghusisch stehende typische Übergangsgruppe (Sonqori, Qašqa'i, Äynallu) immer noch ganz ungenügend erforscht.

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Quelques mots comans précisés par leurs gloses allemandes

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Les glossaires plus ou moins amples inscrits à plusieurs endroits du Codex Cumanicus renferment, comme l'avait déjà fait remarquer K. Grønbech[1], bon nombre de mots comans obscurs, qu'on n'a pu encore expliquer d'une manière satisfaisante, ou même d'aucune manière. La difficulté d'interpréter ces mots est due surtout à la connaissance insuffisante de leurs correspondants existant dans les autres langues turques et, en même temps, de leurs gloses allemandes, qui, malheureusement, n'ont pas suscité jusqu'à présent l'intérêt des germanistes. Dans ce qui suit nous essayerons de résoudre quelques-unes de ces difficultés, tout comme nous venons de le faire pour plusieurs mots dont les sens sont précisés par leurs gloses latines[2].

1. ČERẼ

Le mot coman écrit «čerẽ» et accompagné de la traduction allemande *en kopicze* (f. 82^{v} 20, colonne de droite) a été mis par Kuun en relation avec un mot tchagataï («fortasse čag. *ǧiyrän*», p. 234, note 17)[3] signifiant 'alezan', sans égard pour l'inadvertance entre ce sens et celui de la glose allemande, que Kuun rapproche d'un verbe all. méd. *koppizen* 'eructare' (p. 360). Radloff (*Spr.* 59) transcrit le mot coman comme *cärän* et le traduit, avec un point d'interrogation, par 'Heuhaufen'. Grønbech (p. 74) hésite entre les interprétations *čeren* et *čerem* de la graphie «čerẽ»; ne sachant que faire de la glose allemande, l'auteur ne propose aucune traduction du mot coman. Enfin, l'interprétation donnée récemment par

[1] K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch. Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*, Kopenhagen 1942, p. 6.

[2] Vladimir Drimba, «Miscellanea Cumanica. XI. Mots comans et persans éclairés par leurs gloses latines,» dans *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, XXIV (1979), n°4, p. 353–371.

[3] Voir la liste des abréviations à la fin de l'article.

KQŽS 141 semble être faite un peu au hasard: *čerem* 'šïrïm (közdïŋ šïrïmïn alu)' (c'est-à-dire 'faire un petit somme', cf. *Kaz.-rus.sl.* 400).

La juste interprétation du mot coman dépend, évidemment, de la compréhension de sa glose. Or, un nom *kopicze*, ou un autre ressemblant à celui-ci, n'a pas été attesté jusqu'à présent en allemand médiéval ou moderne[4]. C'est pourquoi nous sommes enclin à y voir un emprunt fait à une forme russe ancienne **kopica*, diminutif de *kopa* 'kopna sena, xleba' (voir le dictionnaire de Dal', II, 158)[5]; cf. ukr. *kopycja* et bg. *kopica* 'meule'. Si l'on accepte cette explication, l'intuition de Radloff s'avère juste: la graphie «čerẽ» est à interpréter comme *čeren*, le mot ayant le sens de 'meule (de foin)'; cf. kar. crim. *čeren* 'stog, skirda, kopna' (*Kar.-rus.-pol.sl.* 641–642); koum. *čeren* 'skird, skirda' (*Kum.-rus.sl.* 357); nog. *širen* 'skirda (skošennogo xleba, kotoryj podležit obmolotu)' (*Nog.-rus. sl.* 413); tc. dial. *çeren* 'biçilmiş otlardan yapılan yığın' (DS, III, 1145).

Čeren est immédiatement suivi (f. 82ᵛ 21 dr.) de son synonyme *keben*, qui est glosé par *en huwfe* 'Haufe' (Grønbech 135)[6] et qui se retrouve en kaz. *keben* 'stog' (*Kaz.-rus.sl.* 202) et en bar. *käbän* 'Heuschober' (R, II, 1191–1192). Les deux termes désignaient, probablement, des meules de formes ou de dimensions différentes.

2. KUJŨ *ET*
3. ſATKADÍ

Au f. 82ʳ 13, colonne de gauche, sont données la petite phrase comane et sa traduction allemande suivantes: «kujũ ſatkadí dí ætwĩ hat ſy gekrẽget».

Kuun lit le premier mot coman comme «ku (? s) û» (p. 230) et le compare au tchag. «*kušugh*», qu'il traduit par 'responsum' (*ib.*, note 9, et p. 266) (en réalité le mot tchagataï est *qošuγ* ~ *qošuq*, signifiant 'Gesang (beim Tanzen)' et 'eine Variante der «Urguschtäk» genannten Dichtungsart', R, II, 640; voir aussi Budagov, II, 84). Interprétant la graphie du sujet de la phrase allemande correspondante comme *Antwort*, l'auteur traduit les deux phrases par 'responsum offendit eam' (p. 354–355).

Radloff (*Spr.*) n'enregistre pas les deux termes comans.

Grønbech tente diverses interprétations de la graphie «kujũ»: *qujum*, *qujun*, *qujuñ* (suivies d'un point d'interrogation); ne sachant que faire de

[4] Information gentiment fournie par M. Rolf Bergmann, professeur à l'Université de Bamberg, illustre spécialiste en allemand médiéval.
[5] Ce ne serait pas un cas singulier: com. *emegän* et *qurtqa* 'vieille femme' sont glosés par all. *en babe* (v. Grønbech 88 et 204), mot également emprunté au russe (< *baba*).
[6] Cf. KQŽS 79: *keben* 'köpene'.

ce mot, il le laisse sans traduction (p. 202). Quant à la graphie «ʃatkadí», il la transcrit phonétiquement comme *satqady,* en traduisant le verbe *satqa-*, tout en hésitant, par 'krank machen *?* beleidigen *?*' (p. 215).

Enfin, dernièrement, KQŽS 95 transcrit et traduit le premier terme par *quyum* 'qŭyïmšaq' (= 'sacrum, croupion', cf. *Kaz.-rus.sl.* 470), et traduit le verbe *satqa-* par 'awïr-' (= 'faire mal; avoir mal') (p. 112).

L'examen attentif des termes allemands traduisant les deux mots comans nous aide à identifier la forme et le sens exacts du premier et à déterminer la signification probable du second.

La forme *ætwĩ* est une variante (écrite défectueusement, à ce qu'il paraît) du mot mhd. *etwinde* 'Wirbelwasser'[7]; vu qu'il est formé de *Wind* 'vent' avec l'élément d'intensification *et-*, le mot mhd. serait plutôt à traduire par 'Wirbelwind' = 'tourbillon de vent'. Le mot coman correspondant s'éclaircit, par là, tout de suite: c'est *quyun* 'tourbillon (de vent), trombe', mot étayé sur nombre de formes analogues employées dans différentes langues turques: tchag., ouïg. mod., tél., alt., sag., koïb. *quyun* 'vixr' – Wirbelwind' (R, II, 906); kirg., ouzb. *quyun* 'vixr', smerč' (*Kirg.-rus.sl.* 457; *Rus.-uzb.sl.* 79 s.v. *vixr'* et 801 s.v. *smerč*); nog., krč.-balk. *quyïn* 'id.' (*Nog.-rus.sl.* 186; *Rus.-kar.-balk.sl.* 93 s.v. *vixr'*); kaz. *qŭyïn* 'id.' (*Kaz.-rus.sl.* 470); bachk. *qoyon* 'vixr'' (*Bašk.-rus.sl.* 335).

La forme *gekrẽget* renferme une variante du mhd. *krenken* '*kranc* [= krank] machen; schwächen; mindern, erniedrigen; schädigen; zunichte machen; plagen, kümmern, bekümmern'[8]. Pour ce qui est de son correspondant coman *satqa-*, le sens exact en est difficile à déterminer, vu d'une part l'absence de l'objet direct concret dans la phrase comane aussi bien que dans sa traduction allemande et, d'autre part, qu'un mot ressemblant au verbe coman n'est attesté qu'en ancien ouïgour: *satγa-* 'toptat'; popirat', unižat'' (*Dr.-tjurk.sl.* 490), *satqa-* 'obižat', oskvernjat' – beleidigen, beschimpfen' (R, IV, 380). Comme on peut bien le voir, aucun des sens du verbe ancien ouïgour ne s'accorde exactement avec *quyun* 'tourbillon'; par conséquent, il ne nous reste pour le moment qu'à avancer l'hypothèse suivante: *satqa-* pourrait signifier 'nuire, porter préjudice' (= 'schädigen') ou bien 'tourmenter, chagriner, affliger' (= 'plagen, kümmern, bekümmern').

4. *TU- ?*

Au f. 57^{v} 1–2, colonne de droite, sont données les formes comanes «tuer-

[7] Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch,* 34. Auflage, Stuttgart 1974, p. 52.

[8] Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch,* p. 115.

men» et «tudím», accompagnées des gloses allemandes *ich knóte* et *ích knótte,* respectivement.

Kuun lit et traduit faussement les deux formes comanes comme *cuormen* 'depso' et *codim* 'depsui' (p. 136 et 269); Radloff ne les enregistre pas dans le vocabulaire de son édition (*Spr.*), alors que Grønbech (p. 252) y voit, en hésitant, un verbe *tu-*, avec l'aoriste *tuvyr* et avec le sens de 'verstopfen' (ce verbe étant, à son avis, à la base de *tumaq* 'stumpf', p. 253). KQŽS 129 en donne la même interprétation: *tu*/ . . . / 'tïq-, tïyïnda-' (= 'fourrer; boucher').

Il nous faut tout d'abord remarquer (comme l'avait déjà fait Kuun 360) que les deux gloses citées ci-dessus doivent être rapportées à l'all. mod. *knoten* 'nouer'. C'est donc ce sens qu'il faut attribuer au verbe coman en discussion.

En ce qui concerne la forme de ce verbe, elle n'est, sans aucun doute, pas *tu-*; pour 'nouer', les langues turques connaissent exclusivement des formes de la classe antérieure: *tüg-* (v.-turc) 'zavjazat′, zastjagivat′ (*uzel*)' (*Dr.-tjurk.sl.* 595), (tchag., ouïg.) 'eine Schleife, einen Knoten machen, knoten' (R, III, 1534); *tüy-* (tchag., kirg.) 'zusammenknoten' (R, III, 1528); *tǖ-* (alt., tél., šor, léb., küär.) 'einen Knoten machen, knüpfen, zusammenknüpfen, stricken, häkeln' (R, III, 1527), etc.

Peut-on identifier la forme du verbe coman avec l'une des formes turques citées ci-dessus? Certainement pas: dans le Codex Cumanicus, «u» n'est employé qu'exceptionnellement pour rendre la séquence *ü* + *y*, et seulement devant un *e* («suẽ-» = *süjen-* 'sich lehnen, sich stützen', voir Grønbech 226); donc, si la graphie «tuermen» pouvait, éventuellement, être interprétée comme *tüyer-men,* une interprétation **tüydim* de la graphie «tudím» ne serait pas possible. Par contre, «u» (et «v») sont souvent employés pour rendre les séquences *ü* + *w* («kuezlu» = *küvezlü* 'stolz, übermütig', Grønbech 160; «čve-» = *čüve-* 'niederwerfen', Grønbech 78) et *w* + *ü* («deul» et «devl» = *devül* 'nicht', Grønbech 83; «kuur-» = *küvür-* 'einführen', Grønbech 160), de même que les séquences *w* + *u* et *u* + *w*. Par conséquent, les graphies susmentionnées doivent être interprétées comme *tüwer-men* et *tüwdim.*

Com. *tüw-* 'nouer' est à rapporter à la forme v.-turque *tüg-*, présentant le même changement phonétique spécifiquement kiptchak qui se retrouve dans nombre de cas dans le Codex Cumanicus. Notre interprétation est étayée par la présence en coman du mot *tüwmä* 'bouton' (chez Grønbech 261: *tüvme*), correspondant au v.-turc *tügmä,* avec le même sens (< *tüg-*).

Notons que le verbe *tüw-* 'nouer' est encore une fois attesté dans le Codex Cumanicus, à savoir dans la devinette XXXV (f. 60v 14): «tvmæ

tvdím» = *tüwmä tüwdim* 'j'ai fait (*littéralement* j'ai noué) un noeud'[9].

5. LES TERMES COMANS POUR 'PARESSEUX'

Le Codex Cumanicus enregistre à quelques endroits plusieurs termes pour exprimer la notion de 'paresseux' ou certaines nuances de ce sens général; ces nuances n'ont pas toujours été perçues avec assez de netteté par les spécialistes, ce qui nous détermine à nous en occuper dans ce qui suit.

Erinčäk (f. 59r 15, colonne de droite) ~ *erinček* (f. 66v 14, colonne de gauche), glosé faussement, aux deux endroits, par lat. *accidia* (au lieu d'*accidiosus*), signifie clairement 'paresseux, fainéant' (Kuun 253: 'piger'; Radloff, *Spr.* 9 (*ärincäk*) et Grønbech 92: 'faul'[10]; KQŽS 64: 'erïnšek'); le mot dérive de *erin-* 'être paresseux, paresser, fainéanter'. Cf. tchag. *ärinčäk* 'lenivyj - faul' (R, I, 769); kar. crim., koum. *erinček*, kar. H. *erincek*, kar. T. *erin'č'ak* 'lenivyj; lentjaj' (*Kar.-rus.-pol.sl.* 666; *Kum.-rus.sl.* 377); nog. *erinšek* 'lenivyj, neradivyj; lenivec, lentjaj' (*Nog.-rus.sl.* 437); kirg. *erinčēk* 'lentjaj' (*Kirg.-rus.sl.* 961); tat. *irïnčäk* 'lenivyj; vjalyj; lentjaj, lodyr', ležeboka' (*Tat.-rus.sl.* 174), etc.

Le même sens est exprimé par *sust* (glosé par lat. *piger*, f. 49v 28), tout comme par son étymon persan; voir Kuun 297: 'piger'; Radloff, *Spr.* 67 et Grønbech 226: 'faul'; Monchi-Zadeh 103: 'faul, schlapp'; Bodrogligeti 194: 'lazy'; KQŽS 117: 'žalqaw'.

A la différence de celui-ci, un autre mot emprunté toujours au persan, *kahal*, est attesté, tout comme dans la langue d'origine, avec plusieurs sens, étant glosé par lat. *lentus* (f. 39r 15), *vilis* (f. 49v 26) et *accidiosus* (f. 65v 35, colonne de droite); voir Kuun 261: 'lentus' et 'piger'; Grønbech 134 et Monchi-Zadeh 126: 'langsam, träge, faul'; KQŽS 91: *qaχal* 'žalqaw, salbökse' (= 'paresseux; lent, mollasse'). Cf. aussi les interprétations insuffisantes de Radloff, *Spr.* 22: *qaγal* 'langsam', et de Bodrogligeti 153: *kāhal* 'slow'[11].

[9] Dans notre *Syntaxe comane* (Bucureşti - Leiden 1973), p. 207, nous avons transcrit ce syntagme (tout comme l'avait fait J. Németh, *ZDMG*, LXVII, 1913, p. 599) comme *tūmä tǖdim*; cf. W. Bang, *SPAW*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1912, p. 348: *tümä tüdim* (< **tüvmä tüvdim*).

[10] Le deuxième sens attribué par Grønbech au mot coman (sous l'influence de sa glose latine erronée), à savoir 'Faulheit', est évidemment faux.

[11] Il faut rattacher à ce groupe de mots aussi «gahalluk», glosé par lat. *accidia*: *ğahalluq* 'Trägheit' (Grønbech 98: < ar. *ğahl*), 'žalqawlïq' (= 'paresse') (KQŽS 65); à l'avis de Monchi-Zadeh (p. 127), le mot coman doit être rattaché à *kahal* (< pers. *kāhil* ~ *kāhal*).

Outre ces termes, au f. 57ᵛ 1–6, colonne de gauche, est donnée une liste de six mots glosés par un seul et même mot allemand:

čaman
juwančanŋ
ezíc
kęčov́ — trege
kerʃaŋi
man[č]kakak

La plupart de ces termes sont moins clairs, au point de vue étymologique, que les précédents; au surplus, leur glose allemande unique a également accru la difficulté d'interpréter exactement le sens, parfois aussi la forme, de chacun d'eux.

Trege est une variante du mhd. *træge,* qui est (tout comme son correspondant allemand moderne *träge*) un mot polysémique, attesté avec les sens suivants: 'träge, langsam, verdrossen; ignavus, iners, lassus, lentus, piger, segnis, segnitiosus'[12]. Pour déterminer d'une manière aussi exacte que possible les sens des six mots dont il s'agit ici, nous allons les rapporter en même temps aux différents sens de leur glose allemande et aux termes turcs correspondants ou apparentés, tout en tenant compte, dans la mesure du possible, de leurs étymologies.

1. *Čaman* (le mot est attesté aussi au f. 59ᵛ, étant glosé toujours par *trege*): Kuun 135: 'piger'; Radloff, *Spr.* 58: *caman* 'träge'; R, IV, 197: *caman* 'lenivyj – träge, faul'; Grønbech 73: 'träge, faul'. KQŽS 141 le confond avec son homonyme *čaman* 'cumin' (f. 41ᵛ 27, v. Grønbech 73).

Le mot peut signifier 'qui n'aime pas travailler, paresseux, fainéant, flemmard' aussi bien que 'indolent' et 'lent, lambin'; cf. turkm. *čaman* 'lenivyj, vjalyj, medlitel'nyj' (*Turkm.-rus.sl.* 712); kar. T. *čaman* 'lenivyj; norovistyj' (*Kar.-rus.-pol.sl.* 623); kaz. *šaban* 'medlitel'nyj, lenivyj' (*Kaz.-rus.sl.* 385); koum. *čaban* 'nepovorotlivyj, nerastoropnyj, medlitel'nyj' (*Kum.-rus.sl.* 351); tat. *čaban* 'lenivyj (o lošadjax) — faul (von Pferden)' (R, III, 1929) ~ *čaman* 'lenivyj, norovistyj (o lošadjax) — faul, stätisch (von Pferden)' (R, III, 1938).

2. «juwančanŋ»: Kuun lit »juvoančang« (p. 135) et rapproche le mot du tat. Kazan *jokočan* (correctement: *yoqïčan*) 'somnolentus' (*ib.,* note 3); Radloff, *Spr.* 44: *juancañ* 'träge'; Grønbech 130: *juvančañ* 'träge' (cf.

[12] Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch,* II. Band, Leipzig 1876, col. 1488.

Kaz. *jyvan-* 'zögern', *juvanyč* 'Langsamkeit'). L'interprétation de KQŽS 142 est tout à fait arbitraire: *čuvančañ* 'žalqaw, boyküyez' (= 'paresseux, fainéant; gandin, gommeux').

Le mot doit être interprété phonétiquement comme *yuwančañ*; il est un dérivé, au moyen du suffixe *-čañ* (pour lequel cf. *unutčañ* 'vergesslich', Grønbech 266), d'un verbe non attesté **yuwan-*, variante de la forme *yuban-* (attestée dans le syntagme *yubanγan söz* 'Vorwand', v. Grønbech 128). Ce verbe se retrouve, sous ses deux variantes, dans quelques langues turques: chez Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī, *yuban-* 'vernachlässigt werden' (voir Grønbech, *loc. cit.*), 'prenebregat′, izbegat′' (*Dr.-tjurk.sl.* 277); tat. *yuwan-* 'medlit′ - zögern' (R, III, 570), 'zaderživat′sja, zaderžat′sja' (*Tat.-rus.sl.* 691); bachk. *yïban-* 'zaderživat′sja, zaderžat′sja' (*Bašk.-rus.sl.* 232); cf. aussi Budagov, II, 369–370 (tat. *yuwanïč* 'medlennost′' et *yuwanïčlï* 'medlitel′nyj', etc.).

Un dérivé de ce verbe, ressemblant au terme coman en discussion, n'est pas attesté dans les autres langues turques; cependant, tenant compte des sens des verbes que nous venons de citer, nous croyons pouvoir attribuer à *yuwančañ* le sens de '(celui) qui agit lentement, lent, lambin' ou de 'indolent'.

3. «ezíc» n'a pas encore trouvé d'explication tant soit peu satisfaisante; Kuun le traduit par 'piger' (p. 252); à son avis, «*ezik*» quoque a *kečik* derivandum est [tout comme le mot suivant «kęčov́» – *n.n.*] (p. 135, note 4); Radloff, *Spr.* 11: *äcik* (?) 'träge'; Grønbech 96: *ezik* (< ?) (laissé sans traduction); KQŽS 61: *ezik* 'ez, ezik'[13].

A notre avis, nous avons affaire ici à un dérivé *ezik* du verbe *ez-*, dont les sens fondamentaux sont, dans différentes langues turques, 'presser', 'casser', 'briser', 'écraser'. Les exemples, très peu nombreux, que nous connaissons de ce dérivé dans d'autres langues turques ont des sens très éloignés des sens du mhd. *træge*: v.-turc *ezük* 'lživyj, fal′šivyj' (*Dr.-tjurk. sl.* 192); tc. *ezik* 'üzüntülü' (TS 285). Com. *ezik* doit signifier 'exténué, épuisé, qui agit avec lenteur à cause de la fatigue'; cf. d'une part le sens 'lassus' donné par Lexer à *træge* (voir ci-dessus)[14] et, d'autre part, koum. *ez-* 'mučit′, izmučit′, izmatyvat′' (*Kum.-rus.sl.* 373) et tc. *ezmek* 'daya-

[13] Cf. *Kaz.-rus.sl.* 137: *ez* I 'boltun, pustomelja'; *ez* II 'rassejannyj; bezučastnyj ko vsemu'. La forme *ezik* n'y est pas enregistrée, mais cf. *ez-* 1. 'davit′, mjat′; razmesit′'; 2. (*fig.*) 'ugnetat′'; 3. 'razvesti'.

[14] Cf. aussi all. *träge* 'erschöpft' (J. Grimm und W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, XI. Band, 1. Teil, 1. Lieferung, Leipzig 1890, col. 1039–1040).

nıklığını aşacak derecede çalıştırarak yormak (*Bu yol hayvanı ezdi. Öğrencileri ezmemeli*) (TS 286); cf. aussi tc. dial. *ezgin* 'yorgun olan (kimse)' (DS, V, 1829).

4. «kęčov»: Kuun le traduit par 'piger', 'cunctabundus' (p. 262) et le compare avec ouïg. *kečik-* 'morari' (p. 135, note 4); Radloff, *Spr.* 31: *käcǖ* 'träge'; R, II, 1153: *käcǖ* 'lenivyj – faul, träge'; Grønbech 135: *kečöv* 'träge' (que l'auteur rapporte à *kič-*, *kičür-* de Maḥmūd al-Kāsγarī et au kar. L. *kecik-* 'zögern'); KQŽS 81: *kečüv* 'žalqaw' (= 'paresseux, fainéant').

Le mot, qui est à interpréter phonétiquement comme *kečöw,* se rattache sans doute au verbe *kečik-* 'tarder, s'attarder' invoqué par Kuun et par Grønbech, et, en dernière analyse, à *keč* 'tard' (voir Grønbech 135), dont ce verbe est un dérivé. Toutefois, *kečöw* ne peut dériver ni de *keč,* ni de *kečik-*, mais bien de la forme primaire de celui-ci, non attestée en coman, mais pour laquelle cf. v.-turc *keč-* 'opazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja' (*Dr.-tjurk.sl.* 291).

Ainsi que le suggère son étymon, *kečöw* doit signifier 'qui n'agit pas avec promptitude, lent, lambin' (cf. 'lentus, segnis, segnitiosus' chez Lexer, cité ci-dessus).

5. «kerʃaŋi»: Kuun 263: 'piger'; Radloff, *Spr.* 31 et R, II, 1106: *kärsäñi* 'faul'. Grønbech (p. 140) considère que «kerʃaŋi» est une fausse graphie au lieu de «kerʃangi», qu'il interprète comme *kersenǧ* 'träge, faul', le mot étant un emprunt fait au persan (cf. toutefois Steingass[3], p. 1023: *karsanǰ* 'cowardice, want of resolution'). KQŽS 80: *keršeñ* 'keršeŋ, šaban' (= 'salissant'?[15]; 'lent, lambin').

A notre avis, le mot coman doit être mis en rapport avec diverses formes turques d'un mot signifiant proprement 'gale' et 'galeux': alt., tél., léb. *qïrčañï* 'česotka – Krätze' (R, II, 758); bar. *qïrcañï* 'paršivyj – räudig' (R, II, 759); kirg. *qïrčañyï* 'šeludivyj, paršivyj, parša (*o lošadjax*)' (*Kirg.-rus.sl.* 497); kaz. *qïršañqï* 'česotka – Krätze' (R, II, 761) et 'paršivyj' (*Kaz.-rus.sl.* 464); tat. *qorčañyï* 'česotka; česotočnyj, česotočnik' (*Tat.-rus.sl.* 284); bachk. *qorsañyï* 'česotka' (*Bašk.-rus.sl.* 340). Des sens propres de 'gale' et 'galeux' se sont développés les sens figurés de 'rosse, haridelle' et de 'misérable, sale, vilain; coquin': kaz. *qïršañqï* 'kljača' (*Kaz.-rus.sl.* 464); tat. *qorčañyï* et bachk. *qorsañyï* 'paršivec; paršivyj' (*Tat.-rus.sl.* 284; *Bašk.-rus.sl.* 340).

15 Cf. nog. *kiršeñ* 'markij' (*Nog.-rus.sl.* 167).

C'est à partir de ces sens figurés qu'on peut expliquer le mot coman dont nous nous occupons ici: la graphie «kerʃaŋi» est à interpréter phonétiquement comme *qïršañï* (dans la partie allemande du Codex Cumanicus, «e» alterne avec «i» pour rendre le *ï*, et «ʃ» apparaît plus d'une fois pour *š*); le mot pourrait signifier 'qui manque de vigueur, de vivacité, mou, endormi, lent, paresseux' (cf. mhd. *træge* 'lentus, segnis, segnitiosus' chez Lexer, cité ci-dessus).

6. «man[č]kakak», avec le «č» incomplètement supprimé, est lu *manč kakak* par Kuun (p. 135), qui le compare à un verbe *manmak* 'tingere' et, pour son deuxième élément, au hongr. *káka* ['jonc, scirpe'] (p. 135–136, note 5). Radloff, *Spr.* ne l'enregistre pas, alors que Grønbech (p. 162) interprète la graphie du mot comme *manqaqaq,* mais, ne sachant quelle est l'étymologie du mot, ne le traduit pas, en se contentant d'en reproduire la glose allemande. Enfin, KQŽS 99 transcrit et traduit le mot par *mañqaqaq* 'žalqaw' ('paresseux, fainéant').

Malheureusement, nous ne sommes pas à même de donner une solution suffisamment sûre de ce terme. A ce qu'il paraît, il est à rapprocher de certaines formes turques telles: kirg. *mañqaq* ~ *mañqañ,* employé dans l'expression *mañqaq-mañqaq* (~ *mañqañ-mañqañ*) *bas-* '(o bol'šix krasivyx lošadjax, olenjax i.t.p.) stupat' tvërdo, uverenno, delat' krupnye šagi' (*Kirg.-rus.sl.* 517); kar. crim. *mañqa* 'glupyj' (*Kar.-rus.-pol.sl.* 403); tc. *mankafa* 'anlağı yorgun ya da işlemez, kalın kafalı' (TS 552); tc. dial. *mank* 1. 'sersem, ahmak', 2. 'ağïr başlı (kimse)' (DS, IX, 3124); tc. dial. *mangabak* 'akılsız, sersem' (DS, IX, 3121).

Le mot coman, *manqaqaq* ou *mañqaqaq,* pourrait signifier 'lourdaud, pataud' ou bien 'qui est lent à comprendre et à agir' (cf. toujours 'lentus, segnis, segnitiosus' donnés par Lexer pour mhd. *træge*).

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ABRÉVIATIONS

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Dr.-tjurk.sl. = *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'.* [Redaktory: N. M. Nadeljaev, D. M. Nasilov, Ê. R. Tenišev, A. M. Ščerbak]. Leningrad 1969.

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Nog.-rus.sl. = *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'.* Pod redakciej N. A. Baskakova. Moskva 1963.
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The Ottoman Crimea in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Some Problems and Preliminary Considerations*

ALAN FISHER

What was the effect of the upsurge of Cossack raiding activity on the local Crimean population and economy? This is perhaps the most important unasked question about the Ottoman Crimea in the seventeenth century. Much has been written about the Cossacks and their relations with both Ottomans and Crimean Tatars, and a good deal of attention has been placed on their raiding activity all along the shores of the Black Sea. But little attention has been drawn towards the inevitably negative effects these raids had on the health of Ottoman possessions in the north.

That events in the seventeenth century had important political and economic results in the Crimea is well known. Problems in Ottoman domestic politics, the decline of bureaucratic effectiveness, and the virtual disappearance of able Ottoman leaders brought about important changes in all Ottoman possessions during this period.

We know that at some undetermined time between 1600 and 1750, the entire configuration of Ottoman-Crimean Tatar political relations changed completely. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Crimea was a totally separate administrative entity, with its own officials, jurisdictions, and carefully defined territorial integrity. There was a clear dividing line between the possessions of the Ottoman sultan and those of the Crimean khan. But by the middle of the eighteenth century, this dividing line was nonexistent at worst and vaguely defined at best. And by the time of the Russian annexation of the peninsula, those properties in the Crimean south not in private hands were all under the control of the khan.

What had happened in the intervening time? At the moment it is not possible to determine the exact course of events which produced these

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drastic changes. Neither Ottoman nor Crimean Tatar chronicles give any information about such political and economic matters.[1] And the treatise by Said Giray Sultan, written in the mid-eighteenth century, takes as a given the new configuration of relationships, without explaining their origins.[2]

In this essay I present one possible contributing factor to the new relationships, namely, the sharp decline in the demographic and economic condition of the Ottoman Crimea in the seventeenth century, due in large part to the raids undertaken in the Crimea by both the Zaporozhian and the Don Cossacks.

Evliya Çelebi, the noted Ottoman gentleman-traveler of the mid-seventeenth century, hinted at the Cossack responsibility for the Crimea's decline. Throughout his description of the Ottoman and Tatar Crimeas, Evliya noted the effects of Cossack raids upon town after town.[3] Inkirman he described as a small town with a castle (from pre-Ottoman times) in which there were also ten houses, all empty, an Ottoman garrison of 50 soldiers, a small Tatar suburb with one mosque and a mescid, a Turkish suburb with 250 earthen houses, and a Greek suburb with a church and 200 houses (most empty).

> Earlier in this valley there were 40,000 houses [obviously an exaggeration]. But during the time of Tohtamış Han [ca. 1608], the infidels destroyed most of the town. At that time the unclean unbelievers came with 100 ships and plundered the city and valley. Today all here are very afraid of the Cossacks and when danger appears, all flee to the protection of the deserted castle.[4]

In his discussion of Saloniya Kale, a village "three hours to the north of Balıklağu," Evliya noted how large and populous the area had been "before the raids of the unbelievers."[5] Soğudak was a city which had seen better days. The inner part of the city (Iç Kale) was "damaged severely by

[1] Tatar chronicles offer nothing noteworthy pertaining to these raids; they concentrate on domestic Tatar politics and their own raids to the north. See Abdul Gaffar, *Umdetüt-Tevarih,* Türk Tarih Encumeni Mecmuasi, suppl. 11 (Istanbul, 1924), pp. 1-207; Ozalp Gökbilgin, ed., *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han* (Ankara, 1973); Olgierd Górka and Zbigniew Wójcik, eds., *Historia Chana Islam Gereja III* (Warsaw, 1971); Ananiasz Zajączkowski, ed., *La chronique des steppes kiptchak: Tevarih-i Dešt-i Qipčak* (Warsaw, 1966).

[2] Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Said Giray Sultan* (Freiburg, 1975).

[3] See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname,* vol. 7, Türk Encumeni Kuliyati, no. 11 (Istanbul, 1928), pp. 573–706, for descriptions of the Crimea in the period 1668 to 1673. The Crimea is one of the places we know Evliya actually visited.

[4] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname,* 7:574–75.

[5] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname,* 7:578.

the Cossacks." The quarter of the city "beneath the citadel" (Aşağı Hisar), in "years gone by had 1,000 [again an exaggeration] small churches with 40,000 houses. But now in the area around the citadel there are only 100 houses and two small mosques.... There are no shops, no inn, no bath, no upper school, no lower school, no dervish convent. . . . And outside the town, below in the valley, is a suburb with only 200 houses."[6]

In fact, Evliya noted effects of Cossack raids in almost all of the towns he visited, except in the city of Kefe itself. In the east, near Kerç, he passed through a village called Kale-i Viran Kilisecik (Castle of the Ruined Church). Here he remarked on the devastation of recent Cossack raids from Azak.[7] Furthermore, when he arrived at the Ottoman fort of Arabat, on the south shore of the Sea of Azov but still on the Crimean peninsula, Evliya gave the story of Cossack depredations as the cause of the fort's construction:

> Once some Cossacks from the region of Azak were captured and on the way to Kefe, escaped from the boat, and swam to the shore of Heybat. There they joined some renegade Kalmuk Tatars who crossed the sea in a shallow place and began to pillage the Crimea. Mehmed Giray Han [ruled 1641–1644 and 1654–1666] brought 47,000 soldiers, caught the raiders and punished them according to their misdeeds. The Kalmuks he killed outright; the Cossacks were tortured to death. On that shallow spot, the illustrious khan built the Kale-i Arabat.[8]

In Evliya's time, however, the fort was under Ottoman control. Finally, in his description of the ruins of two small Ottoman forts on the north shore of the Taman' peninsula, Kale-i Anapa and Kale-i Tuzlu, Evliya reported that both "were destroyed by the Azak Cossacks during the period when Azak was in infidel hands [1637–1642]."[9]

We are given very little information of this sort in the accounts of European visitors and travelers through the region in the years just prior to Evliya's journey. Neither Dortelli d'Ascoli (ca. 1634) nor Beauplan (ca. 1650) mentioned pillaged towns nor a declining population or economy; both did discuss the existence of Christian captives and slaves in the

[6] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 7:650–54.
[7] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 7:687.
[8] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 7:688. There is little doubt that this event took place during the second period of his reign. The Kalmuks first appeared in the area in 1648, and in 1649 they began to operate in conjunction with certain elements of the Don Cossacks. See A. A. Novosel'skii, *Bor'ba moskovskogo gosudarstva s tatarami v XVII veke* (Moscow, 1948), pp. 358–61; and V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom otomanskoi porty do nachala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1887), pp. 542–43.
[9] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 7:706.

Crimea and the successes of Cossack raiders in their attempts to free them.[10]

An Armenian chronicle from the mid-seventeenth century, written by an Armenian living in Kefe, corroborates Evliya's dismal account of Crimean affairs, however. Xačatur Kafajeci (who lived between 1615 and 1658) emphasized the dual effects of Cossack raids, on the one hand, and fires and disease, on the other, in accounting for most of the Crimean Armenians' problems.[11] Beginning in July 1616, when "Cossacks stormed Kefe and ravaged the entire inner city," Xačatur proceeded to report the Cossack raid of April 1624 against Eski Krim. In June 1624, he noted, Cossacks in league with Nogai Tatars raided Kefe and ruined "many houses." In 1629 Cossacks "came and raided Kara Su, Çarşı Bazar, and Mankup, when they burned houses and took property.... On July 3, they entered Soğudak and stormed its suburb of Otuz, taking all persons away. In the same month other Cossacks with 50 ships attacked Gözleve and burned most of the buildings."[12] In 1628 "Cossacks came and ravaged the quarter in Kefe called Kaşot and the quarter called Gürcü Kabak. They burned houses, mosques, and a tekke."[13] Still, Xačatur gave almost equal weight to natural disasters which befell his community in general during these years: fires in 1617, plague in 1619, epidemics and food shortages in 1623, a "major fire" in Kefe in 1633 which destroyed "several churches."[14]

Ottoman demographic sources for Kefe province in the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century point to a drastic reduction in the non-Muslim population. These sources, in the form of registers of non-Muslim households subject to the *cizye* tax, do not, unfortunately, give any information at all about the Muslim inhabitants, their number, or their activity.[15] When compared with figures on non-Muslim households recorded in an

[10] Dortelli d'Ascoli's account is published in "Opisanie chernogo moria i tatarii," *Zapiski Imperatorskogo odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 24 (1902): 89–180. Beauplan's account is published both as *Description d'Ukraine qui sont plusiers Provinces du Royaume de Pologne* (Rouen, 1660), and as *Opisanie Ukrainy* (St. Petersburg, 1832).

[11] Published in E. Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24, no. 2 (1975): 133–86.

[12] Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik," pp. 139, 142–44, 146, 148.

[13] Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik," p. 149.

[14] Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik," pp. 140, 142.

[15] Although there are at least thirty-five existing registers containing censuses of households subject to *cizye* tax for the seventeenth-century Crimea, I have used only three for this study: Maliyeden Müdevver 15,176 for 1638; Maliyeden Müdevver 1,066 for 1649; and Maliyeden Müdevver 2,937 for 1662; all are in Başbakanlık Arşivi,

Ottoman census of the province taken in ca. 1545,[16] the *cizye* census figures show in almost every case a sharp decline from the previous century (see tables 1-3, on pp. 224-226). The period between ca. 1545 and 1638 experienced a decline of more than 28 percent in the number of non-Muslim households; between 1638 and 1649, the number dropped another 30 percent; and in the final period under consideration, the decline registered 37 percent. In a little more than a century, then, the decline amounted to 69 percent. Greeks dropped 67 percent, Armenians 70 percent, and Jews 73 percent. All other non-Muslim communities disappeared entirely (at least from the census).

How does the specific census data compare to the more impressionistic material found in Evliya Çelebi and other contemporary sources? In most cases the sources agree. It is only in the case of the city of Kefe that some discrepancies appear. Here are some specific agreements.

The Armenian chronicler Xačatur recorded the conversion of the Greek church of St. Nikola into a mosque in 1634-1635.[17] It was located in the city quarter of Aş Beğ, which lost its place in the *cizye* census of 1638 (see table 2, no. 65). While Armenians still lived in the quarter, by that date it had no Greek households. Church-mosque conversions normally occurred in Ottoman cities when the church was no longer used or when the quarter no longer contained any inhabitants whose religion was that of the church in question. We can see that this Greek community was already rather small in the census of 1545 (see tables 1-3). Secondly, the chronicler noted that a particularly vicious Cossack raid in 1628 ravaged the quarters of Gürcü Kabak and Kaşot.[18] The census for 1638 indicates a drop in the population of Kaşot to only 21 of the 127 households that existed there in the mid-sixteenth century (see table 2). Yet the quarter of Gürcü Kabak declined only to 48 from 87 households during the same period. Here is a possible connection, but only a possible one.

More interesting and complete are the descriptions and figures given by Evliya Çelebi for many of the Ottoman Crimean towns and cities. From

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Istanbul. For a complete listing of those found to date, see A. Fisher, "Ottoman Sources for a Study of Kefe Vilayet: The *Maliyeden Müdevver* Fond in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 19, nos. 1-2 (1978): 191-205.

16 Tapu ve Tahrir (hereafter T.T.) 214, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul. Published in A. Fisher, "The Ottoman Crimea in the Sixteenth Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (in press).

17 Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik," p. 149.

18 Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik," p. 148.

them one gets a general view of the size of the Muslim population (though many of his figures are obviously estimates and some are exaggerated).

Inkirman:[19] In Evliya's time, this town consisted of a central castle area and three suburbs, one Tatar, one Turk, and one Greek. The central castle area had no taxable households, but only a rather small Ottoman garrison. The Tatar suburb had 300 houses of wood, a mosque, a mescid (dated 1523), and a medresse. In the Turkish suburb there were 250 houses of clay. The Greek suburb had 200 houses, most "empty." The *cizye* census of 1638 recorded only 12 Greek households; that of 1662, only 5. In the census of ca. 1545 there were 150 Greek households and only 35 Muslim ones (located in the "inner castle quarter"). No mention was made at that time of Tatar households. From any perspective, the Muslim population of the town had grown considerably, while that of the non-Muslims had shrunk.

Balıklağu:[20] Evliya recorded that this town was an important port of the Ottoman province; it had a customs inspector (*gümrük emini*), a military commander (*dizdar*), and a garrison of 180 soldiers living in 50 stone houses in the inner castle. The town's suburb had 200 two- and three-storied houses for Muslims serviced by a mosque and a mescid, one bath, a small inn, more than 80 shops, and a customs office. There were in addition some 70 Greek houses described as "mostly empty." The census of 1638 listed 126 non-Muslim households while that of 1662 showed only 16. In the mid-sixteenth century, there were 127 non-Muslim households and only 24 Muslim. As in Inkirman, the century had brought a decline in non-Muslim and an increase in Muslim inhabitants here. In this case, however, the drop of the former had taken place after 1638.

Kadiköy:[21] Evliya reported that this town, to the north of Balıklağu but within the Ottoman province, had only Tatar inhabitants, living in some 200 houses. The census of 1638, on the other hand, reported 7 non-Muslim households, and that of 1662 showed three. Apparently by the time of Evliya's visit, this had dropped to 0. In the census of ca. 1545, no Muslim households were listed, while there were 33 Greek households.

Çorgana:[22] Evliya recorded 150 houses, all inhabited by Muslims, one mosque, and one bath. The census of 1638 listed 10 Greek households,

19 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname*, 7:573–76.
20 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname*, 7:579–81.
21 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname*, 7:581.
22 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname*, 7:582.

and that of 1662, none. In ca. 1545 there were 6 Muslim and 25 Greek households.

Mankup:[23] In Evliya's time, this rather large provincial center had three sections: the castle with 15 houses for the small garrison led by a *dizdar,* and an abandoned mosque which had been once converted from a Greek church; a Muslim suburb with only one small mosque, 100 houses, two fountains, and a bath; and a very large Jewish quarter consisting of 7 mahalles with "1,000 Jewish houses and 80 tobacco shops. These Jews and their habitations are filthy and unclean. Most of them are Kızılbaş [i.e., from eastern Anatolia or Iran]." In the census of 1638 some 76 Jewish households were listed alongside 41 Greek households; in that of 1649, there were no Greek and only 68 Jewish households; and finally in 1662, there were 51 Jewish households. Clearly, there is a major discrepancy here: either Evliya greatly overestimated their number, or he included in their community the much larger Jewish community of Çufut Kale near Bahçesaray. The latter is unlikely, for the Jews of the Tatar capital are discussed separately elsewhere in his volume. The census of ca. 1545 listed 28 Muslim, 80 Greek, 8 Armenian, and 48 Jewish households. By any measurement, however, Mankup's Muslim and Jewish inhabitants had grown in number, whereas its Greek and Armenian households had vanished.

Koca Salası:[24] Evliya mentioned that this town was exclusively Muslim and had 100 households, one rather large mosque, and a bath. All of the censuses of the seventeenth century bear out Evliya's description and list no non-Muslim households. This contrasts markedly with the census of ca. 1545, which listed only 1 Muslim household and 82 Greek households.

Süren:[25] Evliya said that this town was for all practical purposes a town of the Tatar khan's, and that it was dominated by a palace belonging to Mehmed Giray Han. Strangely enough, the census of 1638 provided a list of 52 Greek households, while that of 1662 listed only 2. The next few years apparently brought the completion of the exodus (or conversion to Islam) of the Christians. In ca. 1545 Süren had no Muslim and 58 Greek households.

Soğudak:[26] Evliya's description of this town is given above. He mentioned no non-Muslims, though he did not deny their existence in the city. The census of 1638 stated that the city had 124 Greek, 119 Armenian, and

23 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname,* 7:582–84.
24 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname,* 7:586.
25 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname,* 7:587.
26 Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname,* 7:650–54.

1 Jewish household; those of 1649 and 1662 mentioned none. In ca. 1545, Soğudak had only 23 Muslim, 278 Greek, 27 Armenian, and 2 Jewish households. Between 1545 and 1638 the Armenian population had grown enormously, while that of the Greeks declined; after 1638 both of these seem to have disappeared. By Evliya's time, all the inhabitants seem to have been Muslim. Did the massive and constant raids against Soğudak by Cossacks have any influence on these changes?

Kefe:[27] Evliya gave a very long, extremely detailed, and, in contrast to much of the rest of his Crimean account, quite positive description of the province's capital city of Kefe. It was generally portrayed as a thriving and populous "little Istanbul" worthy of its name. All of the mosques were reported to be in good condition, and even the churches were filled with unbelievers. Evliya gave no estimate of its total population, nor a very accurate analysis of its religious breakdown. But he said there were "altogether 60 mihrabs" (10 large mosques and 50 small ones) and the dates ascribed to many of them place their construction (or conversion from churches) in the seventeenth century. The city had more than 600 baths, 45 shops where water was freely distributed, numerous markets, more than 1,000 shops, and an active slave market. Evliya did note that there were 80 Muslim quarters (obviously some without a mosque), while the unbelievers had more than 120 quarters. There were 160 flour mills, all of which were powered by horses, although the city had such a supply of "poor" that many could be and were operated on occasion by human power.

The censuses of the seventeenth century do not speak of Muslims, yet their evidence on non-Muslims seems to disagree quite substantially with Evliya's estimates of numbers of quarters. In 1638 there were 8 Greek quarters with 193 households and 13 Armenian quarters with 545 households, as well as communities of Circassians with 30 households, of Rus' with 12 households, and of Armenians "from the land of Rus'" with 40 households. In the 1662 census the number of quarters and households had decreased to 6 Greek quarters with 39 households, 13 Armenian quarters with 136 households; no Jews, Rus', or Circassians were listed. Thus the non-Muslim population of Kefe city in 1662 was 22 percent Greek and 78 percent Armenian, a change from 1638, when it was 26 percent Greek and 74 percent Armenian.

The census of ca. 1545 included 7 Greek quarters with 342 households,

[27] Evliya Çelebi, *Sehayatname,* 7:666–84. I am currently working on a study of Kefe as it existed in Evliya's time.

13 Armenian quarters with 1,074 households, and 27 Rus', 64 Circassian, and 134 Jewish households grouped in the census by community. In that year, of Kefe city's non-Muslim population the Greeks accounted for 21 percent, the Armenians for 65 percent, the Jews for 8 percent, the Rus' for 1.6 percent, and the Circassians for 4 percent. From the perspective of the non-Muslim population, Kefe was thus an Armenian city.

The censuses of the sixteenth century, which gave tax liabilities for the entire population beyond the capitation tax, indicated that the non-Muslim elements of the province were responsible for a large proportion of the economic activity from which the state derived its tax revenues. A change in the nature of the province's population, as reflected in the sources from the seventeenth century — that is, a large decline among non-Muslims and a possible rise in the general Muslim population — would have had a large impact on the economic health of the state's economy. Until those sources that provide such evidence are examined, however, no conclusions can be drawn on this question.

The fact that the Ottoman traveler Evliya and the Armenian chronicler from Kefe continuously blamed Cossack raids in large part for what both considered economic and demographic problems in the province leads me to conclude that these raids had enormous negative influences upon the Ottoman province in the Crimea and its economy. Of course, we must remember that between 1685 and 1740 there were two major invasions of the peninsula by Muscovite forces, which must have taken their toll, as well. These events, in turn, may well have resulted in the political and jurisdictional changes which took place by 1750 in the relationships between the Ottoman and Crimean Tatar governments. The Ottomans may have come to believe that their continued control of large areas of the peninsula could no longer bring the desired rewards.

What is clear is that both the Ottoman census of 1662 and Evliya's accounts of his visists at the end of that decade describe a region in decline. This may explain the Ottoman willingness to grant the Tatars more jurisdictional authority in what had once been Ottoman towns. Ottoman failure to gain the Ukrainian Cossacks' allegiance after 1654 and especially after Doroshenko's fall contributed to Ottoman reappraisals. Preferring to concentrate their efforts in the Crimea on maintaining isolated military garrisons, the Ottoman government turned its attention in the last decades of the seventeenth century towards the Polish Ukraine.

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TABLE 1:

NON-MUSLIM HOUSEHOLDS IN THE OTTOMAN CRIMEA

SELECTED CITIES AND TOWNS

Towns*	1545	1638	1662
81. Tokluk	13	7	2
85. Şuma	15	19	7
89. Uskut	82	40	19
108. Kuru Özen	92	98	27
109. Ulu Özen	53	34	12
112. Küçük Özen	33	61	32
113. Aluşta	111	53	34
124. Süren	33	52	21
149. Kanuş	16	34	23
156. Balıklağu	127	126	16
177. İnkerman	150	12	5
91. Soğudak	242	244	48
141. Kamire	22	61	33
146. Miskhor	46	60	14
163. Çerkeskerman	44	31	18
185. Dereköy	72	58	40
187. Yalta	60	70	39
191. Gurzuf	110	130	110
193. Lambat (Büyük ve Küçük)	60	42	26

* The numbers before town names refer to numbers assigned by this author to all quarters, cities, and towns in the Ottoman Crimea mentioned in two mid-sixteenth century censuses. These are presented in an article to appear in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. The figures for 1545 are taken from T.T. 214; those for 1638 are from Maliyeden Müdevver 15,176; those for 1662 are from Maliyeden Müdevver 2,937; all are in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul.

TABLE 2:

NON-MUSLIM HOUSEHOLDS IN KEFE CITY

*Quarter or Community***	*1545*	*1638*	*1662*
51. Thoros (Greek)	76	20	5
52. Thoros (Armenian)	77	62	14
53. Sarkis (Greek)	31	5	0
54. Sarkis (Armenian)	54	15	9
55. Minkinar (Greek)	121	17	8
56. Minkinar (Armenian)	28	42	9
57. Iskender (Greek)	15	2	0
58. Iskender (Armenian)	84	30	11
59. Karapet (Greek)	25	27	10
60. Karapet (Armenian)	64	75	6
61. Taş Taban (Greek)	12	41	5
62. Taş Taban (Armenian)	46	60	10
63. Gürcü Kabak (Armenian)	87	48	18
64. Ioanna (Armenian)	68	28	10
65. Aş Beğ (Greek)	24	0	0
66. Aş Beğ (Armenian)	129	42	18
67. Balıkçi (Greek)	38	79	9
68. Balıkçi (Armenian)	52	9	7
70. Kirikor (Armenian)	127	21	8
71A. Kaşot (Greek)	0	2	2
71. Kaşot (Armenian)	146	21	8
72. Hreştakapet (Armenian)	112	92	8
73. Circassian Christians	64	30	0
74. Rusyan	27	12	0
75. Jews	134	0	0
75A. Armenians from Rus'	0	40	0
Totals	1,641	820	147

** The numbers before the quarter names refer to numbers assigned by this author to all quarters, cities, and towns in the Ottoman Crimea mentioned in two mid-sixteenth-century censuses. These are presented in the article to appear in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. The figures for 1545 are taken from T.T. 214; those for 1638 are from Maliyeden Müdevver 15,176; those for 1662 are from Maliyeden Müdevver 2,937; all are in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul.

TABLE 3:

NUMBER OF NON-MUSLIM HOUSEHOLDS IN THE OTTOMAN CRIMEA***

Totals and percent of total

Religious Community	*1545*	*1638*	*1649*	*1662*
Armenian	1109 (25.8%)	775 (25.3%)	559 (28.2%)	328 (24.5%)
Greek	2894 (67.4%)	2147 (70.1%)	1459 (68.6%)	959 (71.6%)
Jew	198 (4.6%)	77 (2.5%)	68 (3.2%)	53 (3.9%)
Rus'	27 (0.6%)	12 (0.4%)	—	—
Circassian Christian	64 (1.5%)	39 (1.3%)	—	—
Gypsy	—	12 (0.4%)	—	—
Totals	4292	3062	2126	1340

*** Figures for 1545 are taken from T.T. 214; those for 1638 are from Maliyeden Müdevver 15,176; those for 1649 are from Maliyeden Müdevver 1,066; those for 1662 are from Maliyeden Müdevver 2,937; all are in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul.

Drei türkische Chronisten im osmanischen Kairo

BARBARA FLEMMING

Am Anfang der Erforschung der historischen Quellen zum osmanischen Ägypten steht Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), der in seiner Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches auch ägyptische Chroniken auswertete und sie in einem bibliographischen Anhang zusammenstellte.[1] Bedeutende Fortschritte brachten die Beiträge zu einer 1965 in London abgehaltenen Konferenz über die moderne Geschichte Ägyptens.[2]

Dieses Buch bietet zur Zeit die zuverlässigste Einführung in die Quellen und den Forschungsstand zur Geschichte Ägyptens von der osmanischen Eroberung bis zur Besetzung durch Napoleon. Bedeutendste Quellengrundlage zum Studium der Bevölkerungsstruktur, Verwaltung und Grundherrschaft bilden die fünf großen Archivkomplexe in Kairo und Istanbul, deren Aufbau und Inhalt S. J. Shaw zusammenfaßte.[3] Shaws Forschung hat sich besonders auf die finanzielle und administrative Organisation und die Fragen der Grundherrschaft konzentriert. Damit ist das Gesamtbild um wichtige Aspekte bereichert, aber wie Shaw es selbst ausdrückte, sind die zugrundeliegenden Register erst die "bones of history, the bare outlines," die aufgefüllt werden durch die Dekrete und Erlasse und schließlich durch die verschiedenen Chroniken jener Zeit.[4] Auch diese wurden in dem erwähnten Werk zum erstenmal im Zusammenhang dargestellt: die arabischen durch P. M. Holt[5] und die türkischen durch S. J. Shaw.[6] Das hier Folgende sind einige Ergänzungen zu diesem Quellenkomplex, meinem Hamburger Lehrer Omeljan Pritsak in Erinnerung an seine anregenden mamluk-türkischen Kollegs gewidmet.

Der Nutzen der osmanischen Chroniken Ägyptens liegt für uns darin,

1 J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, IX, Pest 1833, S. 194–196.
2 P. M. Holt (ed.), *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, London 1968.
3 S. J. Shaw, *Turkish Source-Materials for Egyptian History*, a.a.O., S. 28–43.
4 a.a.O., S. 43–44.
5 P. M. Holt, *Ottoman Egypt (1517–1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources*, a.a.O., S. 3–12.
6 S. J. Shaw, *Other Turkish Sources*, a.a.O., S. 43–48.

daß sie sich bemühen, Zustände und Vorgänge zu erklären oder in ihrer Wirkung zu beschreiben, die sich, wenn überhaupt, nur punktuell in den Archiven niedergeschlagen haben. Diese ägyptisch-osmanischen Autoren neigen zur breiten Darstellung wirtschaftsgeschichtlicher und sozialgeschichtlicher Vorgänge, zeigen sich aber auch geistlich-religiösen Vorgängen gegenüber interessiert. Beides wird illustriert durch die Schilderung zweier kleinerer Volksaufstände, die Kairo — nach einer großen Insurrektion — in den Jahren 1711 und 1715 aus jeweils ganz anderen Gründen erregten.

Der erste dieser Tumulte hatte religiös-soziale Ursachen. Im Ramaḍān 1123/beg. 13. Oktober 1711 eiferte ein Prediger von der Kanzel der Mu'ayyad-Moschee gegen den Glauben an Heiligenwunder, gegen den Gräberkult und für die Umwandlung von Derwischklöstern in Medresen. Ihm schloß sich eine aufgebrachte Volksmasse an, die, als zwei Azhar-Scheiche ein Gegengutachten ausstellten, an den türkischen Oberrichter und den Statthalter selbst zugunsten ihres Predigers appellierte. Um Ausschreitungen zuvorzukommen, gab der Statthalter scheinbar nach, setzte aber die Janitscharen ein: der Prediger entkam, und man ging zur Tagesordnung über. An der Lage der Theologie-Aspiranten änderte sich offenbar nichts. Erst in der Neuzeit ist dieser Tumult, dem die fanatisch puritanische Lehre des Birgili Meḥmed Efendi zugrundelag, als Wahhabismus avant la lettre oder kühnes Reformdenken gewürdigt worden. Weniger spektakulär noch als dieser an anderer Stelle ausführlicher dargestellte[7] Volksaufstand war vier Jahre später der Tumult, der um die ägyptischen Kupfermünzen ausbrach. Im Zusammenhang mit der Währungsreform, die unter Aḥmed III. (1703–1730) stattfand, entschloß man sich auch in Ägypten, die dortige Grund-Währungseinheit, den untergewichtigen und durch Abschneiden noch verschlechterten[8] Silber-Para, aus dem Verkehr zu ziehen, neue Paras zu prägen, deren Notierung gegenüber den im Umlauf befindlichen in- und ausländischen Gold- und Silbermünzen festzusetzen und gleichzeitig neugeprägte Kupfermünzen in Umlauf zu bringen. Wie dies auf die Bevölkerung wirkte, wird im türkischen *Ta'rīḫ-Miṣr* des Meḥmed b. Yūsuf el-Ḥallāḳ[9] in einer Weise beschrieben, die für die Darstellungsweise der Chronisten typisch ist; daher hier in Übersetzung:

[7] B. Flemming, "Die vorwahhabitische Fitna im osmanischen Kairo 1711," in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı Armağanı*, Ankara 1975, S. 55–65.
[8] M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadî ve İctimaî Tarihi II*, Ankara 1971, S. 201.
[9] Hs. der Bibliothèque nationale, suppl. Turc 512, Bl. 190f., verglichen mit der Hs. H. O. 37 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Bl. 271 f. (s.u.). Der Vorgang ist bei J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, VII, Pest 1831, S. 170, erwähnt.

Am 4. des erwähnten Monats (Muḥarrem 1128/30. Dezember 1715) erließ der Statthalter (ʿAbdī Paşa; Ankunft 3. Ẕīlḥicce 1126/10. Dezember 1714, Ablösung 11. Şaʿbān 1129/21. Juli 1717) vermittels aller Notabeln einen Befehl: Von nun an solle kein beschnittener Para mehr gelten. Stattdessen war ein neuer Para geprägt und unten in der Stadt an die 61 Geldwechsler ausgegeben worden. Demzufolge ritt der Janitscharenaġa zusammen mit dem Polizeivogt (*subaşı*) in die Stadt, und sie ließen [die folgenden Notierungen] ausrufen:

1 Dukat mit kettenförmigem Rand (*zincirli altun*)	107 Para
1 Dukat mit Ṭuġra (*ṭurreli altun*)	100 Para[10]
1 Şerīfī-Goldstück	90 Para
1 Silbertaler (*riyāl*)	60 Para
1 Löwentaler (*aslanlı*)	45 Para.

Auf dieser Grundlage sollten Geschäfte getätigt werden und der Staatskasse so Nutzen erwachsen, [denn] die Löhnungen sollten demgemäß ausgezahlt werden.

In der Münzstätte wurde eine neue Kupfermünze mit Ṭugra (*ṭurreli manḳır*)[11] geprägt und auch diese an die Geldwechsler verteilt. Sie sollte im Verhältnis acht zu eins in den neuen Para umgewechselt und zu diesem Kurs ausgegeben werden. Die alte Kupfermünze wurde für ungültig erklärt. Wer noch beschnittene Paras und alte Kupfermünzen habe, solle sie bei der Münze gegen Bezahlung abliefern (*getürilüb bayʿ eyleye*).

Als man begann, dies auszurufen, war es schon die Zeit des Nachmittagsgebets. Deswegen verweigerten die Bazarhändler in dieser knappen Zeit die Annahme der beschnittenen Paras und alten Kupfermünzen, womit die meisten armen Leute ihren Lebensunterhalt bestreiten wollten. Deswegen bekamen die meisten Armen nichts zu essen.

Am nächsten Tag, einem Dienstag, erhob sich in ganz Kairo das Volk, *reʿāyā* und Arme. Sie verriegelten die Tür der Azhar-Moschee, schlossen in der Stadt alle Läden und zogen in allgemeinem Aufruhr nach der Zitadelle. Dort appellierten sie an den Paşa: "Wir wollen alles tun, was du befiehlst (arab. "wir hören und gehorchen"), nur um eines bitten wir: die alte Kupfermünze soll wie üblich gelten, denn wenn sie abgeschafft wird, kommen die Armen in größte Not."

Noch in der gleichen Stunde befahl der Paşa, die alte Kupfermünze solle ohne Verzug nach der früheren Weise gelten. Der Janitscharenaġa und der Polizeivogt ritten zusammen in die Stadt hinab und ließen dies ausrufen. Danach wurden die Läden geöffnet, und die Unruhe legte sich. Noch am gleichen Tag zahlte der Paşa die Löhne der Soldaten und der Pensionäre (*oturaḳ ocaḳlar*) nach der ausgerufenen Weise vollständig aus, und zwar meist in neuen Paras.

Am zweiten Tag, dem 6. Muḥarrem, einem Mittwoch (1. Januar 1716), kamen

[10] A. C. Schaendlinger, *Osmanische Numismatik*, Braunschweig 1973, S. 61 zu beiden Goldmünzen. Vgl. auch İ. und C. Artuk, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslamî Sikkeler Kataloğu*, II, Istanbul 1974, Nr. 1759 und 1760.

[11] Zur Funktion des *manḳır*, *manḳūr* oder "pul" als Kleingeld s. M. Akdağ, a.a.O., S. 195–197. Mangırs wurden gern ohne Namen des Sultans und ohne Jahresangabe geprägt; so konnten sie bei einem Sultanswechsel in Umlauf bleiben: C. Ölçer, *Nakışlı Osmanlı Mangırları*, Istanbul 1975, S. 69–70, publiziert vier solche anonyme Mangırs aus Ägypten.

die Notabeln des Vilāyets im Haus von Ibrāhīm Beg, der jetzt noch Defterdār ist, zusammen, um eine Schätzung für die Festpreise (*narḫ*) auszuarbeiten; sie legten für jede Kategorie (*ṣınıf*) einen Festpreis fest. Diesen legten sie am nächsten Tag, einem Donnerstag, dem Paşa vor.

Nachdem dieser sich drei Tage hierüber beraten hatte, erging am Sonntag, dem 10. (Text: 3.) des erwähnten Monats Befehl an den Janitscharenaġa. Dieser ritt nach dem Brauch mit den Adjutanten (*mülāzım*), dem Polizeivogt und dem Marktvogt (*muḥtesib*) aus, rechts und links je einen Herold und zwischen sich einen koptischen Schreiber, der, in der Hand eine Liste (*ḳā'ime*), den Herolden den Festpreis für jede Kategorie diktierte. Diese proklamierten entsprechend:

10 batman Butter	30 Para
10 batman Bienenhonig	20 Para
1 batman Kaffee	13 Para
1 batman Seife	5 Para

und so fort, und daß der neue Para gegen zehn Kupfermünzen einzuwechseln sei. Der Janitscharenaġa ritt mit dem Polizeichef zusammen durch Kairo und Būlāḳ und ließ dies überall ausrufen. Danach stiegen sie zur Zitadelle hinauf. Der Paşa annullierte die Prägung der Kupfermünze mit Ṭuġra und ließ die Münzen in der Schatzkammer einschließen. So wurde einige Tage lang der Para zu zehn Kupfermünzen gewechselt.

Danach versammelten sich am Freitag, dem 22. Muḥarrem (1. Januar 1716), die Notabeln des Vilāyets im Hause des Defterdārs Ibrāhīm Beg und kamen überein, daß der Para doch nach dem alten Ḳānūn zu acht Kupfermünzen zu wechseln sei. So beschlossen sie es, legten es dem Paşa vor und erhielten demgemäß ein *buyruldı*. Aber es waren noch keine dreißig Tage vergangen, als wieder zu zehn Kupfermünzen gewechselt wurde. [Immerhin] ritt der Janitscharenaġa der Sitte gemäß mit den Adjutanten am 24. des erwähnten Monats, einem Sonntag, durch die Stadt und ließ ausrufen, daß der Para zum Kurs von nicht mehr als acht Kupfermünzen zu wechseln sei.

Es war nicht das erste Mal, daß die Bevölkerung, die durch die "Annullierung" (*ibṭāl*) ihres alten Kupfergeldes geschädigt wurde, sich protestierend erhob.[12] Bei dem hier geschilderten Vorgang ist eher das Zurückweichen der Obrigkeit bemerkenswert, die sich dann freilich in der Paritätsfrage durchsetzte.

Es wäre lohnend, im Zusammenhang alle Auseinandersetzungen um Geldwährung, Löhne und Preise zu untersuchen, die die Großstadt Kairo in regelmäßigen Abständen erschütterten. Mit ihren stets wiederkehrenden Berichten dieser Art, Klagen über hohe Preise und gelegentliche Nahrungsmittelknappheit, ergänzen die erzählenden Quellen die anderen Quellengruppen wie Akten und Münzen. Zur Notierung des ägyptischen

[12] M. Akdağ, a.a.O., S. 197.

Para, über die noch nicht genug bekannt ist,[13] tragen solche Berichte ebenso bei wie zur Kenntnis der traditionsgemäß möglichst niedrig gehaltenen festen Marktpreise (*narḫ*).[14]

Der Erschließung dieses Quellenbereichs sollen die folgenden Angaben dienen, die zugleich als Ergänzung der zitierten quellenkundlichen Aufsätze von P. M. Holt und S. J. Shaw gedacht sind. Durch Zufall übersehen,[15] aber den arabischen Werken der Gruppe B bei Holt zuzuordnen ist das Geschichtsbuch, das Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥallāḳ unter dem Titel *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb bi-man malak Miṣr min al-mulūk wa n-nūwāb* schrieb und 1128/beg. 27. 12. 1715 beendete. Das ungedruckte Werk ist in einer einzigen Handschrift in der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leningrad erhalten, die im Katalog als Autograph beschrieben wird.[16] Das Werk besteht aus einer Einleitung und vier Kapiteln (*bāb*), in denen 1. die Herrscher Ägyptens seit der Sintflut, 2. die Herrscher seit der Eroberung durch 'Omar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb, 3. die Ayyubiden und Mamluken und 4. die Osmanen behandelt werden. Der vierte und weitaus längste Teil, mit vielen Randglossen, ist vom übrigen Text auch äußerlich abgesetzt.

Nachdem der Verfasser dieses arabische Geschichtswerk verfaßt hatte — er schreibt: *bundan aḳdem 'arabī bir ta'rīḫ bu minvāl üzere cem' eyledüm* — schrieb er auf Wunsch "einiger Freunde" — *ve lākin ba'żı iḫvān muṭāla'a eylediklerinde bir türkīsi olsa ma'ḳūl olurdı*[17] — auch eine türkische. Fassung, die die osmanische Zeit bis etwa 1717 behandelt. Der Aufbau ist wie in der arabischen Version chronologisch und wie dort nicht so sehr annalistisch als auf der Grundlage der einzelnen, genau datierten und auch äußerlich voneinander abgesetzten Amtsperioden der osmanischen Statthalter von Ägypten in Kairo. Dieses Werk hat, nach den Handschriften zu urteilen, offenbar eine gewisse Verbreitung gefunden, und die Tatsache, daß J. von Hammer es für seine Geschichte des

[13] S. J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517–1798,* S. xxii.
[14] M. Akdağ, a.a.O., S. 372.
[15] Die Handschrift erscheint bei Shaw, *Turkish Source-Materials,* a.a.O., S. 45 Anm. 2, irrtümlich unter den türkischen Chroniken.
[16] V. Rosen, *Les Manuscrits Arabes d l'Institut des Langues Orientales,* St. Petersburg 1877, S. 30 Nr. 58 (danach GAL II, 198); A. I. Michajlova, *Katalog arabskich rukopisej Instituta narodov Azii,* Teil 3, *Istorija,* Moskau 1965, S. 134 Nr. 92, Signatur B 1036. Für ihre Hilfe bei der Literaturbeschaffung bin ich der verstorbenen A. S. Tveritinova zu Dank verpflichtet; für die Vermittlung des Mikrofilms der Handschrift danke ich R. E. Emmerick, Hamburg.
[17] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, suppl. Turc 512, Bl. 1b.

Osmanischen Reiches heranzog,[18] hat spätere angeregt, sich mit dem Werk zu beschäftigen.[19]

Über Meḥmed oder, arabisch, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥallāḳ wissen wir nicht viel mehr, als daß er das Arabische und das Osmanisch-Türkische beherrschte und mit dem türkischen Milieu in Ägypten vertraut war. Im Anhang zu Kātib Çelebis *Kaşf aẓ-ẓunūn* wird er als Verfasser einer 1123/beg. 19. 2. 1711 datierten türkischen Geschichte Ägyptens in einem "umfangreichen Band" (*mucallid kabīr*) aufgeführt.[20] Die Frage stellt sich, ob er mit dem 1715 in Istanbul als verstorben gemeldeten Ẕihnī Meḥmed, genannt Berberzāde, personengleich sein könnte, von dem Bursalı 'Os̱mān Ṭāhir berichtet, er habe *bir cild-i kebīr Ta'rīḫ-i Mişr el-Ḳāhire* geschrieben.[21] Daß der Verfasser sich mit einem gewissen Stolz als Barbierssohn bezeichnet, braucht nicht zu überraschen: der Beruf des Barbiers, der eine Sonderstellung innerhalb der Zünfte einnahm,[22] setzte medizinische Kenntnisse und damit auch gewisse klerikale Fähigkeiten voraus. War doch auch der geschätzte Chronist von Damaskus, Aḥmad al-Budayrī, der einige Jahrzehnte nach Meḥmed b. Yūsuf auf arabisch die Ereignisse in seiner Heimatstadt (1741–1762) aufzeichnete, ein Barbier (*al-ḥallāḳ*).[23]

Meḥmed b. Yūsuf el-Ḥallāḳ schöpft für den Anfang des 4. Teils seiner Chronik Ägyptens in osmanischer Zeit aus dem angesehenen, zur Heldenverehrung neigenden arabischen Werk des Scheichs Aḥmad b. Zunbul ar-Rammāl[24] den er zum Teil übernimmt bzw. ins Türkische übersetzt. Für den Hauptteil seiner osmanischen Chronik benutzt Meḥmed b. Yūsuf

[18] Er zitiert es als "Geschichte des Sohnes Jusuf's" (Bd. VII, S. 168ff.) und hält es für "die ausführlichste und schätzbarste aller osmanischen Geschichten Aegypten's" (Bd. IX, S. 194).

[19] F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, S. 244f. Das Werk wurde herangezogen für E. Bulam, "XVII. Yüzyıldaki Mısır valileri," Mezuniyet tezi, Istanbul 1965. In einem ungedruckten Beitrag zum I. Internationalen Turkologiekongreß in Istanbul 1973 habe ich über Meḥmed b. Yūsuf, 'Abdülkerīm und Hacı Mahmud 4877 berichtet.

[20] Hacci Halifa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, ed. G. Flügel, VI, London 1852, S. 539, Nr. 14542.

[21] Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Os̱mānlı mü'ellifleri*, III, Istanbul 1343/1924–5, S. 53. *Sālim tez̲kiresi*, Istanbul 1315/1897–8, S. 250f.: Ẕihnī, *Berberzāde Meḥmed'*; vgl. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, IV, Pest 1838, S. 83 "Sehini XI."

[22] G. Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times*, Jerusalem 1964, S. 3, 49ff., 63 u. Anm.; Ders., *The Structure of Turkish Guilds*, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem 1970.

[23] G. M. Haddad, "The Interests of an Eighteenth Century Chronicler of Damascus," in *Der Islam* 38 (1963), S. 258, 271.

[24] P. M. Holt, *Arabic Historical Sources*, S. 5f.

offensichtlich Nachrichten, die ihm Gewährsmänner zugetragen haben; dabei hat es den Anschein, als ob seine Sachkenntnis im militärischen Personenkreis, unter den sieben in Kairo stationierten Korps, überwiegt. Das Verhältnis der türkischen Redaktion zum arabischen Text muß noch im einzelnen geprüft werden. Stilistisch steht Meḥmed b. Yūsuf in der Tradition der älteren arabischen und türkischen *Tavārīḫ* Ägyptens, die in verhältnismäßig einfacher Sprache abgefaßt waren, und zu denen ausgiebige Passagen in wörtlicher Rede gehörten.

Zur Zeit sind sechs Handschriften des türkischen *Ta'rīḫ-i Miṣr* von Meḥmed b. Yūsuf bekannt; es sind, nach dem letzten jeweils vorkommenden Datum geordnet:

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 40a. Bruchstück, das nur das Jahr 1122/beg. 2. 3. 1710 umfaßt.[25]

Stockholm, Königliche Bibliothek 75. Reicht bis zum Jahr 1126/beg. 17. 1. 1714.[26]

Istanbul, Üniversite Ktp. T. Y. 628. Sorgfältig geschriebene Handschrift, die bis zum Jahr 1127/beg. 7. 1. 1715 reicht.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 40b. Bruchstück aus dem Jahr 1127/beg. 7. 1. 1715.[27]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 512. Bis zum Jahr 1128/beg. 27. 12. 1715.[28]

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 37. Bis zum Jahr 1130/beg. 5. 12. 1717.[29]

Die Handschriften sind noch nicht kritisch untersucht; die Pariser Handschrift hat eine ausführlichere Einleitung als die anderen Handschriften; der Istanbuler Handschrift ist ein Nachwort angefügt, in dem 'Abdī Paşa gelobt wird.

Den beiden Chroniken des Meḥmed b. Yūsuf el-Ḫallāḳ steht zeitlich und inhaltlich sehr nahe das Werk des 'Abdülkerīm b. 'Abdurraḥmān,

[25] G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien,* II, Wien 1865, S. 162, Nr. 937.1.

[26] W. Riedel, *Katalog över kungl. Bibliotekets orientaliska handskrifter,* Stockholm 1923, S. 39.

[27] Flügel a.a.O., II, S. 162, Nr. 937.2.

[28] E. Blochet, *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits turcs,* I, Paris 1932, S. 378.

[29] Flügel a.a.O., II, S. 161, Nr. 936. Hammer (GOR IX, 194) hielt diese Handschrift für "sehr selten und auf keiner europäischen Bibliothek, nicht einmal auf denen Constantinopel's."

Ta'rīḫ-i Miṣr, das in türkischer Sprache die Ereignisse bis zum 9. Ṣafer 1128/3. Februar 1716 behandelt. 'Abdülkerīm war nach eigener Aussage im arabischen Sekretariat des Schatzamtes — *beytülmāl-i ḫaṣṣeniñ 'arabī kitābetinde* — des Gouverneurs von Ägypten, el-Ḥācc Meḥmed Paşa, angestellt, der am 14. Rebī' II 1111/9. Oktober 1699 nach Kairo kam.[30] Unter der Obhut dieses Paşas begann er sein Werk, kam aber offensichtlich nicht mehr dazu, es ihm zu widmen. Wie er in seiner Einleitung schreibt, gab es wohl in arabischen Büchern Geschichtsdarstellungen über die osmanischen Statthalter in Ägypten, doch finde man solche selten in türkischer Sprache:

> *'arabī kitāblarında bulunur ve illā türkī diliyle*
> *'ala t-tertīb bulunması nādir.*

Deswegen habe er die Ereignisse zur Zeit der osmanischen Statthalter gesammelt und aus dem Arabischen ins Türkische übersetzt: *'arabī lisānından türkī lisānına terceme eyledüm.*

Auch ohne einen ausdrücklichen Hinweis auf seine Vorlage besteht m. E. kein Zweifel, daß 'Abdülkerīm das Geschichtswerk des Meḥmed b. Yūsuf el-Ḥallāḳ als Vorlage benutzt hat, möglicherweise unter Heranziehung der arabischen Fassung. Er schreibt die türkische Fassung hier und da aus, kürzt vielfach, bringt aber auch insofern Veränderungen an, als er andere Ansichten äußert und verschiedene Geschehnisse aus einem anderen Blickpunkt betrachtet.

Die Ähnlichkeit der beiden Werke brachte Shaw dazu, in einigen seiner Arbeiten die Istanbuler Handschrift des *Ta'rīḫ-i Miṣr* von 'Abdülkerīm b. 'Abdurraḥmān, Süleymaniye, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 705, als Werk des "Ḥallāq" zu zitieren. Dieser Irrtum ist in seinem bibliographischen Aufsatz behoben.[31] Dort wird aber als *Ta'rīḫ-i Miṣr* des 'Abdülkerīm irrtümlich die Handschrift Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 4877, zitiert.

Anders als es der Katalog erwarten läßt,[32] enthält diese Handschrift, die den Titel *Kitāb-i tevārīḫ-i Miṣr-i Ḳāhire ḫaṭṭ-i Ḥasan Paşa* trägt, eine abweichende, bis zum Jahr 1094/beg. 31. 12. 1682 reichende ägyptische Chronik, die als mögliches Werk eines Ḥasan Paşa noch zu untersuchen ist.

Aufgabe dieser Notizen kann nicht mehr sein, als zur näheren Untersuchung dieser ungedruckten arabischen und türkischen erzählenden

30 Süleymaniye, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 705. Über den Autor F. Berberoğulları, "Abdülkerim b. Abdurrahman," Mezuniyet Tezi, Istanbul 1973.

31 Shaw, *Turkish Source-Materials,* a.a.O., S. 45 Anm. 3.

32 *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları — Türkçe Tarih Yazmaları,* 2. fasikül, Istanbul 1944, S. 110f., schreibt es 'Abdülkerīm zu mit der Bemerkung "müellifin adı yazılı değildir."

Quellen aus dem osmanischen Ägypten anzuregen. Eine Fundgrube zur Sozialgeschichte ist Meḥmed b. Yūsuf el-Ḥallāḳ mit seiner arabischen Chronik und seiner darauf aufbauenden türkischen Version. Die Chronik des ʿAbdülkerīm zeigt, bei inhaltlicher Abhängigkeit von Meḥmed b. Yūsuf, eine abweichende Beurteilung mancher Vorgänge. Noch auf ihren Quellenwert zu untersuchen ist die in der Handschrift Hacı Mahmud 4877 vorliegende ägyptische Chronik.

Auch für die türkische Sprachgeschichte wäre das Studium dieser in der Provinz geschriebenen Texte lohnend. Während sich sowohl Meḥmed b. Yūsuf als auch ʿAbdülkerīm der "einfachen Prosa," *sade nesir*, bedienen, räumt ʿAbdülkerīm dem Türkischen mehr Raum ein als Meḥmed b. Yūsuf, dessen arabische Ausdrücke er vielfach durch türkische ersetzt. In beiden Werken erscheinen umgangssprachliche Wendungen und Formen, die an das Altosmanische erinnern.

Man hat diese wichtigen Auskunftsquellen bisher in der für die Osmanistik üblichen pragmatischen Weise nur in ihrem Schlußteil für wichtig gehalten. Es wäre aber auch sinnvoll, sie einmal als ganzes auf das Geschichtsbewußtsein dieser osmanischen oder für Osmanen schreibenden Autoren hin zu untersuchen.

Die Zeit, in der sie wirkten, galt, solange die Quellen noch ganz unerschlossen waren, als ein dunkles Zeitalter für Ägypten. G. Wiet sprach wohl für viele, als er, seinerseits P. Casanova zitierend, feststellte, mit den Osmanen sei das Leben, die künstlerische und literarische Bewegung erloschen, alles habe sich mit trüber Apathie bedeckt.[33] Dabei verschob sich zugleich die Bewertung der Mamluken-Epoche: dieses andere "dunkle Zeitalter," unter nationalstaatlichen Gesichtspunkten so benannt, zeigte nun auch lichtere Seiten. Nachdem aber eine nähere Beschäftigung mit der osmanischen Epoche den Historikern ein differenzierteres Urteil abnötigt, zeigt auch die Nachbardisziplin der islamischen Kunstgeschichte, wo noch vor kurzem das Echo der düsteren Wietschen Worte zu hören war,[34] sich nun bereit, ihre Aufmerksamkeit der osmanischen Zeit zuzuwenden[35] und sich mit den ihr eigenen Stilen auseinanderzusetzen.[36]

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33 G. Wiet, *Introduction à la littérature arabe*, Paris 1966, S. 143–144, sprach vom "Totengeläute einer hochentwickelten Kultur."
34 R. Ettinghausen in seiner Einleitung zu dem in Anm. 36 zitierten Werk: "The final deathknell was probably the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. . . ."
35 G. İnal, "Kahire'de yapılmış bir Hümayunname'nin minyatürleri," in *Belleten* 40 (1976), S. 439–465.
36 D. James, *Arabic Painting*, Edinburgh–London 1978, S. 43.

Turco-Mongolian Monarchic Tradition in the Ottoman Empire

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Turks and Mongols made conquests of varying durations in the lands of Eurasia's sedentary civilizations: China, India, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. Historians have suggested that in each of these settled regions, Turkish and Mongolian political traditions left their mark.

It is contended, for example, that in Rus' the Tatar yoke crushed the comparatively free feudalistic society of Kiev and nurtured in its stead the despotic centralism of Muscovy. Similar arguments have been made for China, where the Jurchens and Mongols can be seen to have converted the budding proto-capitalism of Sung into the retrogressive despotisms of Ming and Ch'ing. In India, after the collapse of Mauryan rule in the late third century B.C., no real empire emerged at all until Turkish invaders laid a groundwork for political unification in the Delhi sultanate, and the Mughals, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, completed the job. Similarly, in the Middle East, the Ottoman Empire and to some degree the Safavid brought Turkish and, it could be claimed, Mongolian traditions into the stuff of everyday political life.

To weigh the truth in these assertions, one must begin by trying to find specific Turkish and Mongolian traditions that continued to function in the agricultural civilizations' political environments after the conquest phases were past.

One such political tradition, and a central one, although no scholar has yet systematically studied it, is the Turco-Mongolian monarchic tradition of the grand khan — the supra-tribal nomad emperor whose authority entailed kingship over a multi-tribal nomadic people, combined with a highly personal command over that people's collective military forces. Under the grand khan's rule, all authority was concentrated in him — not in his office or in any government of officials who acted in his name, but in his person. When he died, the bonds of authority were dissolved, and his realm fell apart.

That such temporary, fragile, and repeatedly fragmented political

structures as those of the Turco-Mongolian steppe should have contributed to the formation of such enduring, centralized despotisms in the agricultural civilizations may at first seem paradoxical. But in an agricultural environment the nomadic traditions governing the recruitment of the elites that supported the throne were able to restructure imperial politics without being subject to the volatile, recurrently decentralizing conditions of the steppe. Agricultural resources cushioned and prolonged the centralized phase inherent in the steppe nomadic monarchy so that sociopolitical disruption was kept to a minimum. Transplantation of the nomadic grand khan in the soil of a settled empire made for the best (or worst) of both worlds: the centralized personalist power of the nomadic polity at its height and the massive stability of the agrarian socioeconomic order.

Monarchy of the Turco-Mongolian grand khan type arose naturally from the nomadic social organization that adaptation to the steppe had produced early in the long era of steppe nomadic cavalry, beginning in about the fifth century B.C. with the emergence of the mounted archer and ending in the eighteenth century A.D., when the great empires of Russia and China devoured the nomads and brought the era to a close. Steppe life favored the rise of the personalist and absolutist grand khan rather than other types of rulers because supra-tribal leadership was not essential to the proper functioning of pastoral life. Pasture scheduling could be managed at the tribal level, and raiding could also be carried out under the leadership of the tribal chiefs without help from a supra-tribal ruler. Being nomadic, and consequently mobile, individual tribal groups could move away on their own. The grand khan could not subject his tribes to discipline without offering them a benefit great enough to win their voluntary compliance. Essentially, this benefit boiled down to booty, the spoils of war — war which the tribes could not wage on a worthwhile scale without a supra-tribal leader. Social organization above the tribal level therefore came to be predicated on warfare.

The cohesion of pastoral nomadic society in Inner Asia was cyclical. Some scholars have viewed the nomads there as feudal, unbridled, ungovernable tribes living free in the steppe and subject only intermittently and briefly to joint ventures under a unified leadership. Others have seen nomadic society as imperial, centralized, and despotic — nations-at-arms in the iron grip of an iron-willed commander's military discipline. Both views are true. The nomadic social cycle began and ended with tribes in disunity, diffusing their military energies in internecine skirmishes. But once integrated into the grand khan's regime, the tribesmen became cogs

in a military machine, soldiers in an all-pervasive army — an army of everybody, for there were no civilians. Tribal autonomy withered, and society itself became an army, a unitary host that directed its martial energies outward to the defeat and despoliation of external victims. Being the ruler of a nation-at-arms, the grand khan's authority was that of a supreme military commander.

Tribes surrendered their independence in return for a share of the spoils, be it conquered peoples, lands, or luxuries. To obtain such booty, it was necessary to wage war. To wage war, it was necessary for the tribes to choose a supra-tribal leader and to subject themselves to his military authority. The first war was therefore ordinarily an internal war fought within the people or nation (a group of tribes associated with one another by a tradition of subjection to a given royal house) to choose a common ruler from among the eligible candidates — namely, a war of succession. So the first distributions of booty were ordinarily redistributions of wealth among the nation's component tribes. Once united under a grand khan, the nation proceeded to external wars. Indeed protracted peace was impossible, because, without war, booty distributions would cease, and the tribes would cease to cohere with one another as a unified nation. When the grand khan died, the nation became unglued. It could remain unglued indefinitely. To glue it back together again, a new ruler had to be found. The selection of a successor recommenced the cycle.

The grand khan maintained his position by the distribution of booty. At the beginning he usually obtained this booty in the course of his struggle against rival candidates for the grand khanship. After defeating his rivals, he had to obtain the necessary booty by leading his nation in external war. War was society's cohesive principle. War united. Peace permitted peoples to disintegrate. It follows from this that the main qualification for the grand khan's position was talent for military leadership. To this must be added birthright, for each nomadic nation had a royal clan from which its grand khan was traditionally required to be chosen.

And what better way for a nomadic nation to choose the best qualified scion of their royal clan than to see which son, brother, uncle, grandson, or nephew of a deceased ruler would win the grand khanship in an internal war? The spectacle of a new grand khan reconquering his own people after his predecessor's death was a common one, indeed almost a regular occurrence in steppe nomadic history. In the very process of winning, the successful candidate would resubjugate all the tribes to the grand khan's authority, reintegrating them and making them collectively strong. The succession war was the integrating war that society needed in order to

continue to cohere. The winner would *ipso facto* be the candidate with the greatest military talent and therefore the best suited to enrich his people by leading them successfully in battle. He would be the grand khan. Everybody would acknowledge him.

Succession by struggle, involving the physical destruction of unsuccessful candidates, was hard on the family life of the royal clan and undoubtedly produced some interesting neuroses among its male members, but it periodically reintegrated the peoples of the steppe, among whom centrifugal tendencies, encouraged by nomadic mobility, always posed the danger that a people would disintegrate back into tribes.

Typically the succession struggle, after much political maneuvering, began with an acclamation ceremony — the most famous examples being the Mongolian tribal councils, or *khuriltai* — at which tribal chiefs supporting a given candidate would acclaim him grand khan. Meanwhile other acclamation ceremonies did the same for other candidates. The struggle also commonly ended with an acclamation ceremony, at which representatives of all the tribes acknowledged the winner as grand khan and promised to obey him. Sometimes such tribal councils were more than ceremonies of acclamation, and occasionally they may even have served a genuinely electoral function, but a cursory glance at the conditions surrounding these ceremonies in Turkish and Mongolian history will dispel the notion that this was their normal role.[1]

The name given to the principle of succession that the most talented male member of the royal clan should inherit the throne, commonly by murder and war, is tanistry. Although steppe conditions favored tanistry, the custom was not unique to the nomadic peoples of the steppe. Various sub-Saharan African realms practiced it. So did the Thai and other kingdoms in Southeast Asia, both Buddhist and Muslim; the Celts, from whom the English word tanistry comes, practiced it, too.

Among the Turks and the Mongols tanistry worked so well that no regular, ascriptive, and automatic succession principle, such as primogeniture or levirate (in the wider sense of the term), ever replaced it on anything more than a temporary basis. Despite the tendentious claims of Juwaynī, whose purpose was to legitimize the accession of the house of Tolui (Chinggis Khan's youngest son), the youngest son's customary inheritance of the paternal hearth was only a matter of property, not a

[1] Cf. Yanai Watari, "Mōko no kokkai sunawachi 'kurirutai' ni tsuite," in his *Mōkoshi kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1930), pp. 361–449, which portrays the *khuriltai* as an electoral system.

succession principle for the grand khanship or even for the tribal chieftaincy. "Ultimogeniture" is a figment of the sedentary scholar's imagination. Occasionally the youngest brother of a deceased grand khan, or else a grand khan's widow, managed to act as caretaker or "regent" for a restricted period of time, but such caretakers exercised meaningful authority only in rare intervals of unanimity. Occasionally also a tribal chief usurped the grand khan's power and ruled in his name, but this was only a variant of the nomad monarchy; its function was essentially the same.

There were some exceptions to the succession-struggle pattern. In the first half of the sixteenth century, for example, the Uzbeks followed a principle of succession based on seniority within the royal clan (levirate). But the Uzbeks were then living in Central Asia rather than the steppe, and they were not effectively integrated under their grand khan's authority until the second half of the sixteenth century, at which time their seniority principle ceased to obtain. More strikingly, the Hsiung-nu, during their great period of strength in the second and first centuries B.C., followed a comparatively automatic succession principle without the telltale troubled accessions (fratricide, succession wars) indicative of tanistry — indicative, that is, of a people choosing the best military leader of royal birth to unify their tribes into a nation-at-arms. But this was because the Hsiung-nu ruler obtained his "booty" peacefully from the Chinese government, in consequence of the early Han dynasty's *ho-ch'in* policy; so a peaceful system of succession served the Hsiung-nu best.[2]

Tanistry conditioned nomadic politics in two ways: it politicized society, and it personalized monarchy. Unlike succession struggles in agrarian societies, which usually left most of the population to plant and harvest without being directly involved, nomadic succession struggles tended to involve everybody. There were no "non-political" governmental functionaries to hold the realm together while military or other specialized elites determined the succession. Everybody was a warrior. Everybody was involved. Tribal chiefs had to decide which candidate to support, but everybody stood to win by his tribe's making the right choice or to lose by its making the wrong one. Most important was predicting the outcome of the succession struggle and attaching one's tribe to the winning candidate. A tribal chief who backed a losing candidate could forfeit his position or his life, but his whole tribe would suffer; so a chief

[2] See T. J. Barfield, "The Hsiung-nu: Chinese Frontier Policy from the Nomadic Perspective," *Journal of Asian Studies* (forthcoming).

could not fail to be influenced by his tribesmen's opinions. Military success depended also on the warriors' morale.

The relationship between the tribe and the grand khan largely determined allocations of booty, pasture, power, and honor. Because the khan might fall sick and die or be killed at any time, the political status quo, being suspended from his person, was inherently ready to collapse. So the nomads had always to be sniffing the political breezes and to be ready to choose, form coalitions, and, at every level of society, to act. When, as most commonly happened, agreement or murder or localized skirmishes resolved the succession without an all-out war, the potentialities were nevertheless the same and still concerned everyone directly. Nomadic society was therefore more politicized at a deeper social level than the societies of the great agrarian empires northwest and south of the Eurasian steppe.

The personal nature of the Turco-Mongolian monarchy was also an outgrowth of tanistry and its accompanying succession wars. Each candidate for the grand khanship had to forge a coalition of supporters behind him; so the loyalty of these supporters went to the candidate himself rather than to the office of grand khan to which he aspired. Once a candidate triumphed, the tribal chiefs, including representatives of such defeated tribes as had managed to survive despite their having backed a losing claimant, all acknowledged the grand khan's authority, but here again it was the grand khan's personal authority that they acknowledged, because the office of grand khan itself, apart from him, had no effective existence. If he died, the grand khanship disappeared, pending the sometimes lengthy resolution that tanistry demanded. The grand khan, in other words, was not just the occupant of an ongoing institution like the thrones of the agrarian empires. He could not delegate his military function to officers of an army separable from society at large. The ruler's physical being provided the monarchy with its very existence. An active, personal, military leader was essential to the cohesion of his people. His person — indeed his personality — was the linchpin of society.

The grand khan's personal relationships with the tribal chiefs were crucial, and the deterioration of these bonds could lead to mutiny and social dissolution. The grand khan had to earn and re-earn the tribal chiefs' loyalty. It was not enough to win the grand khanship in an all-out war of succession. Even less was it adequate to win it by default, agreement, mere fratricide, or skirmish. To retain the loyalty of the tribal chiefs, and even of his immediate supporters, the grand khan had to con-

tinue to provide them with booty and this meant leading them in war. Otherwise, they drifted off on their own.

In difficult circumstances the grand khan could keep his tribal chiefs behind him by providing them with leadership to defend them against the onslaughts of an enemy nation. No tribe could stand alone against a multi-tribal enemy. But soon, if the grand khan failed to mount a counter-offensive and the onslaughts continued, they would erode the grand khan's authority; his tribal chiefs would then desert him and disperse, fleeing in different directions with their tribes. Ideally, however, the grand khan provided his chiefs from the outset with booty won by offensive war. As soon as he had finished his struggle for the succession he immediately began to lead them in external wars so as to be able to continue his distributions of booty. This gave the tribes a reason to continue to follow him. External war increased his power and united his tribes. A wise ruler abhorred peace and was always on the lookout for a pretext for war: hence the importance of vengeance in tribal culture.

Such were the nomadic realities, but this pattern was also translated from the steppe, where the pattern made sense, to agricultural empires, where it did not. Internecine war did minimal damage to a nomadic economy. To an agricultural economy, on the other hand, it was destructive, sometimes disastrous. Rus', the Balkans and Asia Minor, Iran, India, and China had no need of a grand khan — a military ruler, concentrating all authority in his person rather than his office, who in each generation murdered his brothers and fought his way to the throne, then went to war against external foes. Yet the Turks and the Mongols transplanted their nomadic monarchical tradition at various times in each of these agrarian societies, and in one form or another this legacy from the steppe persisted in each of them for an extended duration.

For this short paper, a brief account of the grand khanship's career in only one agrarian society, the Ottoman Empire, must suffice as an example. Once one has discovered the presence of the nomadic grand khanship on an agrarian throne one can more easily understand the changes in a settled society's politics that are to be seen following a Turkish or Mongolian conquest. The tendencies most closely associated with the introduction of the Turco-Mongolian monarchy into agrarian settings are: sharp increases in troubled accessions, elevation of the throne relative to other organs of government, a more active role played by the emperor personally, further concentrations of centralized power, and wars of expansion.

It is striking how long these characteristics of nomadic origin lasted in

the agricultural world despite the great differences between the agrarian empires and the politics of the steppe, differences both of ecology and of tradition. Unlike steppe polities, the agrarian empires were not of necessity so constituted as to dissolve upon an emperor's death. The structures of the empires tended to remain intact. But under Turkish or Mongolian rulers, the succession struggles that occurred in the agrarian empires at the end of each reign succeeded nevertheless in rekindling over and over again the Turco-Mongolian version of Ibn Khaldūn's *'aṣabiyya,* namely, the solidarity and enthusiasm of each new emperor's personal supporters, who formed the nucleus of his regime, enabling him to remain the all-powerful master of his government. It took many generations for the imperial bureaucracies' myriads of tiny siphons to siphon off their emperors' personal power.

When at last the indigenous statecraft of the agricultural societies succeeded in taming the steppe monarchy, assimilating the grand khanship and converting it into the emperorship of a bureaucratic empire, this success always came at the end of a lengthy process that can be analyzed into three main phases hinging primarily on changes in the recruitment of the ruling — principally military — elites. The first phase entailed the predication of the ruler's power primarily on nomadic tribal elites. The second phase entailed its predication on surrogate nomads recruited primarily from the agricultural population. The third and last phase, which dissolved grand khanship altogether and replaced it with a bureaucratic institutional monarchy, entailed the recruitment of civil and military personnel primarily from established beneficiaries of the political status quo or at least in accordance with regularized selection procedures in which the ruler had no active personal role.

In the Ottoman Empire, the first phase — in which the ruler relied primarily on nomadic tribal elites — is to be seen in the Ottoman beylik (late thirteenth century to 1396) and early sultanate (1396 to mid-fifteenth century), a recently post-nomadic Turkish polity of the steppe type.[3] The bey's authority was based primarily on Turkish groups, although the military successes of Osman (1280–1324) and his son Orhan (1324–1359) attracted adventurers from other Anatolian cultural strata, including agrarian elements from the Byzantine Empire. As early as the first half of

[3] See Omeljan Pritsak, "Two Migratory Movements in [the] Eurasian Steppe in the 9th–11th Centuries," in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth International Congress of Orientalists: New Delhi, 4–10th January, 1964,* vol. 2 (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 157–63, which places the ancestors of the Ottoman polity in the nomadic historical context of the Eurasian steppe.

the fourteenth century Orhan took the first steps in what would gradually become under his successors a policy of full denomadization. He diversified his recruitment, hiring Christian mercenaries and Muslims on salary, and it was probably he, sometime in the 1350s, who founded an infantry corps composed of slaves, known as the Janissaries. The early beys also obtained military allies from outside the tribal sphere by intermarrying with Christian princely houses. Orhan developed the rudiments of a nontribal regular army and instituted a civil administration with a governmental treasury separate from the private purse of the ruler. To a number of civil posts he appointed officials who had no kinship ties with the dynasty.

Murat I (1360–1389)[4] made considerable use of troops provided by client Christian rulers and sent the tribal forces off to raid on the periphery while he built up a salaried standing army at the center. He also assigned the revenues of tracts of conquered lands to the semi-nomadic tribal chiefs as payment in return for service and as expense money for the maintenance of their fighting men. The long-term results of this policy were that a class of land-revenue-based Turkish military magnates would gradually emerge, reconstituting the tribal system from a nomadic to an agrarian land-based soldiery. The tribes would gradually cease to be nomads and later, as time went on, would disband.

Reliance on a bureaucratically organized standing army supplemented by levies recruited through landholding military magnates and by reinforcements from client rulers might soon have shorn the Ottoman monarchy of much of its personal character, transforming it into something along the lines of a late-Byzantine-style emperorship. But this was not Murat's intention. Murat's purpose, like that of his father Orhan, was merely to stabilize a part of his manpower resources as a hedge against the unreliability of his tribal semi-nomads. It was not consciously to denomadize his polity. Nor was it to depersonalize his own military authority. Even in his recruitment of more regular, bureaucratic military forces, Murat, a Turk nurtured in the steppe monarchic tradition, sought men who would behave much as nomads did — that is, be loyal specifically to his person, as the original tribal nomads had been, but be less autonomous, less mobile, and more reliable.

To serve him as surrogate nomads for the limited military purposes that

[4] Parenthetical dates following the Ottoman rulers' names indicate retrospectively defined reigns. A sultan's real power, indeed the identity of the sultan, could not be definitively established until the succession struggle was over.

he had in mind, Murat recruited military slaves by purchase, capture, and the regularized "gathering" (*devşirme*) of Christian youths, whom he used to staff his Janissary corps. Slaves were a natural choice. Muslim rulers had been using them as their personal military retainers since Abbasid times.[5] Bayezit I (1389–1402) continued in his father's footsteps and somewhat expanded the *devşirme,* but he used the slaves thus obtained more extensively, in both civil and military positions. Indeed the Ottomans' later bureaucratization of government and denomadization of politics might have begun earlier, had not Bayezit's successes attracted the notice of Tamerlane, who smashed the Ottoman polity in 1402, returning it more or less to the structural conditions of the original fourteenth-century beylik. (Both Bayezit and Tamerlane were Turkic-speaking non-Chinggisid Muslim rulers, whose realms had originated in the empire of the Mongols,[6] and whose power was predicated on a compromise between agrarian and pastoral tribal interests. Tamerlane's notice of Bayezit was only natural.)

From 1403 until 1423 the Ottomans expended most of their energies *à la nomade* on succession struggles, but when Murat II (1423–1451) destroyed his brothers and achieved undisputed power he re-expanded the *devşirme* and began to use his personal slaves in important positions of leadership, once again reducing the role played by the military magnates of nomadic origin. To the extent possible, he tried to staff his government with functionaries who would play no role in the politics of succession. To provide tighter continuity he trained all his sons in statecraft and military science.

Throughout the period of the beylik and the early sultanate, the Ottoman polity, like other polities of the steppe type, was characterized by the succession struggles of tanistry. Ottoman succession disputes were essentially the same as those that occurred among the nomads in the steppe: they were often protracted wide-ranging struggles rather than merely short localized contests. Orhan succeeded easily on the basis of the preeminent personal military command that he had built up under his father's aegis, but it was not until about two years of struggle after

5 For the origins of military slavery in Islam, see Daniel Pipes, "From Mawla to Mamluk: The Origins of Islamic Military Slavery" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1978).

6 See Rudi P. Lindner, "Ottoman Government and Nomad Society, 1261–1501" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1976), p. 32, where a possible direct link with the Mongols is suggested. Whatever the precise direct or indirect links between the Mongols and Osman, the latter came to power in the Mongolian-dominated Anatolian Seljuk world.

Orhan's death in 1360 that his son Murat I managed to knock out his other son Halil as a contender for the throne. Murat's son Bayezit I seized the throne with such swiftness in 1389 that he was able to have his brother Yakup assassinated without recourse to war, but following Tamerlane's victories the succession struggles among Bayezit's sons (including the "False Mustafa") returned to the more usual steppe pattern. The struggles lasted from 1403 to 1420, only to erupt again in 1421 at the death of Mehmet I and continue until the triumph of Murat II in 1423. Murat II tried to bypass tanistry and to resolve his sons' succession question himself by abdicating in favor of Mehmet II in 1444, but the Janissaries' revolt in favor of Osman showed that the ruler could not so summarily change the nature of his monarchy. When Mehmet II (1451–1481) did finally succeed at his father's death in 1451, his accession accorded with Murat's written testament and resulted from Murat's considerable efforts on Mehmet's behalf, but the underlying realities of the situation are revealed in the fact that Mehmet found it necessary nevertheless to have his brother Küçük Ahmet killed. Although this first phase was marked by the Ottoman rulers' increasing reliance on personal slaves, in the succession struggles the slaves functioned as surrogate nomads, as is first to be seen in Murat's slaves' support of Bayezit I in 1389 and as is clearly demonstrated in the Janissaries' support of Osman against Mehmet II half a century later.

Throughout the first phase the centripetal force that held the Ottoman polity together was the traditional nomadic one — organization for conquest and for the distribution of its manifold spoils. When the Ottomans were not consuming their energies in their struggles for succession they were directing them outward in expansive war.

The second phase in the Ottoman monarchy's transition from a grand khanship to a bureaucratic institutional emperorship came with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The city itself was symbolic of legitimacy in the Roman imperial tradition so that the Ottoman ruler, originally *bey* (the tribal Turkish prince), and then *sulṭān* (sub-caliphal Islamic military ruler) since 1396, now adorned himself with the symbols of Caesar. With the victories against the Egyptian Mamluks in 1516–17, the Ottoman monarchy would also become "servitor of the two holy sanctuaries" of Mecca and Medina and holder of the Abbasid caliphal tradition. These powerful symbols not only deepened the Ottoman rulers' legitimacy in their subjects' eyes, but influenced the Ottomans themselves to view their monarchy as a kingship more along Byzantine and caliphal lines. Possession of Constantinople provided the Ottomans with a symbol of the

realm that directly affected the pattern of tanistry: seizure of the capital in battles for the throne became tantamount in most eyes to victory. This helped limit the recurrent struggles for succession, shortening them and reducing their dissolutive effect. Organs of government, increasingly staffed by persons minimally if at all involved in the succession struggles, began to provide non-political continuity so that the succession struggles did not dismember the polity at the end of each reign. Moreover, the Ottomans' increasingly centralized and bureaucratically-administered exploitation of their conquered agrarian resources began to provide the monarchy with far more and far stabler resources than those ordinarily available to nomadic grand khans.

Furthering his transition from nomad grand khan to agrarian bureaucratic emperor, Mehmet II modified the personal character of his rule, the better to master his huge agricultural domain. The ideal of a nomadic chief was a leader who rubbed shoulders with his commanders and whose power derived from the personal bonds between him and them. Depersonalization of the monarchy would mean the denomadization of politics; so Mehmet vigorously advanced the incipient tendencies in this direction that had already been noticeable under Murat I, Bayezit I, and Murat II. To remove the elite of nomadic tribal extraction from their position as the foundation of his power, Mehmet greatly increased the number of his surrogate nomads — his personal slaves recruited from the Balkan Christian population — and, toppling Turkish military magnates from their high positions of power, he appointed his slaves in their stead. Upon this new foundation of power Mehmet ceased to rub shoulders with his commanders and used pomp and ceremony to put distance between himself and his government, elevating his monarchic station far above all those officers and officials on whom his power rested. He eliminated many of the main Turkish military magnates, confiscated their properties, and distributed these spoils to his personal slaves. He instituted policies to circumscribe the nomads, hem them in, and gradually transform them into less and less transhumant husbandmen. Even in the army he saw to it that the Turks of nomadic tribal origin played a less and less central role. But despite all these changes, Mehmet's surrogate nomads, like his real ones, nonetheless required their share of the spoils of war; so the Ottoman campaigns of expansion had to continue. Like its Turkish forebears of the steppe, the Ottoman Empire still functioned as an army whose soldiers chose and followed their leader for his distributions of booty.

Despite the shift of the sultan's power base from the nomad tribal elite

to surrogate nomads (slaves) of agrarian extraction, steppe-style politics continued throughout the second phase, namely, the reigns of Mehmet's son Bayezit II (1481–1512), his grandson Selim I (1512–1520) and much of the reign of his great grandson Süleyman I the Magnificent (1520–1566). The slaves' functional similarity to nomads may be seen, for example, in the fact that when Bayezit II triumphed in the race for possession of Constantinople he was forced to reward the Janissaries by allowing them to kill the leading Turkish magnates and loot their homes. The Janissaries had become an autonomous corporate group, like a nomad tribe. Bayezit gave them gratuities in honor of his accession and raised their salaries — a greater share of the "booty" from the Ottomans' conquered lands — and once he was securely enthroned, to counterbalance their power as if playing off rival tribes against each other, Bayezit tried to restore the strength of the Turkish military magnates. Like nomads once again, when Bayezit failed to wage sufficient wars of conquest, the Janissaries forced him to abdicate so as to ensure the succession of his most warlike son Selim.

Selim I did not repeat his father's errors but played the role of grand khan to the hilt, keeping his Janissaries, like a nomad tribe, subordinate by continued campaigns of conquest. He too gave the Janissaries gratuities and increased their pay, and he greatly increased the number of Janissaries while he and they and his Turkish forces of tribal origin doubled the size of the empire.

The tanistry of the second phase was similar to that of the first except that it was less disruptive. Having witnessed the failure of his father's efforts to eradicate the struggles for succession, Mehmet II made accessional fratricide a written administrative law (*kanun*) so as to limit the disruptive effects of tanistry by regularizing it. Being law, succession struggles ceased to bring the integrity of the realm into question.

Mehmet II favored his son Cem, whom the Turkish military magnates also favored, but tanistry was too much a part of Ottoman political tradition for the sultan to abrogate his own *kanun*, and when he died his other son Bayezit II, whom the slave corps favored, defeated Cem and was proclaimed sultan — a clear triumph of the surrogate nomads over the forces of genuinely nomadic origin. When the Janissaries forced Bayezit to abdicate, this, too, was a form of tanistry inasmuch as the issue boiled down to who Bayezit's successor would be. Selim, whose accession was another clear triumph for the surrogate nomads, eliminated his brothers Ahmet and Korkut and may also have had his father Bayezit poisoned. He even killed off his nephews. But for all his adherence to the grand khan

image, in the end Selim was unwilling to leave the succession to the outcome of a struggle between his sons. Previous attempts to eliminate the succession struggles had failed; so Selim took the single course that still remained untried. He himself killed all his sons, leaving only his own candidate for the succession.

This was Süleyman, whose accession without a struggle, without even the formation of a personally constructed party of supporters around himself such as had characterized the unopposed accession of Orhan in 1360, occasioned a subtle but important shift in the nature of his monarchy. Wasting no time and energy in struggling for the throne, Süleyman was able to build directly on his father's achievement and thus to extend the conquests of the empire far beyond all precedent. To some degree this expansion was necessary, as in times past, in order to keep his surrogate nomads and his Turkish military forces under his control; so the sultan personally led the army. But Süleyman's inheritance of a government that his father, not he, had staffed further depersonalized the Ottoman monarchy, adding to the bureaucratic nature of his regime. The monarchy thus passed into the third phase of its transition from grand khan to agrarian bureaucratic emperor.

The third phase was characterized by an army paid from agrarian resources and led as often as not by commanders other than the sultan himself. Increasingly the grand vizier replaced the ruler in the conduct of civil and military government day to day, and the sultan's role became increasingly depersonalized and symbolic. Others could rule in his name. As the sultan's slaves — his surrogate nomads — gradually transformed themselves into a self-perpetuating class of hereditary landholders, the cohesion of the empire ceased to be predicated on expansion. In the second phase, the slaves, like the nomads in the first, had been dependent on the ruler's person for their enrichment, but, unlike nomads, they lacked autonomy and mobility and were therefore a more reliable power base for the sultan. As the slaves, like the nomads in the second phase, became transformed in the third phase into landed proprietors, they ceased to be dependent upon the ruler and his wars. As they used their increasing power to admit their sons and grandsons to their profession, they ceased to be slaves in any meaningful sense. The recruitment of new slaves became a threat to their position, so that the *devşirme* was at length discontinued.

Various factors combined to change the character of the Ottoman monarchy: the empire's size and the vast agrarian resources at the government's disposal, the level of bureaucratization that proved necessary to

administer such an agrarian realm, denomadization and the reduction of the military role played by elements of Turkish tribal origin, the growing influence of the ulema, Islamic law, and Muslim institutions. But not least of these factors was the shift in the pattern of recruitment so that the sultan's power rested no longer on personal retainers, be they nomad or slave, but on established self-perpetuating strata of the agrarian status quo.

That Selim II (1566–1574) recognized the changes in the nature of the Ottoman monarchy is to be seen in the fact that he abandoned the practice, observed since the reign of Murat II, of schooling the princes in statecraft and military science. The princes, in a word, were being prepared less to rule and more merely to reign. To the extent to which they did personally wield their authority, more and more they wielded it to play off the leading power groups against each other — mainly the Turkish magnates and urban Muslim classes against the powerful and increasingly hereditary class of "slaves."

Selim II went in person to the army at Belgrade and paid gratuities to the Janissaries in honor of his accession. Murat III (1574–1595) sent the army on various campaigns, and in 1596 Mehmet III (1595–1603) took personal command of the army in Europe for a while. Murat IV (1623–1640) personally led campaigns into the Caucasus and Azerbaijan and against the Safavids in Iraq and tried through terror, executions, and confiscations of property to restore something of the Ottoman monarchy's personal nature. But the elite on whom the monarchy's power rested no longer needed expansion and conquest.

To blame the successors of Süleyman I for the Ottomans' failure to maintain the empire's earlier momentum of expansion is to place the problem at the point where, in large measure, it lay. But the explanation is to be found not so much in the personalities or lack of vigor of these men themselves as in the changed nature of their monarchy's role.

The tanistry of the third phase was played out mainly within the palace, occasioning much harem intrigue, in which the sultans' mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters played a large part, giving rise, with some justice, to the label "sultanate of the women." The revolt of another "False Mustafa" in 1555 and the armed struggle between Süleyman's sons Selim II and Bayezit, ending with the latter's defeat in 1560, were reminiscent of the succession struggles of earlier Ottoman history, but Süleyman's payment to the Safavid ruler for killing the fugitive Bayezit and Bayezit's four sons in Iran in 1562 is more characteristic of the machinations of the third phase. When Süleyman died in 1566, only Selim remained. The succes-

sion struggle had occurred in Süleyman's lifetime. Selim designated Murat III as his successor, and Murat, taking no chances, killed all his five brothers. When Mehmet III succeeded, he killed his nineteen brothers and more than twenty of his sisters (deeds that may reveal his recognition of the palace women's power).

But Mehmet's son Ahmet I (1603–1617) allowed his baby brother Mustafa to live. When Ahmet died of typhus, palace politics brought about Mustafa's accession, breaking the tradition that the only eligible candidates were the preceding ruler's son. Thereafter various instances of fratricide, assassination, and dethronement occurred, the last act being Murat IV's murder of his four half-brothers. Murat, however, spared his full brother İbrahim, and İbrahim's peaceful accession in 1640 marks the definitive end of Ottoman tanistry.

The grand khan had become an emperor.

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Areal Religions — A Sassanian Example?

RICHARD N. FRYE

When I first met Omeljan Pritsak in Göttingen in August 1949, I was as much impressed with his deep philological knowledge of detailed Turkic matters, together with his broad vision and understanding of the history of Eurasia, as I was with the similar impressive scholarship of his teacher H. H. Schaeder. It was my hope even then that someday Omeljan would be invited to Harvard University. This came to pass in the autumn of 1960. It was shortly before Christmas of that year, while Professor Pritsak was lecturing in California, that a delegation of professors from different departments at Harvard — F. Cleaves from the Far East, H.A.R. Gibb from the Near East, R. Jakobson and J. Whatmough from Comparative Philology, V. Setchkarev and H. Lunt from Slavic, and myself — convinced McGeorge Bundy, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, that Omeljan should be invited to a professorship at Harvard. Unfortunately, Bundy shortly left for Washington, after the inauguration of J. F. Kennedy, without confirming the agreement on paper. The president of Harvard, Nathan Pusey, was unable at that time to issue an invitation; it did, however, come three years later, since which time we have been fortunate in having Omeljan as a colleague.

I propose to follow Omeljan's wider interests rather than any specific historical or philological points in this homage to his scholarship. The impetus for the following remarks came from an experimental course in religions which I gave in the spring of 1979, and, although some of the ideas suggested here obviously need more time and consideration, I thought them at least provocative for other fields than my own, pre-Islamic Iran. — R. N. Frye.

In modern scholarship we see that stimulating writings frequently create fads. Witness, for example, sociologists' inclinations to follow Pareto, Max Weber and others, and finally Levi Strauss in applying their ideas to various problems. Just as physics provides many models for other physical sciences, so linguistics and the social sciences frequently try to copy the physical sciences. The comparative study of religions has, in the past, copied linguistics or, rather, philology. Witness, for example, the case of George Dumézil, who applied Indo-European comparative philology to produce his interesting theory of the tripartite division of Indo-European society and religion. I should like to follow in this tradition by applying an example of areal linguistics to religion to see if anything can be learned

from this exercise. Even if few or small insights are gained in this endeavor, I hope it will be worthwhile.

I should like to take Iranian Azerbaijan as a model of areal linguistics, and to give a rough and simplified picture of what I mean by examples in areal linguistics from that area. Today three language families are spoken there: (1) the Semitic, represented by the neo-Aramaic language, (2) the Altaic, with Azeri Turkic, (3) and the Indo-European, with Armenian and Iranian dialects, including New Persian. It is interesting to observe, as part of what one might call the geographical influence on the speech of different peoples, that most of the above languages exhibit common features. For example, in phonology the palatalization of initial and intervocalic *-k-* is common to all the languages of Azerbaijan, e.g., most say *čitāb* for *kitāb,* and in their own dialects the palatalization also occurs sporadically: thus, Assyrian *šačarta* for *šukr,* 'to give thanks' and Azeri Turkish *čāp* for *gāp,* 'talk.' Likewise, in syntax most of the languages seem to use the past definite tense of some verb of motion to indicate a present progressive tense or exhortative, such as Russian *po-exali,* literally 'they went,' for 'let us go.' It is not my intention to investigate the extent, meanings, or origins of such examples in linguistics. Indeed, many may be more universal or ambiguous than assumed, such that even the concept of areal linguistics or its value could be questioned. Here I am concerned only with whether there is any value in applying questions similar to those in areal linguistics to the realm of religion, and especially, in this case, to religion in Iran and Mesopotamia before and after the rise of the Sassanians, that is, in the second and third centuries of our era.[1]

What we are discussing is an interaction of religions which can be approached from at least three directions — philological, historical, and areal — with the recognition that the last may not be as explicit or manageable as the first and second. For the philologist, changes in language, words, and, finally, in ideas are important, especially in their origins; the historian, on the other hand, seeks to isolate similar responses to similar historical situations. In the realm of religion the philologist draws equivalences, tracing different strands of textual analysis, for example, to deduce two cults or two foci interacting, such as the Yahwist and Elohist documents in Genesis. Or the philologist seeks the origins of new religious creations, such as Manichaeism, where new religious fea-

[1] To condemn the study of comparative religions for imprecision and use of jargon as Clifford Geertz does in his book *Islam Observed* (New Haven, 1968), p. 23, is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Any new endeavor is bound to have many problems and imprecisions, but one should not abandon it because of that.

tures — for example, the rules imposed on the *electi* — need to be studied.[2] Finally, he studies borrowings as well as origins, and such borrowings may be foreign terms and concepts which are not integrated but accepted into closed religious systems. Sometimes we do not know whether these terms represent new words for old practices, or whether they are utterly foreign, as seems to be the case, for example, with words such as *karma* and *nirvana* that have entered the vocabulary of Western religions.

The historian would study the responses of different religions to similar historical problems, such as authority and organization, church and state, and the like. But he is mostly concerned with well-defined systems or religions that can be classified and organized, and that have sources which are the bases for classification and study. Popular ideas are, on the whole, ignored by the historian, who usually considers them part of folklore or anthropology.

The areal method combines the philological and historical approaches. It is concerned with the origins of concepts and rituals and with their history, but more important to it is their whole context — for example, the Iranian or Mesopotamian *ethos* and how it influenced the development of systems or organized religions. We can ask, for instance, what were the features of the Sassanian Empire that influenced religions which arose or were transferred there? Some will say that this is simply the *Sitz im Leben* of Christian theologians. But this question has applicability to many religions, for it seeks the features that were perhaps influenced by or adaptable to a common geography. Is this then simply syncretism, which would be a synonym for areal religions? If we examine the many examples of syncretism in this part of the world, the answer is, not quite. Colpe has constructed a typology of syncretism which deals with ideas borrowed between religions.[3] He calls the first type of syncretism symbiosis or ethnic absorption, where one group rules over another but the other continues to exist, as Christianity and the Classical religions did in the Roman Empire. He calls the second type of syncretism acculturation, where the substratum remains very strong although absorbed, such as the Germanic elements in Christianity and those of Iran under Islam. Finally, we have identification, as the Greek interpretation of Oriental wisdom, or

[2] The position and life rules of the *electi* may have had some inspiration from Buddhism, but they were certainly not copied from those of the monks of the Eastern religion.

[3] A. Dietrich, ed., *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, AGAW 96 (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 21–22.

the balance of cultural groups, such as the Druzes, Nosairis, and others, who identify themselves as Muslims yet maintain separate communities. Colpe would maintain that Judaism, Christianity, and Islam do not participate in any aspect of syncretism, but, rather, only in the metamorphosis of each. He goes on to say that sometimes a mixed culture had a mixed language, such as Yiddish and Urdu, and also that a mixed culture might have syncretic religions, an example being Hellenistic Egypt, where, however, a mixed language did not develop but Greek and Coptic retained their separate identities.

I am not sure what one can do with this typology, any more than I know the significance of the cerebral sounds in the Indian sub-continent which influence the pronunciation of intrusive languages such as Iranian Pashto or Germanic English. What I wish briefly to examine here, however, is the possible influence of the creation of the Sassanian Empire on the religions in its territories. Three topics are suggested as relevant: (1) the organization of a "church," (2) rituals, and (3) apocalyptic, eschatological, and gnostic developments, in other words, theological and philosophical ideas. The last, of course, is much more complicated than sweeping all such ideas under one rubric would warrant. Consequently, only an indication of possible categories is attempted here, with no analysis of what linguists might call "deep structure."

If we look at the official religion of the Sassanian state, we find that, by the coming of Islam, three elements of orthodoxy had long been established. First was the "church" organization with the idea, expressed so many times later under Islam, that religion and state are twins who mutually help each other (*dīn* and *daula*).[4] The process of forming a church was begun by Kirdēr (Kartir) during the time of Shapur I and his successors, before the Christian church became the official religious organization of the Roman Empire. The followers of non-Zoroastrian religions in the empire — Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, local Christians and western Christians, Baptists, and Manichaeans — were all persecuted, whereas Zoroastrians were brought into line, organized, and given patents; the result was that the elements of church organization — fire temples, judges, etc. — which we know from later times had their origins, if not

[4] Cf. M. Grinaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide," *Journal Asiatique* (hereafter *JA*), (1966): 49 and 70. The testament of Ardashir to his son reads: واعلموا انّ الملك والدين اخوان توأمان لاقوام لاحدهما
إلا بصاحبه لانّ الدين أسّ الملك والملك حارس الدين
Al-Ghazali thought this passage was a *hadīth* of the prophet.

their full form, in the early years of the empire.[5] It was then, probably, that one could begin to distinguish between a high organized religion and a low religion of popular beliefs. There could be no orthodoxy or heresy until a church or system was flourishing. Kirdēr's inscriptions indicate that orthopraxy was far more important for him than orthodoxy.

We can now ask whether Judaism and Christianity in the Sassanian Empire were influenced by these developments in Zoroastrianism, or whether they were oblivious to them. The official recognition of a leader of both religions sometime during the Sassanian period — the *resh galutha* for Jews and a patriarch for the Christians — even before the separation of the Nestorian church from the Orthodox and the Monophysite churches, indicates that the Zoroastrian church organization, sanctioned by the central government, was used as a model for the minority religions in creating what in Islamic times came to be known as the *millet* system. The time of this development cannot be ascertained from data now available, but the beginnings of the church organization surely date from the early years of the empire. Therefore, one can suggest that "church" and organization were influenced by the Sassanian milieu in which all existed.

The idea of a prophet or messenger who brought a revelation to mankind is much more widespread than church organization as a determinant of mutual influences. Do we have similar forms or contexts, but different contents, in assessing this point in the religions of the Sassanian Empire? We simply do not know how early the soteriological ideas about Zoroaster and his sons developed in the Zoroastrian religion. What we seek are more specific ideas common to religions in the Sassanian area, and one such belief, held in both Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, is that there is

[5] Kirdēr's four inscriptions at Sar Mašhad, Naqš-e Rustam, Ka'ba of Zoroaster, and Naqš-e Rajab all indicate his strong organizational activities and abilities. The text of the inscriptions quoted here has problems, one of which is the identification of the *n'čl'y*, 'Nasoreans,' *klstyd'n*, 'Christians,' and *mktky*, all in line 10 of Kirdēr's inscription on the Ka'ba of Zoroaster and line 14 of his inscription at Sar Mašhad (for the first see A. Chaumont, in *JA* 1960; for the second, see P. Gignoux, in *JA* 1969). Although most scholars would regard the Nasoreans as Aramaic (or Syriac) Christians and the Christians as Greek-using Christians, as I have translated, I still feel that actually we may have here only a distinction between monks and ascetics, who were consecrated and hence called *nzérta* (for in Middle Persian both the letter *ṣ* and the *z* would be rendered by *č*), and the laity, or *klstyd'n*. The Sassanian government, of which Kirdēr was a leading official, would be more likely to distinguish between monks and others, if only for tax purposes, than to be concerned with different groups of Christians. The *mktky* — in my opinion, adherents of a Mesopotamian religion — might well be Baptizers, of which there were many in southern Mesopotamia. The word, unfortunately, appears nowhere else.

a celestial double of each person on earth, the *syzygos* of the Mani Cologne codex and the *ḥnglpy* of Kirdēr. Whether this gnostic concept is also found anywhere in Eastern Judaism or Eastern Christianity cannot be documented at present. Much work is needed in this domain to establish influences between the religions. Such acts as the ritual killing of animals or fowl for sacrifice are themselves too widespread to draw any conclusions, but special features of rituals may be common to a number of religions of the East and not found in those specific forms in the West. As a case in point, we know that the Zoroastrian religion, the official religion of the Sassanian Empire, was anti-monastic and -ascetic. The Nestorian church, as we learn from the canons of several synods reported in the *Synhados,* or "religious law book," of the church of Iran, was also anti-monastic, whereas the western Syriac church — the church of the Monophysites, later known as the Jacobites — was dominated by monks.[6] Can one say that the Sassanian ethos influenced the Christians in the Sassanian Empire to respond differently to problems from their brethren who lived under the Roman, then Byzantine, empires?

What must be delineated, perhaps, is the possibility of area influences other than merely a common Near Eastern background in distinguishing anything which differs from the Greco-Roman norm in the West. Historically and culturally we can find differences between the two arms of the Fertile Crescent, especially for the period we are discussing, but did the differences influence the religions of the different areas? I think one can confidently assert such influence in the case of church and organization, less so in doctrines and rituals or in messianic and prophetic factors, and probably least so in the question of holy writ. Or was Mani so far ahead of all the others that he acted as a catalyst on the Talmudic schools of Mesopotamia, on the church of the East and, as is much more likely, on Zoroastrianism? These subjects should be investigated in detail.

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[6] *Synhados* has been translated into French by J.-B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale* (Paris, 1902), especially p. 302, and into German by O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados* (Stuttgart and Vienna, 1900).

I thank my student William Darrow for many stimulating suggestions in regard to the whole question of areal religions.

Von Kuča (Kuśan) nach Bāmiyān, eine kulturhistorische Studie

ANNEMARIE VON GABAIN

NEUES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES MATERIAL

Die riesigen Buddhastatuen in den senkrecht anstehenden Felswänden bei Bāmiyān (Afghanistan) sind seit langem bekannt. Durch die Bemühungen der französischen Archäologen Hackin und Carl wurden außerdem viele, hinter und neben diesen Skulpturen befindlichen Gemälde als Nachzeichnungen veröffentlicht. Soeben ist nun eine Arbeit von Z. Tarzi erschienen, die (A) sorgfältige Skizzen der Schemas von verschiedenen, größeren Gruppen von Gemälden und Lageplänen, (B) Fotographien, (C) Farbfotos von einigen gut erhaltenen Beispielen und (D) Grundrisse der Grotten, Nachzeichnungen von Dekorationselementen, von den verschiedenen Kronenformen samt Vergleichen mit denen der Sasaniden, der Hephthaliten und anderem, sowie Stūpaformen enthält. Erst durch diese systematischen Wiedergaben wird das System der ja ziemlich schlecht erhaltenen Gemäldegruppen erkennbar. Sie stammen offenbar teils aus sasanidischer, teils aus indischer (Gupta) und teils aus gandhārischer Tradition. Die in Afghanistan lebende Japanerin Motamedi Haruko datiert diese Gemälde auf das 7.Jh. Weitere buddhistische Kultstätten, deren Skulpturen und Gemälde in Afghanistan noch erhalten sind, befinden sich in Paitava, Fondukistan, Sia-Gerd und in dem südöstlich von Bāmiyān gelegenen Kakrak; sie dürften aus dem 6.–7.Jh. stammen.

Bāmiyān liegt in 1760 m Höhe im afghanischen Hindukusch, 246 km östlich von Kabul. Was bei diesen Gemälden überrascht sind nicht etwa formale Ähnlichkeiten mit zeitgenössischer Kunst in Tun-huang, Yünkang oder Turfan, sondern mit der der Oase von Kuča am Nordweg durch das Tarim-Gebiet. Der sehr weite Reiseweg ging entweder über die hohen Pässe des Qara-qorum, oder aber westlich, nämlich durch Transoxanien, Ferghāna und Kāšγar. Solche Reisen waren durch die Unbilden der Natur, durch politische Eingriffe und durch räuberische Bedrohung stets höchst riskant. Um so auffallender ist es, daß die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den beiden Kultstätten eine direkte Verbindung erweisen.

VERGLEICHE

1. *Farben.* Schon auf den ersten Blick fällt die Vorliebe der Maler von Bāmiyān und Kuča für gleiche Farben auf: Sie wandten hier wie dort das warme Blau an, das sie aus dem in Afghanistan zu findenden Lapis-lazuli gewannen. Und ebenso zeichnen sich ihre Gemälde durch ein leuchtendes Grün aus Kupfer-cilicio-acid aus. Diese beiden Farben wurden auch in Ajanta verwendet, aber in dem weiten Bereich zwischen Afghanistan und der Grenze Chinas nur in diesen beiden Kultzentren. Sie zeugen von einer kommerziellen Verbindung zwischen beiden.

2. *Darstellung der Pferde.* Typisch für Bāmiyān (B 8) und Kuča (*Kultstätten,* 117) ist der Stil, in dem Pferde dargestellt wurden. Man zeichnete sie mit gedrungenem Körper, übermäßig feinen Beinen und einem mutwillig, stark gebogenen Hals. Dergleichen unrealistische Formen fanden sich auch in der frühesten Zeit in Tun-huang, aber keineswegs mehr bei der Malerei der für Pferdezucht stark engagierten Türkvölker wie im uigurischen Turfan. Die Gestaltung der Pferde zeugt von einer einheitlichen Schule.

3. *Bügelharfe.* Es sei hier nicht von allgemein verbreiteten Musikinstrumenten gesprochen, wie den verschiedenen Flöten und Lauten, sondern von einem altertümlichen und schwer zu handhabenden Zupfinstrument, der Bügelharfe. Sie fand Anwendung zumal bei iranischen Völkern, denn sie ist nicht nur in Bāmiyān (B 121, oben rechts; A3, die Göttin A1) und Kuča (*Kultstätten,* 264), sondern auch in Penǧikent, aber nicht in Tun-huang, Yün-kang und Turfan abgebildet worden.

4. *Stūpa.* Das Zentrum einer buddhistischen Kultstätte in der ältesten Zeit war ein Stūpa, also ein architektonischer Reliquienbehälter. Erst seit der Periode von Taxila und Hadda (Motamedi, S.268), als man gelernt hatte, den 'Erwachten' körperlich darzustellen, trat an die Stelle des Stūpas eine Buddhagestalt. Damit aber verlor nun jenes architektonische Element an Bedeutung. Auf Gemälden wird er nun in Bāmiyān (B 45, 46, 53, 175), in Kakrak, ebenso wie im fernen Kuča als Szenentrenner verwendet. Das möge nicht als Entwertung angesehen werden, denn die zu seinen beiden Seiten dargestellten Ereignisse sind ja aus dem Leben der Heiligen genommen, sie haben also sakrale Natur. In lebhafter Vorliebe für diese Türme gab schöpferischer Gestaltungswille dem einstmals gewichtigen Grab- oder Reliquienbau differenzierte und zierliche Formen. Ja, diese abgebildeten Bauten wurden auch noch mit Wimpeln (*Kultstätten,* 381), und naiverweise sogar mit Schleifen geziert. Im Fernen Osten traten an

die Stelle dieser zierlichen Gebilde chinesische Tortürme mit mehreren Dächern.

5. *Gandhāra-Stuhl.* Der Stuhl oder Hocker, ein kniehohes Sitzmöbel, wurde im mittelalterlichen Zentral- und Vorderaseien kaum benutzt. Erst spät kam er in China zur Anwendung, aber nicht in Japan. Recht naiv ist er in Murtuq (Turfan-Oase; *Kultstätten,* 620.621) dargestellt: Ein predigender und ein heilender Buddha bedient sich seiner. Dieser Hocker ist so ungeschickt gezeichnet, daß er dem Maler wohl nur vom Hören-Sagen bekannt war.

In alter Zeit benutzte man beim Sitzen in Zentral- und Ostasien sowie in Indien ein flaches Kissen oder schöne Matten. In Zentralasien ließ man sich dabei auf die Waden nieder. Von Indien bis Iran kreuzte man dagegen beim Sitzen die Beine vor dem Körper. Die Sasaniden ließen dabei die Füße leicht herunterhängen und man kreuzte die Fußgelenke. Eben das ist die Haltung, die in Bāmiyān und in Kuča beim Sitzen auf dem sgn. Gandhāra-Stuhl gezeigt wird: Er besteht aus einem, durch ein Polster leicht erhöhten Sitzmöbel mit einer Rückenlehne (B 114.119.120.121.123. 158.160; C 6.7; *Kultstätten,* 64.146.150.151.152; *Spätantike,* VI S.30, 69) deren Oberteil breiter ist als seine Basis. Über Rücklehne und Sitzpolster wird in Bāmiyān ebenso wie in Kuča ein Teppich gelegt, dessen Muster aus Schild und breiter Bordüre besteht. Selten einmal hat dieser Sitz auch noch Armstützen. Die Darstellung dieses Gandhāra-Stuhls wirkt schematisch, er war in den beiden Kultstätten wohl keine Realität sondern nur ein ikonographisches Merkmal. Die darauf thronenden Personen sind Bodhisattvas und Götter, aber auch Fürsten. In Tun-huang im 5.Jh. bedient sich seiner ein Bodhisattva (Akiyama, Bild 1, Bild 6), aber auch ein bedeutender Mönch (Bild 24, rechts: 6.Jh.). Später tritt an die Stelle dieses Sitzmöbels ein Lotosthron. Damit erübrigt sich die alte Darstellung von herabhängenden, gekreuzten Fußgelenken. Wo sie doch noch weiterhin erscheinen, hielten buddhistische Gelehrte und Buddhologen sie für ein ikonographisches Zeichen, und zwar für Maitreya, den Bodhisattva, bzw. den Buddha der Zukunft. Diese sasanidische Fußhaltung erscheint aber in Bāmiyān bei so vielen Buddhas und Bodhisattvas, daß bezweifelt wird, ob es stets eine Darstellung von Maitreya sein soll.

6. *Gestik.* Eine natürliche Darstellung von Mimik und Gestik entwickelte sich erst mit dem Talent der psychisch interessierten Uiguren. Den Chinesen lag beides ferner, da sie gewöhnt sind, Gesicht und Hände zu beherrschen und ihre Gefühle zu verschleiern. In der älteren Zeit und in westlichen Ländern wurde die Gestik wichtig genommen und ikonographisch festgelegt. Die sgn. *mudrās* dürften sich mit dem größeren

Teil der ganzen Ikonographie erst in Gandhāra und seiner näheren Umgebung entwickelt haben. Sie wurden in Bāmiyān deutlich und formschön dargestellt (B 122.158). Auf einer Gruppe von Personen sind es höchstens eine oder zwei von ihnen, die damit den Beschauer ansprechen. In Kuča herrschte wohl ein analoges Interesse für die *mudrā*s (*Spätantike*, VI 14; VII 3; Aa; Waldschmidt Tafel 17). Aber man wollte offenbar dort über-deutlich sein, und so gab ein Maler zuweilen mehreren Personen einer Gruppe eine *mudrā*, und zwar in allzu deutlicher, affektierter Art. Die Vielzahl der sprechenden Handhaltungen macht eine Szene unruhig. Im etwas späteren Turfan wird solche Anhäufung von *mudrā*s vermieden.

7. *Perlkreis.* Aus sasanidischem Erbe stammt ein in Bāmiyān und Kuča beliebtes Muster, das für Stoffe und an Wänden angewendet wurde. Es besteht aus einem Perlkreis, der einen Eberkopf, eine oder zwei Tauben (?) mit Schleifen um den Hals und mit einer Perlkette im Schnabel, oder ein geflügeltes, springendes Pferd umrahmt. Vielleicht besteht das Zentrum auch einmal aus einem anderen Motiv, etwa einem Elefanten: Die erhaltenen Bildreste sind nicht alle so deutlich, daß darüber Sicheres ausgesagt werden könnte. Was wichtig zu sein scheint und was auffällt ist der Umstand, daß der Perlkreis unregelmäßig in Viertel geteilt ist, deren erste und letzte Perle zuweilen nur halb vorhanden ist. Die Anzahl der Perlen solcher Viertelkreise ist 6,7 oder ½ plus 6 plus ½ u.a., ihre Summe ergiebt etwa 28½. Auch sind die Zeichen, die die Viertelkreise trennen, ungleich (A 5: Plafond des Vestibüls). Ein Stoffstück mit diesem Muster, das in einem chinesischen Grab in Astana (Turfan) das Gesicht des Toten bedeckte (M. Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, London, 1933, 124), war wohl Importgut. Aber ein ganzer Fries solcher Perlkreise ist tatsächlich in Turfan einmal dicht unter dem Plafond eines Innenraums dargestellt. Er wird nicht bei buddhistischen Heiligen angewendet, scheint also ein weltliches Symbol zu sein, das im Süden ebenso wie im Norden beliebt war. Dieses Motiv fand sich an Gebäuden in Bāmiyān (A 5 = B 55. D 57a-e. D 59a), in Kuča (*Kultstätten*, 172), sowie in Toyoq (ibid., 663), ferner auf Stoffen in nichtbuddhistischen Stätten wie in denen der Sasaniden, sowie in sogdischen Orten wie Afrasiab und Penǧikent. Wahrscheinlich ist mit diesem Symbol etwas Astrologisches, etwa ein Glückszeichen gemeint. Erdmann hielt den Eberkopf für das Symbol von Verethraguas.

8. *Nimbus und Mandorla.* Der Nimbus, ein Strahlenkranz um das Haupt von alexandrinischen Gestirnsgottheiten, mag das letzte Vorbild gewesen sein, als man in buddhistischem Bereich Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Götter und Mönche damit auszeichnete. Es ist die Besonderheit von Bāmiyān und Kuča, daß hier auch männliche und weibliche Angehörige

des Fürstenhauses damit aus ihrer Umgebung hervorgehoben wurden. Der Nimbus ist an diesen beiden Kultstätten also kein Zeichen von Heiligkeit, sondern von geistlicher wie von weltlicher Würde. Vielleicht wurde der Herrscher mit seiner Familie als charismatisch angesehen und darum in der gleichen Weise verherrlicht wie die Heiligen der Religion. Das ist in anderen buddhistischen Kultstätten nicht üblich gewesen.

Die Mandorla ist ausnahmslos das Zeichen des Buddha (A 1: O2, 7, 9; E 2.7.10). Die Umrahmung des Bodhisattvas in B 31 dürfte keine Mandorla, sondern eine Nische darstellen.

9. *Schulterflämmchen.* Das Symbol für geistige Betätigung, (skr.) *tejas,* ein Flämmchen auf den Schultern heiliger Personen, findet sich erstaunlicher Weise schon im China der Han-Zeit, in der Provinz Ho-nan bei einem thronenden Buddha (Finsterbusch, 330), nämlich auf einer Säule in einem Grab in I-nan: das ist ein einziger Beleg aus sehr früher Zeit. In Bāmiyān werden damit Buddhas und Könige ausgezeichnet (B 12.14.16. 17), sowie der Mönch Subhadra in der Nirvāna-Szene (Motamedi, 297). Auch in Kuča (*Kultstätten,* 339–44. 351–354. 382) sind der Buddha und Mönche damit ausgezeichnet. Später aber wurde dies Symbol nur noch selten angewendet.

10. *Flügel.* Im Alten, Vorderen Orient wurden vielerlei hybride Wesen dargestellt, um Kraft, Geschwindigkeit oder andre Eigenschaften einer Person anzudeuten. Vogelwesen waren im Klassischen Altertum besonders beliebt, bekannt ist der geflügelte Pegasus und im christlichen Bereich der Engel. Die beiden Waffenträger des iranisch gekleideten Mithra in Bāmiyān, die Schild und Speer halten, sind geflügelt dargestellt. Das sollte wohl bekunden, daß sie beim rasenden Lauf der den Sonnenwagen ziehenden Pferde mithalten konnten. In Kuča werden zwei Mönche mit Flügeln dargestellt (*Kultstätten,* 239.242; Text S.106). Übrigens finden sich Flügel an Menschen im Tarim-Gebiet nur ausnahmsweise: Auf einem Fries bei Miran (M. Aurel Stein, *Serindia,* Oxford 1921, IV, 40 unten) erscheinen innerhalb einer Girlande Büsten von Menschen verschiedener Volkszugehörigkeit. Diese ethnische Vielfalt sollte wohl illustrieren, daß sich dem Lokajyeṣṭha, dem 'in aller Welt Verehrten', Vertreter aller denkbaren Völker zuwandten. Eines dieser Brustbilder zeigt einen Jüngling mit Flügeln.

11. *Flatterbänder.* Die für die Sasaniden kennzeichnenden Flatterbänder, die dekorativ von den Königskronen herabwehen, schmückten auch in Bāmiyān und Kuča Bodhisattvas, Götter und Könige (B 20.21), aber niemals einen Buddha, auch nicht den sgn. 'geschmückten Buddha',

der in Bāmiyān öfters erscheint. Dafür werden solche Flatterbänder in Kuča auch an Vasen und Stūpas angebracht (*Kultstätten*, 98.381). Nur in früher Zeit — Früh-T'ang — schmücken sie in Tun-huang noch Götter und Bodhisattvas, später wird dieser iranische Schmuck vergessen.

12. *Tracht der Laien.* Die Tracht der Laien in Bāmiyān unterscheidet sich völlig von der der Kuśan, wie sie König Kaniṣka und die Personen neben Maitreya (Relief aus Paitava; *Exhibition of Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, Tokyo 1963, S.94) tragen. Auch in dieser Hinsicht ist die Ähnlichkeit mit Kuča ganz auffallend, und das dürfte mehr als eine Modesache sein. Waldschmidt (*Spätantike*, VI, S.27, rechts unten) beschreibt die Tracht der Wohlhabenden in Kuča als einen knielangen Rock mit engen Ärmeln und einen Revers nach rechts, oder mit Revers nach beiden Seiten, sowie mit einem das Gewand eng zusammenhaltenden Gurt, der mit Rundscheiben besetzt ist. Genau das findet sich auch auf den Stifterbildern in Bāmiyān (B 16.17 [?]. 19.20.21.22.40.127; in Kuča: *Kultstätten*, 13.15.16.51.52.53.116.334.336 usw.). Eine Mode mag übertragbar und nachahmbar sein. Wenn aber ein Gewandschnitt einen sozialen Rang zum Ausdruck bringt, handelt es sich um mehr: Die höchsten Personen einer Gruppe von vornehmen Stiftern sind nämlich in Kuča anders gekleidet. Sie haben kurze Glockenärmel wie manche Personen in Tumšuq (Nordweg durch das Tarim-Gebiet), ein Band verläuft quer über die Brust bis unter die Achseln und eine Schürze fällt bis zu den Knien (*Kultstätten*, 50, Text S.26; 191: die 3. und die 4. Person von links, Text S.84). Auch in dem zur Oase von Kuča gehörenden Qum-tura, der westsüdwestlich von Kuča liegt, findet sich dieser Gewandschnitt (Fig. 12). Durch Bedeutungsmaßstab sind alle diese dargestellten Herren von ihrer Umgebung herausgehoben.

Im fernen Bāmiyān haben hervorragende Personen eben diese Tracht, neben Herren mit den bescheideneren Revers-Röcken (B14 = A1 E 4; B 24 = A1 O 8; A1 O 11 und vielleicht auch B 16 = A1 E 6). Lichtbänder, die vom Kopf ausstrahlen, zeichnen diese Personen noch weiterhin aus.

Die enganliegende Tracht mit den Revers kann von den Sasaniden beeinflußt gewesen sein. Aber die Gleichheit es Gewandes eines höchsten Würdenträgers in Bāmiyān und Kuča läßt auf enge Kulturbeziehungen schließen.

In den Herren mit diesen beiden Gewandarten Türken zu sehen, wäre wohl verfehlt, denn außer späten Kritzeleien ist um Kuča der buddhistischen Zeit keine türkische Literatur gefunden worden, in Bāmiyān ebenso wenig.

GESCHICHTLICHE ERWÄGUNGEN

Die formalen Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Kuča und Bāmiyān müssen auf historischen Tatsachen beruhen.

1. *Geographische Hinweise. Bāmiyān* liegt hoch in den Bergen, südwestlich von *Kapiśa,* der einstigen Sommerresidenz von Kaniṣka, dem Kuśan-König in der 1. Hälfte des 2.Jh. n.Chr. Von dort erreichte man in 20 Tagesmärschen nach Norden die Hauptstadt von *Tochar.* Dieses Land lag zu beiden Seiten des oberen Oxus (Beal I 37. II 286. *Leben,* 52) und es hieß ehemals Baktrien. Der neue Name, der auch bei griechischen Historikern bezeugt ist, stammt von einem zugezogenen Volk, das im 2.Jh. v.Chr. aus Kan-su, im äußersten Nordwesten Chinas aufgebrochen war. Es war durch Zentralasien gezogen und scheint sich zeitweilig am Südrand des Tarim-Gebiets, östlich von Niya, niedergelassen zu haben, denn um 645 erfährt dort Hüan-tsang, der berühmte chinesische Pilger, von einer Lokaltradition, nach der diese einsame, kaum bewohnbare Gegend, ehemals Tu-huo-lo 'Tochar' genannt worden sei (*Leben,* S.211). Diese chinesische Schreibung bezeichnet ein Land und auch seine Bewohner. Sie ist erst seit der Nord-Wei-Zeit, also seit dem 4.Jh. für ein älteres Ta-Hia gebräuchlich geworden (Chavannes, T'ang-shu). Ältere chinesische Historiker (seit Ssŭ-ma Ts'ien) hatten mit Ta-Hia sowohl die alte Heimat des Volks in Kan-su, als auch ihr späteres Siedlungsgebiet am oberen Oxus, Tocharistan, bezeichnet. Die südwestlichen Tochar unterstanden ca. 200 n.Chr. den Wu-sun (Minorsky, S.444f.).

Im Norden von Tochar liegt der kleine Staat *Khottal,* dessen Name nicht iranisch, sondern tocharisch oder hephthalitisch sein könnte. Östlich davon grenzt das Land Vakhān mit *Tamasthiti* und *Śāmbhi* (bei Gilgit; chin. Shang-mi) an. Das südlich von Tochar gelegene *Gandhāra,* zu dem Bāmiyān gehört, hatte um 135 v.Chr. als Teil des graeco-baktrischen Reichs unter der Hoheit der Saken gestanden. Im 1.-3.Jh. n.Chr. wurde es von den ebenfalls von der nordwestlichen Grenze Chinas her gekommenen *Yüe-chih,* und zwar unter der Vorherrschaft des stärksten von ihren 5 Stämmen, der *Kuśan* erobert. Als diese sich 350 n.Chr. den iranischen Sasaniden (350–641) unterstellen mußten, wurde damit auch Bāmiyān ein sasanidischer Vasall. Von 412–37 (Motamedi, 279f.) herrschten hier noch die kurzlebigen Kidara-Kuśan, die in der 2.Hälfte des 5.Jh. von den Hephthaliten (425–565) gestürzt wurden. Dies letztere Volk war dem Buddhismus feindlich gesonnen.

Auch der Name *Sakastāna* 'Land der Saken' für das Gebiet südlich von Tochar kam erst seit 141 n.Chr. auf.

2. *Sprachenfrage, Schriftarten.* Es ist unbekannt, ob die Kuśan auf ihrer weiten Wanderung von der Grenze Chinas her ihre ursprüngliche Sprache bewahren konnten, oder ob sie sich in ihrer neuen Heimat in Schrift- oder auch in Umgangssprache ihren neuen Mitbürgern angepaßt haben. Eine in Baktrien errichtete, von A. Maricq interpretierte Inschrift (Henning, *BSOrS* 1960, S.47ff.) hat eine iranische Sprache. Und auch die Inschrift von Surch-Kotal im heutigen Afghanistan (Henning, *BSOrS* 1956, S.67) ist in einer ost-iranischen Sprache, nämlich in einem baktrischen Lokaldialekt und mit griechischer Schrift verzeichnet worden. Das ist also entweder die von den Yüeh-chih mitgebrachte Sprache, oder aber das von ihnen hier angenommene, lokale Idiom.

Noch rechts des Oxus, und oberhalb von Termez bezeichnet Hüantsang das Land als das 'einstige Tochar'. Hier (Beal I 38) fand er eine rechtsläufige Schrift von 25 Buchstaben, was wohl ebenfalls die griechische, oder eine davon abgeleitete Schrift war. Wenn er in Bāmiyān (Beal I 50) und im nördlich davon gelegenen Śāmbhi (Beal II 296) die gleiche Schrift wie in Tochar feststellte, war auch damit die griechische Schrift gemeint. Bisher scheint aber in Bāmiyān nichts dergleichen gefunden worden zu sein.

Est ist ein Niederschlag der älteren Ereignisse, daß die Kunsttraditionen der Sasaniden, der Gupta und von Gandhāra in Bāmiyān eine neue, zentralasiatische Kunstschule geschaffen haben (Motamedi, S.267).

3. *Geschichtliches.* Seit der Mitte des 6.Jh. ergriffen die West-Türken die Macht im Land. Sie erwiesen sich meist als eifrige, buddhistische Spender. In Khottal wurde nun in einigen Gegenden tocharisch, in anderen aber türkisch gesprochen (Fuchs, S.452, so zu korrigieren). Im übrigen war aber mit der türkischen Eroberung keine Besiedlung verbunden, da nur der König und das Heer Türken waren. Im 7.Jh. errichteten die Chinesen unter der neuen, bedeutenden Dynastie der T'ang in der Hauptstadt von Tochar das 'Gouvernement der Yüe-chih', das eine riesige Ausdehnung über Zentralasien hatte. Für die Chinesen waren also im Norden von Gandhāra die alten Yüe-chih (bz. die Kuśan) noch immer die Traditionsträger. Der Yabγu von Tochar war auch zu dieser Zeit ein Türke, und zwar vom Stamm der Ašina. Bis weit ins 8.Jh. hinein schickt dieser Vasallenstaat jährlich Tribut an China.

Für die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse in Tochar und Gandhāra liegen zeitgenössische Reiseberichte vor, zumal von zwei buddhistischen Mönchen, die sich auf den Weg nach Indien, der Heimat ihres Religionsstifters, gemacht hatten. Das war der schon zitierte gelehrte Chinese Hüan-tsang (628–45) und der Koreaner Huei-ch'ao (723–29).

Von der Bevölkerung von Tamasthiti berichtet Hüan-tsang (Beal II 292f.), daß sie blauäugig war, also ebenso wie die Stifter auf den Wandgemälden von Kuča. Auf seiner Heimreise (Beal II 296) bezeugt Hüan-tsang in Shang-mi von der dortigen Umgangsprache, daß sie 'etwas anders' war als in Tochar. Aber er nennt sie nicht eine Sprache der Hu, was zu seiner Zeit eine Bezeichnung iranischer Völker war. Denn (Beal I 32) Samarkand nannte er 'die Mitte der Hu', während er die Türken einfach als T'u-küe bezeichnet. Im ganzen Tochar, in dem zu seiner Zeit die Türken herrschen (Beal II 286ff.; I 50) ist nach seinem Zeugnis die Sprache auch nicht die der Hu, sondern 'etwas anders' als in Bāmiyān und in Śāmbhi. — Huei-ch'ao (Fuchs, 447, 449) traf im mahāyānistischen Tochar schon Araber, also Muslim. Er findet die einheimische Sprache 'ähnlich' wie die in Kapiśa. — Dem Chinesen Hüan-tsang (Beal I 50) erscheinen übrigens die Menschen im einstigen Tochar von gleichem Aussehn wie in Bāmiyān. Von diesem Land (Beal I 50) teilt Hüan-tsang mit, daß Literatur, Gesetze, Geld und Aussehen die gleichen wie die von Tochar seien, die Sprache aber sei 'etwas anders', Huei-ch'ao findet sie sogar 'besonders'. Religiös hielt man sich hier ans Hīnayāna. Über Kapiśa (Beal I 53) vermeldet Hüan-tsang, Sprache und Sitte sei 'etwas anders' als in Tochar, der Koreaner Huei-ch'ao (Fuchs, 447.448) findet die Landessprache 'ähnlich' wie die von Tochar. Hier verehrte man das Hīnayāna. — In Kabul herrschte zu Huei-ch'aos Zeit ein Kuśan als König; dies Volkstum bestand also zu seiner Zeit noch.

Das wichtige Resultat dieser verschiedenen Angaben besteht darin, daß in Tochar, Bāmiyān und Kapiśa nicht eine Sprache der Hu, also der Iraner bezeugt wird, sondern daß es eine besondere Sprache von Tochar und eine ihr 'ähnliche' gegeben hat. Waren das wohl die beiden Sprachen, die in Handschriften auf dem Nordweg durch das Tarim-Gebiet entdeckt worden sind und die man als 'Tocharisch B' und 'Tocharisch A' bezeichnet hat, die also in Kuča und in früher Zeit auch in Turfan gesprochen, bzw. auch geschrieben worden sind?

4. *Der Verbindungsweg.* Es ist das Thema dieses Aufsatzes, die Beziehungen von Bāmiyān (Gandhāra) zu Kuča zu erwägen. Der Weg von einer dieser Landschaften zur anderen war weit und sehr beschwerlich. Daher mag es Widerspruch erwecken, wenn die Kultur dieser beiden Orte in direkte Beziehung gesetzt werden. Aber gegen solche Bedenken sprechen die erwähnten vielen Ähnlichkeiten in den Formen der Malerei beider Kultstätten, Objekte des Handels, die für eine Verbindung im 5. und 6. Jh. sprechen und einige historische Tatsachen: Tochar hatte seit dem 7. Jh. nicht nur Verbindung mit Kuča, sondern es sandte sogar regelmäßig

Respektsgesandtschaften mit 'Tribut' an den viel weiter entfernten Hof der T'ang. — Im Jahre 749 (Chavannes, S.158) erbittet der türkische Yabγu von Tochar vom chinesischen Hof militärische Hilfe gegen die Kie-chih (im Pamir), die von An-si = Kuča aus geleistet werden sollte. Trotz der großen Entfernung konnte man also mit einer raschen Hilfe rechnen, und sie wurde tatsächlich erfolgreich geleistet. Die Entfernung von Bāmiyān nach Kuča war also überwindbar. Daher sei jetzt kurz der Verhältnisse im Norden gedacht.

5. *Der Norden.* Als vor-türkische Bevölkerung des Tarim-Gebiets (W. Krause, S.8) werden die Wu-sun mit einer bisher unbekannten Sprache und die Yüe-chih mit einer wahrscheinlich mittel-iranischen Sprache vermutet. Frühe Zeugen einer chinesischen Besiedlung westlich von Tun-huang sind nicht gefunden worden. Zur Han-Zeit gründete China im Tarim-Gebiet Militärkolonien, sie führten aber nicht zu einer regelrechten Bevölkerung. Im 4.–5.Jh. herrschten die Hephthaliten über Kuča, um 469 übten die Jou-juan eine gewisse Oberherrschaft im Tarim-Gebiet aus. Zu Anfang des 9.Jh. bestand bei den Kučanern die Meinung, daß sie von den Yüe-chih abstammten (Pelliot, *JA* 1934,1,S.90, Anm. 1). Kuča mit den bedeutenden, buddhistischen Kultstätten Qizil, Qum-tura und Kiriš hatte noch im 10. und im 13.Jh. den Namen *Kuśan* (uig. *Kuisan* oder *Kušan*; Kāšγarī: *Kusan*), bzw. *Küsän* (Minorsky, 232: Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen). Entweder war also dieser Oasenstaat im Mittelalter von dem in Gandhāra machtvoll gewordenen Staatsvolk der Kuśan besiedelt worden; oder aber ein Teil von diesem war schon bei ihrem Zug durch Zentralasien hier seßhaft geworden und hatte dem Land den Namen gegeben. In beiden Fällen ist mit einer lange währenden Verbindung von Kuča zum Süden und dem Volk des einstigen Reichs der Kuśan zu rechnen. Das uigurische Kolophon eines Avadānas verzeichnet, daß der Text aus der Sprache von *Ugu-Küsän* (lies *kušan*?) in die *tochri* Sprache, und dann weiter in die türkische Sprache übersetzt worden ist (F.W.K. Müller — A. v. Gabain, "Uigurica IV," S.678). *Ugu-küšän* und *tochri* sind also zwei verschiedene Sprachen.

6. *Der Name der Sprachen.* Da das Land Tochar fern vom Tarim-Gebiet liegt, erhoben sich Bedenken gegen die Gleichsetzung dieses *tochri* mit 'tocharisch', also gegen die Annahme einer Sprache namens 'tocharisch' im Tarim-Gebiet. Henning ("Argi," S.556) fand ein Gegenargument in der Erwähnung eines taugara-Stammes (ders., "The Name," S.159ff.), der in einem Manuscript aus Zentralasien auf Sakisch erwähnt wird. Von diesem wird berichtet, daß er als einer von neun Tarduš-Stämmen zu einer türkischen Konföderation gehörte. Für tochar (*toχar*) möchte Hen-

ning nur eine Lesung *toγar/tuγar* billigen. Tatsächlich ist in uigurischer Schrift zwischen χ und γ nicht zu unterscheiden. Übrigens erscheint dieser Unterschied nicht bedeutend, da Volksnamen im Munde verschiedener Völker stets leichten Veränderungen ausgesetzt sind. Die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Tarduš-Konföderation der Türken besagt noch kein türkisches Volkstum: Das harte Gesetz der Steppe, der Nomadenvölker duldete keine Neutralität. Wer im Bereich eines Hegemons weidete oder siedelte, mußte sich an Kriegszügen beteiligen und sich der Politik des Herrschervolkes unterordnen, unabhängig vom eigenen Volkstum und Wunsch. Das Volk der *tochri* oder *tuγri* braucht also keineswegs ein türkisches gewesen zu sein.

Nach Henning ("Argi," S.560) lag der Bereich der 'Vier Tochri' zwischen Biš-baliq, nördlich des T'ien-shan, und Kuča, südlich von ihm. Deren Sprache sei die sgn. 'I A' gewesen. Sie ist auf Handschriften aus Qara-šahr (halbwegs zwischen Kuča und Turfan), und in einer älteren Epoche auch aus Turfan, von ca. 500–700 gefunden worden, und von den Interpreten dieser bis dahin unbekannten Sprache wird sie als 'Tocharisch A' bezeichnet. Die Selbstbezeichnung des Volks war *Ārśi.* — Eine damit verwandte Sprache wurde in Handschriften aus Kuča = Kušan gefunden. Man nennt sie 'Tocharisch B' oder 'Kutschisch'. Beide sind mit der west-indoarischen Ursprache verwandt.

7. *Lösungsvorschlag.* Sollte es denn 'Tocharer' nur in Tocharistan gegeben haben? Saken siedelten bekanntlich nicht nur in Sakastāna, sondern auch in Hotan (auf dem Südweg durch das Tarim-Gebiet), Tumšuq (auf dem Nordweg) und Murtuq (in der Turfan-Oase) und zwar im 7.–10.Jh. (Bailey), wo sie buddhistisch-literarisch und künstlerisch höchst aktiv waren. — H. Lüders ("Weitere Beiträge," S.543) identifizierte die in skr. Texten aus dem Tarim-Gebiet belegten indischen Ortsnamen Hecyuka, Kuci and Agni. Darüber hinaus hält er das Po-lu-kia der chinesischen Texte (heute: Aq-su, auf dem Nordweg durch das Tarim-Gebiet) für eine Tochterstadt indischer Kaufleute aus Bharukaccha, einer Hafenstadt im westlichen Indien. Demnach hat es im Tarim-Gebiet ständig dort wohnhafte Inder gegeben, nicht nur auf dem Subkontinent im Süden.

Analog ist zu erwägen, daß Tocharer nicht nur in Tocharistan gesessen haben, sondern außerdem auch im Tarim-Gebiet.

In einem sanskrit-tocharischen Gesprächsbüchlein (W. Krause, S.7) wird *tokharika* mit *kucaññe* gleichgesetzt.

Wenn Kučas Bevölkerung zeitweilig als Yüe-chih, und das Generalgouvernement in der Hauptstadt von Tochar als das der Yüe-chih bezeichnet wurde, ist wohl zu relativ später Zeit eine Identifizierung der

Sprache der Yüe-chih und der Kuśan mit der von Tochar anzunehmen, wie Haloun es sogar für alle Zeit annimmt. Die auffallende Ähnlichkeit der Kunstformen von Bāmiyān und Kuča scheint diese Vermutung zu bestätigen.

Nach Hüan-tsang und Huei-ch'ao gab es die einander ähnlichen Sprachen von Bāmiyān einerseits, und von Tochar, der Hälfte von Khottal und von Kapiśa anderseits. Dem dürften im Norden die beiden verwandten Sprachen entsprechen, das Kutschische, Kušanische oder Tocharisch B einerseits, und in Qara-šahr und Alt-Turfan das Tocharisch A anderseits.

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Centralization and Autonomy in the Polish-Saxon Union

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The personal union between Poland and Saxony from 1697 to 1763 was a basic element of the European balance of power. The durability of the union was dependent chiefly on two factors: first, the activity of the powers that benefited from the maintenance or change of the existing configuration of powers; second, the evolution of relations between Poland and Saxony. It is the delineation of the second of these factors that interests us here.

The evolution of Polish-Saxon relations is closely connected to one of the questions that troubled all thinkers during the Enlightenment — namely, whether the general welfare can best be assured by a centralized form of rule or by a federal one. The answers to this question, as well as the practices of the period, were varied. In Central Europe enlightened but centralized absolute monarchy dominated. Only from the 1760s did another model arise — the Enlightened Republic, or *Rzeczpospolita,* which was most fully defined by the Constitution of the Third of May 1791.[1] An important question is, what role did the personal Polish-Saxon union play in the formation of the new model? An analysis of the integrative and disintegrative tendencies at work in the Polish-Saxon union should help provide an answer.

The problem of centralization and autonomy in the Polish-Saxon union can be looked at from two points of view. The first is that of the mutual relations between two states united by a common monarch, relations that either evinced tendencies toward the introduction of a real union or toward the maintenance of complete separateness. More precisely, we must ask, in what area did the union bring about a limitation of the independence of each of the two states? The second viewpoint is the internal order of Poland and Saxony. Neither the Commonwealth nor

[1] On the "Enlightened Republic," see J. Gierowski, "Rzeczpospolita szlachecka wobec absolutystycznej Europy," in *Pamiętnik X powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich w Lublinie,* vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1971), p. 101.

Saxony were ruled by absolutism and neither experienced a strong central rule that could totally subjugate local autonomy.

A fundamental characteristic of the Commonwealth was its internal dualism, that is, the retention by the Union of Lublin (1569) of the division between Poland and Lithuania. Despite the existence of a few central institutions as well as the convergence of institutional forms, there remained basic differences between the two countries, arising from their disparate social and economic structures. But the phenomenon of separateness and local autonomy reached far deeper than the Commonwealth's dualism. It extended to the palatinates (*województwa*), which, due to the weakness of central power, secured for themselves an almost independent position.

Similar tendencies were evident in Saxony. True, central power was stronger there than in the Commonwealth, although a special problem was posed by the autonomy of Upper and Lower Lusatia, which came under Wettin rule only in 1635.[2] Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ties between Lusatia and Saxony did not far exceed the bounds of the personal union. Within Saxony proper, the authority of the Estates of the particular provinces assured wide possibilities for local self-government. Of course, it must be kept in mind that the political relations between Saxony and Poland and the internal conditions of the two countries were interconnected.

I propose to discuss the following topics in Polish-Saxon history: (1) Poland and Saxony as two different socio-institutional structures; (2) characteristics of the development of centralizing tendencies in their internal relations; (3) the striving for a closer union of Poland and Saxony; (4) the Polish-Saxon personal union as a type of interstate linkage.

I

At the end of the seventeenth century, Saxony figured as one of the most developed states of the Holy Roman Empire. Freed by the Westphalian Treaty from military activities, Saxony recovered relatively quickly from the devastation of the Thirty Years' War. Handicraft industries developed rapidly in the cities. The textile industry of Lusatia, in particular, was renowned. Centralized manufacturing developed in Saxony at a particu-

2 J. Leszczyński, *Stany Górnych Łużyc w latach 1633–1697*, Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, ser. A, no. 95 (Wrocław, 1963).

larly early period for Central Europe. In the second half of the seventeenth century over twenty such enterprises were established, and twice that number were founded during the reign of Augustus II, including the famous porcelain industry.[3] Trade flourished, the internal market grew, and Leipzig became a focal point for the exchange of goods between Eastern and Western Europe. In agriculture money rents predominated; only in Lusatia did manors based on labor services continue to prevail.

General economic development bolstered the material position of the burghers, especially in the major urban centers. But the equally prosperous nobles had no intention of renouncing their privileged status, and tried to check the political aspirations of the burghers.[4] This was facilitated by the splits among the Saxon burghers and the competition between cities. Antagonism between the nobles and the peasants took on a tense character only in Lusatia. The over two million people of Saxony were relatively uniform in religious conviction; with some exceptions (in Lusatia), they were orthodox Lutherans. This fact inevitably influenced the thinking and customs of the society. The country was overwhelmingly German, with relatively small numbers of Jews in the major cities. Only in Lusatia were there large numbers of non-Germans: these were the Slavic Lusatian-Sorbs, who were exclusively peasants and the urban poor and who were deprived of any right to political autonomy.

The socioeconomic structure of the Commonwealth was much more complex. The war wounds of the mid-seventeenth century had not healed; in a few regions, struggles continued almost without interruption into the second half of the seventeenth century. As an agricultural country, the Commonwealth felt the falling of prices for agricultural goods sharply. The declining profits forced the nobility to increase its demands on the peasantry, which inevitably resulted in the fall of agricultural production. Within the framework of the socage-manoral agriculture that was dominant in the Commonwealth, there seemed to be no solution to the situation. The impoverished country was unable to rebuild the economy of its cities, devastated by war. Only in a few areas — such as eastern Pomerania and western Great Poland — did handicraft production and trade revive somewhat. The predominant picture of the Commonwealth's economy was one of stagnation.[5]

[3] R. Forberger, *Die Manufakturen in Sachsen vom Ende des 16. bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts,* Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, ser. 1, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1958).
[4] J. Staszewski, "O miejsce w Europie," in *Stosunki Polski i Saksonii z Francją na przełomie XVII i XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1973), p. 97.
[5] *History of Poland,* ed. by A. Gieysztor et al. (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 211, 257.

In such conditions, the position of the burghers became very weak, and the peasants were overwhelmed by the increasing burdens placed upon them by both their lords and the state. Although the richest cities, especially Gdańsk, retained their local autonomy successfully, only the nobles, in fact, enjoyed full political rights and controlled the organs of government. But the noble estate was not free from internal strife: it was divided by the conflict between the possessors of great latifundia, or the magnates, and the owners of one or a few villages, that is, the middle nobles.

National and religious relations in the Commonwealth were also extremely complex. Poles and Lithuanians comprised not even half of its nearly eight million people. Of other groups, the most numerous were Ukrainians, Belorussians, Germans, and Jews. This last group enjoyed some autonomy on a national scale, with its own religious-administrative organization headed by a central administrative organ, the *waad.* The division of nationalities pertained, above all, to the peasantry and burghers, and only to a considerably lesser degree to the nobles, who in the course of the eighteenth century became Polonized, even in Lithuania. This national homogeneity of the nobles became an important factor in the integration of the state, facilitating the extraordinary role of that estate. Another unifying factor was religion: by the end of the eighteenth century, the nobles were overwhelmingly Catholic, which was by no means true for other sectors of the population. The relatively few non-Catholic nobles enjoyed full toleration after 1573; their influence was minimal, however, and in the course of the first half of the eighteenth century they lost most of their political rights.[6] The cultural uniformity of the Commonwealth's nobility found its fullest reflection in the ideology of Sarmatism, which expressed the conviction of the nobles' superiority over other social strata, as well as over the nobles of other countries. Their liberties were considered to be the source of their exceptional status, which was closely tied to xenophobia and contempt for other estates.[7]

The differences in the economic and social structures of Saxony and the Commonwealth were reflected in the political structure of the two states, although these differences were not as basic as one might expect. Saxony belonged to those territories of the Holy Roman Empire which did not

[6] J. Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów: Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1967).

[7] S. Cynarski, "Sarmatyzm — ideologia i styl życia," in *Polska XVII wieku,* ed. by J. Tazbir (Warsaw, 1969).

establish total absolutism and in which estate representation endured until the mid-nineteenth century. Despite the endeavors of the electors, the estates retained the majority of their prerogatives, above all, in fiscal affairs. The influence of the estates on the elector's privy council facilitated their control of the ruler's activities.[8] The broad autonomy of Lusatia has already been mentioned. In hereditary Wettin lands, there was no joint representative organ for the estates. The centralizing factor remained the person and authority of the elector, who, however, before making important military or fiscal decisions had to take into account the stand of the parliamentary Estates in various regions. On the basis of Józef Leszczyński's research into the authority of the Estates of Upper Lusatia,[9] it can be asserted that they had wide autonomy in the organization of internal relations in the region. The position of the social estates was weakened, however, by the conflict between the landtag's two basic components: the nobles and the burghers. Nevertheless, their position was still sufficiently strong to prevent their total subjugation to the monarch, such as occurred in neighboring Brandenburg.

In the Commonwealth the Diet (*Sejm*) was the dominant organ in political life, to a degree incomparable to the Saxon and Lusatian Estates. With the exception of the vassal territories (Courland, Lembork, and Bytów), the Diet encompassed the entire territory of the Commonwealth, and was second only to the monarch as the most important centralizing element of the state. The range of its authority was extremely broad. It possessed a certain legislative initiative, although the implementation of any law (constitution) required the assent of the king, as one of the Diet's "estates" other than the Senate and the Delegates House. There existed, however, a disintegrative element in the functioning of the Diet, that is, the dissolution of its sessions, a practice which frequently paralyzed its activity.[10] It is true that the Saxon and Lusatian Estates, with their complicated legislative procedures, were quite cumbersome organs, but the dissolution of a legislative institution was a specifically Polish-Lithuanian phenomenon. In such conditions the majority of centralizing functions had to fall on the monarch, the Senate, and the ministers. The position of the king, however, was weak and depended largely on his personal

[8] F. L. Carsten, *Princes and Parliaments in Germany* (Oxford, 1959), p. 243.

[9] Leszczyński, *Stany Górnych Łużyc.*

[10] H. Olszewski, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej epoki oligarchii: Prawo-praktyka-teoria-programy* (Poznań, 1966).

authority. He was obliged by election pledges (the Henrician articles of 1573 and *pacta conventa*) to preserve the nobility's privileges and rights. In times of special stress, the centralizing function was performed by the confederations, which were national associations of the nobility having their own organs of central authority.

As early as the first half of the seventeenth century, a period in which the Diet functioned relatively well, the authority of the palatinate dietines (*sejmiki*) was expanded. For the purpose of sub-Diet assemblies, the Commonwealth was divided into the three large provinces of Great Poland, Little Poland, and Lithuania, with certain particularities retained for Mazovia and Royal Prussia. But, characteristically, it was not these relatively large divisions, but the smaller territorial and administrative entities, the palatinates, that secured local autonomy for themselves. In the second half of the seventeenth century, dietines not only concerned themselves with the self-government of their own territory (for which they created their own executive organs), but aspired to have the right to decide affairs of state as equals of the Diet or as its substitute.[11] In reality, the homogeneity of the nobility — who were the only participants in the dietines, except in Royal Prussia, where burghers were included too — resulted in the minimizing of the discrepancies between the various dietines. Nevertheless, this type of atomization of political life did not facilitate the functioning of the state machinery.

Besides these territorial and administrative divisions, a second internal division, in which an element of autonomy played a role, existed in the Commonwealth. The development of magnates' latifundia and clients' tributary to them among the middle and petty nobles (the result, in part, of weak central rule) led to the foundation of a whole system of magnate "mini-states." These mini-states did not cover the entire Commonwealth, but in several cases they were entities as large as Saxony itself and had their own administrations, treasuries, and military forces. They conducted their own foreign policy not only vis-à-vis other mini-states, but also with other countries, and they sometimes waged war, for example, Ostroz'kyi's latifundia. This phenomenon, reminiscent in certain respects of the situation in the Holy Roman Empire, never led to a lasting division of the Commonwealth and was not reflected in legislation. Yet, the mini-states were real factors, with which every ruler had to reckon.

[11] J. A. Gierowski, *Sejmik generalny Księstwa Mazowieckiego na tle ustroju sejmikowego Mazowsza,* Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, ser. A, no. 25 (Wrocław, 1948); J. Włodarczyk, *Sejmiki Łęczyckie* (Łódź, 1973).

Thus, a specific characteristic of the Commonwealth was its two separate systems of internal division — systems which created numerous informal interrelationships.

II

I have pointed to the elector and his ministers as the group in Saxony that could represent an integrative tendency for the state. According to the views dominant at that time, centralization would be realized most quickly by introducing an absolute monarchy. It was not easy, however, to find support in the electorate's society for such a plan. The group of nobles who had the reins of government in its hands could have provided such support, but these administrative aristocrats thought chiefly of their private interests and only in a very limited degree allowed themselves to be guided by the ruler. Only a few representatives, such as Chancellor Beichling, were ready to join a movement for reform.[12] The situation with the wealthy burghers was no better. The surest support was provided by newcomers from other lands of the Holy Roman Empire or beyond it (among them J. H. Flemming and R. Lagnasco), but their numbers were not large and their influence was small.

Securing support was particularly difficult for August II because he had converted to Catholicism upon his election to the Polish throne. His conversion, as well as that of his son, remained the subject of constant suspicion and ill-will; it prevented not only the Lutheran clergy, but all other sectors of society from associating themselves with the Wettins' plans.[13]

The real power under the elector remained the army. But in this respect the Wettins were less fortunate in their activities than were the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg. They did not succeed in forming a *Kriegskommissariat* completely independent from the Estates. More importantly, the finances for the upkeep of the army were very meager. John George IV and, after him, August II did levy a permanent excise tax on the model of other countries, but the tax turned out to be insufficient to meet the great financial needs of the elector. Thus, the necessity of getting the Estates to agree on providing funds for the army continued.

[12] J. Staszewski, "Zamach stanu w Saksonii w 1703 r.," *Studia Historyczne* (Cracow), vol. 12, no. 1 (1969).
[13] J. Staszewski, *Stosunki Augusta II z kurią rzymską w latach 1704*–1706 (Toruń, 1965).

Renewed attempts to break the opposition of the Estates did not bring the hoped-for results. In 1717, due to the difficult economic situation of Saxony, the elector decided to limit the army to 15,000 men, thus undermining any further possibility of influencing the Estates.[14]

In the Commonwealth, centralizing tendencies took on extremely complicated features and opposition to them was stronger. Beside the court's program (represented in this case, by August II) which sought to concentrate authority in the hands of the monarch, there existed a program, then popularly called "republican," which sought to limit further yet the power of the king and to concentrate authority, instead, in a revivified Diet. This latter type of central power would not liquidate local self-government; it would, however, introduce an exact division of competence between the Diet and the dietines. This current, represented by Stanisław Dunin Karwicki and later by Stanisław Leszczyński and most fully by Stanisław Konarski, was not realized until the Constitution of the Third of May.[15] Until then it remained an adequate counterweight to the court's program, forcing the Wettins to accommodate their plans to solutions that retained the traditional structure of the Commonwealth. Thus, finding any kind of support for plans to strengthen the monarch's powers was an almost impossible task. Appeals to non-privileged strata (if this had been thought of) would not have had much chance for success. Some advantage might have been made of the antagonism between the nobility and the magnates, but the impoverishment of the middle nobles during the long wars had weakened their former unity and made them more and more dependent on the magnates.

The only recourse that remained was to seek support from a few magnates' camps, where the program for centralization would be accepted only on the condition that it assure a particular camp's dominant influence on the government. Special hope rested on appealing to the so-called young magnates, since this group of newly wealthy men depended at least somewhat on the protection of the king. This was the situation under August II with the Szembeks and Czartoryskis, and under his successor with the court camarilla gathered around H. Bruehl. With the complicated international situation, the misfortune that befell the Wettins'

[14] J. Gierowski and J. Leszczyński, "Polska i Saksonia: Zagadnienia ustrojowe," in *Pamiętnik X powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich w Lublinie*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1971), p. 101.

[15] W. Konopczyński, *Polscy pisarze polityczni XVIII wieku (do Sejmu Czteroletniego)*, ed. by E. Rostworowski (Warsaw, 1966).

armies, and the foreign interference in Polish affairs, these hopes turned out to be illusory. In the end, the court stood alone in its plans to strengthen the monarch's power.

There remained nothing else for the Wettins to try but to appeal for aid to the Saxon army in the Commonwealth or to the neighboring powers, which demanded, in return for such service, some part of Polish or Saxon territories. The army, however, turned out to be ineffectual, and the neighbors, in their own self-interest, preferred to hinder rather than help the Wettins' actions.

What did August II strive to achieve? It can be assumed that he was interested, above all, in the abolition or limitation of free elections, in securing the succession to the throne for the Wettins, in the reformation of the Diet into an institution more dependent on the monarch, and in the limitation of the competence of the dietines. Finally, he wanted to introduce a financial and military reform that would free the king from the nobility's parliamentarianism. A mercantile economic policy would assure the king's ability slowly to alter the social structure of the Commonwealth and, in particular, to increase the role of the urban elements.[16]

August II was able to realize these plans only to a very limited degree. His efforts to limit free elections did not succeed. On the other hand, however, August's successor was his son and, even more important, the Constitution of the Third of May legislated a hereditary throne for the Wettins. In practice, too, the Diet's position became weaker. The king attempted to use the Sandomierz Confederation toward this end, which befitted his own position. This system was not long-lived, however. Similarly, the plan for reforming the Diet by postponing deliberations — the so-called limits which were to rescue it from dissolution and make it permanent — failed.

On the other hand, the dietines' autonomy was successfully limited in 1717. The competence of the dietines was severely curtailed and their procedures were regulated. But the effect of this reform was lessened somewhat by the growing autonomy of the magnates' mini-states, especially under August III. In 1717 a financial and military reform was introduced that stabilized the standing army at 24,000 men and assured its maintenance by regular taxes (these included, among others, the first permanent tax on the nobles' estates). However, the attempt to make at least a part of the army more dependent on the king than on the hetman failed.

[16] J. Gierowski, *W cieniu ligi północnej* (Wrocław, 1972), pp. 98–99.

Moreover, the number of troops was set so low that the army could not help the king conduct a more independent policy.[17] Finally, August failed to establish the basis for a mercantile economic policy.

The centralizing policy pursued by the Wettins and their advisers achieved limited success in Saxony (e.g., the enlargement of the ruler's competence, the limiting of Lusatia's autonomy), whereas in the Commonwealth it failed to combat the dissolution of central rule. Understanding this state of affairs requires an analysis of the strivings for a real Polish-Saxon union.

III

The difficulties he encountered in finding support in the Commonwealth for a centralization program led August II to seek a real union with Saxony. Already at the outset of August II's rule of the Commonwealth, this policy was evident in the founding of the Secret Chamber Chancery in 1698. This institution, independent of the Estates, was to settle uniformly Saxon and Polish affairs and to administer the king's domains. The chancery did not live up to expectations; in time it was recast as a secret cabinet composed of individuals chosen by the king. It was to be the institution of highest authority in the Electorate; in practice, it also became an advisory body in Polish affairs. However, the cabinet was not established formally as a joint organ for both states, and even in Saxony it did not occupy an exclusive position, for the secret council continued to function.

Other steps taken toward real union were the reformation of the Commonwealth's estates on the model of their Saxon counterparts; the unifying of military forces by including some Saxon troops in the register of the Commonwealth's standing army (which, of course, placed the cost of maintaining these units on Polish society); the granting to the Saxon nobility of rights to acquire land and offices in the Commonwealth by economic convergence (partly by granting the Saxon burghers exceptional rights); and, finally, by the striving to secure a common frontier between the two countries. The total success of these plans would, however, have imposed a very one-sided union — that is, Saxon hegemony in the Commonwealth.

Poland-Lithuania, cognizant of the fate of Bohemia and Hungary

[17] On the financial and military reform, see M. Nyzc, "Geneza reform skarbowych sejmu niemego," *Poznańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Prace Komisji Historycznej,* (Poznań), vol. 12, no. 1 (1938); J. Wimmer, *Wojsko Rzeczypospolitej w dobie Wojny Północnej* (Warsaw, 1956).

under the Habsburgs, could not accept such an outcome. Given the well-developed socioeconomic structure of Saxony, Poland-Lithuania would probably have become the object of economic and political expansion to the Saxon nobles and burghers. Fearing this possibility, the Commonwealth's elite demanded that the union be a purely personal one and even postulated total abolition of the connection. It must be remembered that there was opposition to a real union on the Saxon side, as well, due to religious differences and the fear of an inordinate strengthening in the electors' position.

August II tried to realize his goals by treating them as a fait accompli. In this manner, the direction of Polish foreign policy was given over to Saxony. Also, decisions on the Commonwealth's internal affairs were made by the king in consultation only with the Saxon ministers. August II sought to win his Saxon ministers to Poland's side by granting them rights as Polish nobles, by distributing offices, and by encouraging the development of family ties. Military activities during wartime facilitated the introduction of Saxon troops into the Commonwealth.

The first indication of the nobility's dissatisfaction with these policies was the Dethronement Act of 1704, which, however, was due more directly to Swedish pressure. When August showed no intention of changing the policy after his restoration, almost the entire nobility joined the anti-Saxon Tarnogród Confederation and, in 1716, forced the king to make a number of significant concessions. The Wettin ruler was able to retain the throne, but he was forced to remove Saxon troops from Poland and to discontinue employing Saxon advisers in Polish affairs (for that matter, Polish ministers were forbidden to deal with Saxon affairs). Even the granting of vacant posts in the Commonwealth was to be done only when the king was residing there.

The Treaty of Warsaw of 1716 forcibly terminated any striving for a real Polish-Saxon union. The connection of the two states was to be limited to the person of the ruler. In fact, however, this principle was never totally realized. It is true that Saxon troops were removed from Poland, to be reintroduced only in 1733 by August III. On the other hand, the attempt to remove Saxon ministers from the administration of Polish affairs was not successful. In particular, they continued to control Polish foreign affairs and, in fact, effected a liquidation of the Commonwealth's independent foreign policy.[18] Most of the Commonwealth's diplomatic

18 *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. by Z. Wójcik (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 404–417.

agents were controlled privately by August II or by the Saxon diplomatic service. Although this was not a unique phenomenon for Europe at that time (take, for instance, the relationship of Hanoverian diplomacy to the English), it was to have a grave effect on the fate of the Commonwealth's statehood after the termination of the Polish-Saxon union. The interference of the Saxon ministers in Polish affairs, either directly or indirectly, continued. The activities of Flemming and Bruehl proved that this article of the Treaty of Warsaw remained a dead letter, thus assuring a much closer relation in practice than one would expect by reading the treaty.

It is more difficult to evaluate the economic activities through which the court hoped to unite Poland and Saxony. R. Forberger and J. Kalisch have researched the fundamental aspects of this policy,[19] which was based on the establishment of Poland and Saxony as middlemen in European trade. Russian competition made this part of the policy unrealistic. The policy did succeed in increasing direct trade between the Commonwealth and Saxony, but it did not result in the amalgamation of the economies of the two countries. One decisive factor, undoubtedly, was the lack of a common border.

An essential precondition for introducing a real Polish-Saxon union was, without question, the securing of a common frontier. To understand this, it is sufficient to note that the transfer of Saxon troops to Poland required the consent of the emperor or of the king of Prussia. From the outset the Saxon court recognized the importance of the problem and tried to bargain for a part of Silesia from the Habsburgs or for a part of Krosno from the Hohenzollerns. Even as late as the Silesian wars, August III tried alternatively to annex Upper Silesia and Moravia or to bargain for Lower Silesia. The acquisition of Silesia by the Prussians was thus a decisive moment in destroying any hope for a real Polish-Saxon union. The outcome of the 1764 election — when a Wettin was not elected — was to no small degree the result of August III's misfortunes with Silesia.

IV

I have outlined those circumstances that kept the Polish-Saxon union from developing into more than a personal one. In the end, the union did

[19] See their studies in *Um die polnische Krone*, rev. by J. Kalisch and J. Gierowski (Berlin, 1962).

not bring about any major change in the functioning of the state apparatus of the Commonwealth and Saxony. Nor did it change the division of competence between central authorities and local organs. Despite the considerable efforts of August II and his advisors, centralization of the two states was not realized. The idea of centralization was put forth most strongly in the first period of August II's rule, during the Northern War. This was probably due to the pressures of the financial and military situations.

The Polish-Saxon personal union was by no means unique. The linkage of two states of different structures by the person of the monarch was recurrent in European political life from the Middle Ages. In Polish history, similar unions were entered into with Hungary, Transylvania, Sweden, and, of course, Lithuania. The union with Lithuania turned out to be of especially long duration. After nearly two centuries of ties through the person of the monarch, a real union was formed that lasted another two centuries. Based on respect for the autonomous rights of each country, the union of Poland and Lithuania served as a model for the nobility of the Commonwealth. A belated, and thus unsuccessful, offshoot of this model was the Union of Hadjač with the Ukraine.

In Europe at the turn of the eighteenth century, when the Polish-Saxon connection was formed, three types of interstate links existed. One was the Polish-Lithuanian type, which emphasized the autonomous rights of its component parts. A diametrically opposed type was the link between Austria and Bohemia or Hungary, for at this time the Habsburg conglomerate was becoming more and more centralized (a similar link was that of Brandenburg and Prussia). Finally, there existed a type of linkage through the monarch, with relatively weak interstate connection. This type prevailed when a monarch was summoned to the throne of a state stronger than his hereditary domain (examples were Hanover and England or Hesse and Sweden).

The Polish-Saxon union was an instance of the third type of linkage, although the distribution of power between the two states made it seem that the realization of the second type was possible. This led to a confrontation of centralist-absolutist and republican-autonomist tendencies. The result was a long-lasting ossification of the Commonwealth's structure. At a time when England formed a constitutional monarchy and Sweden developed its "time of liberty," Poland did not advance a step politically from the mid-seventeenth century. Only after the abolition of the union did internal reform begin in Poland.

While it did not create a strong state that could rival the power of

Russia, Austria, or Prussia, the Polish-Saxon union did have a positive influence on the cultural and economic development of the two countries. It created a mutual sympathy and understanding between Poland and Saxony that lasted until the mid-nineteenth century — an attitude all too rare in Polish-German relations. Despite all its shortcomings, the connection was not totally insignificant for the formation of the "Enlightened Commonwealth."

In considering the form of government which would have assured the general welfare of the Commonwealth, we should remember the words of Stanisław Karwicki. While evaluating centralized government highly, he admitted that "in each state that government is best, which suits the genius of the nation. The Polish nation has an inborn inclination to liberty and is accustomed to it; it would be difficult to persuade her to submit to one rule."

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Time and Historical Consciousness in Medieval Poland

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Over the past few decades many appropriate and innovative opinions have been expressed about Polish historiography in the Middle Ages. As an expression of a society and its times and as a vehicle for ideas and concepts, the historical output of Piast and early Jagellonian Poland can be viewed from two perspectives: as *forma formata,* a creation from Polish history, and as *forma formans,* an image of the past that influences social consciousness, infuses it with historical knowledge, and thus provides a cohesive set of political, social, national, Christian, and human values.[1] The observations presented here do not dwell only on historical writings themselves, although these naturally remain our main source of information about how the past was understood. Rather, we will be more concerned with the sense of past time people had in medieval Poland and the values that bygone events had for them. We will suggest how contemporary attitudes towards time and historical events affected social consciousness, although, of course, it is impossible to explore such a complex subject thoroughly in a short essay.[2]

[1] Recent important publications include: B. Kürbis, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV w.* (Warsaw, 1959); J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie* (Wrocław, 1964); B. Kürbis, "Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie do połowy XV w. Dążenia poznawcze i poglądy," *Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej,* ser. A, 9 (1966): 107 ff.; J. Wiesiołowski, *Kolekcje historyczne w Polsce średniowiecznej XIV–XV w.* (Wrocław, 1967); M. Zwiercan, *Komentarz Jana z Dąbrówki kroniki mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem* (Wrocław, 1969); a special issue of *Studia Źródłoznawcze* (vol. 20, for 1976) devoted to Magister Vincentius Kadłubek; J. Banaszkiewicz, *Kronika Dzierzwy, XIV-wieczne kompendium historii ojczystej* (Warsaw, 1979).

[2] Cf. G. Gurvitch, *The Spectrum of Social Time* (Dordrecht, 1966); *History and the Concept of Time* (Middletown, Conn., 1966); R. W. Southern, *Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing,* chap. 4: "Sense of the Past," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* ser. 5, 23 (1973): 249 ff.; A. Y. Gourevitch, "Le Temps comme problème d'histoire culturelle," in *Les Cultures et le temps* (Paris, UNESCO, 1975), p. 257 ff.; B. Geremek, "Wyobraźnia czasowa polskiego dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 22 (1977): 1 ff. For the philosophical aspects of medieval historiography, see K. Pomian, *Przeszłość jako przedmiot wiary* (Warsaw, 1968).

Towards the end of the period we are considering, just before the mid-fifteenth century, Mathias of Rożan, a Masovian lawyer, wrote that "there is nothing shocking or strange that with changing times, the customs and activities of people change, as well."[3] His comment clearly shows both an awareness of such changes and a degree of moral detachment in observing them. The attitude was hardly typical of the period: it reflects more of a modern understanding and appreciation of differences in historical values than an adherence to fifteenth-century philosophical and historiographical assumptions. We cannot claim that Mathias of Rożan was fully aware of the philosophical implications of his remarks. Yet we can assume that a pragmatic attitude toward social change did at least exist in the fifteenth century, along with cyclical beliefs, myths about a Golden Age and subsequent worsening times, and a view of history as the unavoidable journey of mankind toward the Day of Judgment. Indeed, the common-sense attitude expressed in this passage reflects what might be called a sense of history, stemming from comparisons of different ways of life as expressive of different social climates.

It is precisely from this awareness of the diversity of events that historical consciousness seems to arise. We realize that events which have already happened are still in a sense alive and hence accessible and relevant for people who confront them. Thus, as research premises, we can assume that historical consciousness has three aspects: (1) an awareness of tradition and its selective function; (2) a desire and intellectual effort in historical cognition; (3) an understanding that the past is not without significance for people in present and future times. Indeed, European culture has formed a complex consciousness of its own history: this has occurred during a long and often contradictory development of each of the three interacting aspects, elements of which were already present in European social values in the Middle Ages.

The first aspect, the awareness of tradition — that is, the image of the past and its selective vision — begins with a temporal dimension and the closely related problem of understanding the concept of time. At least three basic notions of time appear to have coexisted and competed. One of them might be described as Newtonian linear time — absolute, true,

[3] The comment was written in the vernacular: "Nie ma ganiebnie ani dziwnie mnimano być, acz podług mienienia czasów obyczaje a dzieje ludzkie się odmieniaja"; from the laws of the Mazovian princes as translated by Mathias of Rożan in 1450. See *Tłumaczenia polskie statutów ziemskich*, ed. by F. Piekosiński, in *Archiwum Komisiji Prawniczej* (Cracow), 3 (1895): 231 ff.

flowing, uniform, and independent of any outer force. This concept in its medieval form was inherited from antiquity and hence was not worked out as consistently as in the later Newtonian version. Nonetheless, it formed the basis for learned measurement of time in the Middle Ages, and in Poland it also became one of the basic mental vehicles for the perception of events both environmental and produced by man.

Alongside this concept of linear time, the ecclesiastical calendar, which had simultaneous acceptance, maintained and strengthened the concept of cyclical time, with recurring seasons and vegetation marked by annual festivals such as Christmas and Easter. Nevertheless, the calendar — at least for part of the community — also provided the notion of particular pivotal events which could be viewed retrospectively as fixed starting points for the progression of linear time. Thus, for the educated the creation of the world and the birth of Christ were stable events from which linear time moved uniformly. That did not mean, however, that a necessary connection existed between the reckoning of time and the juxtaposition of remembered events.[4]

The definition of annals as "events taken year by year (*annales sunt res singulorum annorum*)," provided by Isidore of Seville (3.41), was not always followed literally during the Middle Ages. The older Polish annals, in particular, do not record events for every given year. This was due not so much to lost documentation as to the conscious choice and selectivity of events worthy of being recorded. The maintenance of Paschal tables, which was essential for the genesis of the annalistic genre in the West, does not appear to have had any significance in Poland. The annals of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century are a different story, however. There, one suspects that an inherent stimulus for historical narrative lay behind the chronicling of events for sequences of years. In any case, one can assume that then, under the influence of a new literary awareness, a type of *horror vacui* required annalists to follow the dictum expressed in French theoretical thought during the early fourteenth century by Bernard Guy: "principally to record the times and succinctly to go through the memory and history of events (*tempora principaliter connotare et succincte transcurrere memoriam ac historiam rei gestae*)."[5]

[4] On the unity of the linear and cyclical conceptions of time, see Gourevitch, "Le Temps," pp. 261 ff.

[5] Cf. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica/Pomniki Dziejowe Polski* (hereafter *MPH*), vol. 3 (Lviv, 1878; reprinted Warsaw, 1961), vol. 5 (1888; reprinted 1961); n.s., vol. 6 (1962), vol. 5 (1978).

Yet the annals do not contain the only possible attitude toward historical time. Other documents, particularly charters, which one would expect to have required registry at least of the year of issue, often lacked dates in Poland until the thirteenth century. Was this because of negligence on the part of an official or his scribe? It may seem so to nineteenth- and twentieth-century specialists in diplomatics, but it hardly did to contemporaries. A letter of Prince Vladislaus Hermann to the Bamberg Cathedral Chapter (1087–1095) reflected an attitude very different from ours. It recorded past events and anticipated future ones, but, as with all epistolography of that time, it did so in terms of contemporary occurrences, with few references to their antecedents or their consequences.[6] The same is true of the donation records relating to the foundation of the abbeys of Mogilno and Tyniec. They were perpetuated to eternity with no specific dates provided, although with many references significant to contemporaries, including remarks about the contemporary Polish political situation, whose elements were placed in time by naming ruling princes or other nobles.[7] Thus, not absolute time, but time within the range of the perceiver — almost a Kantian subjective form of cognition — was involved. We will be most successful in understanding what time was to medieval people if we see it as relative, abstracted ad hoc from temporal, spatial, and social situations, and hence variable according to the perceptions of the observer — the "past teller" (*dziejów wypowiadacz*), as a Polish medieval text calls him — and the relations he draws between time sequences and the events he observes.[8]

This view of history can be seen in the stories of Kwiecik Głębowic, who, in the mid-thirteenth century, explained at the entrance of Henryków Abbey "all the antiquities of our hereditary villages (*omnes antiquitates hereditatum*)," as recorded by the scribe of the convent in a similar relative sequence. The "very old" informant lived, as we know, "until the fourth year after the withdrawal of the pagans from this land," which was surely a point of reference more important for both than any specific date would have been.[9] The "peasant short stories" did not disregard the concept of time, although their chronology was governed by its own

6 *Monumenta Poloniae Palaeographica*, ed. by S. Krzyżanowski, fasc. 1 (Cracow, 1907), table 1.

7 Cf. *MPH*, 5:585ff., 653ff.

8 For the term *dziejów wypowiadacz*, see *Słownik Staropolski*, vol. 2 (Wrocław, 1956–59), p. 285.

9 *Księga Henrykowska/Liber fundationis claustri S. Mariae Virginis in Heinrichow*, ed. by R. Grodecki (Poznań, 1949), p. 277: "Hic enim Quetick erat rusticus filius filii

temporal laws. Time was measured by the three or four generations that together spanned a set of people, places, and things. Human memory could encompass with considerable precision the deeds of great-grandfathers — such as the Knights Henry, forebearers of the Czesławice clan, and Boguchwał Brukał. It reached perhaps even further back in the case of Kołacz, living "still in ancient days (*in diebus eciam antiquis*)"[10] and encompassing one or two generations more than the usual three-generation retrogression that literature accepted as reliable. In Henryków and nearby, the most important acts were those of people whose names had a mnemonic value in an area of a dozen or so square kilometers. Even space was relative, however, because horizons were not bounded simply by a radius of some ten kilometers, but, rather, measured by the observer's own interests and experience. For example, we know more about the history of villages to the west of the monastery than of those to the east, because such was the experience and interest of one scribe. "Olden times" were also not necessarily bounded by the barriers of a few generations; on occasion they could reach as far back as the rule of Boleslas the Tall, that is, into the last third of the twelfth century. From the thickets of human memory certain place-names emerged which for the writer were older than others he mentioned and whose rather remote founders he identified. For example, one finds the time reference "in ancient days a forest around this brook was called Budzów (*diebus antiquis silva circa hunc rivulum vocabatur Budscow*)," before the village of Budzów actually existed in that place.[11] Into this reference system the compiler of the *Liber fundationis claustri* in Henryków added a different sense of time by introducing annual dates connected with quotations from dated documents, thus representing a different historical perspective.

Another example of relativism in historical understanding can be seen in the necrologies kept by Polish abbeys, all the more interesting because they were prepared by a circle of educated literary men versed in, among other things, diplomatics and annalistics and therefore accustomed to keeping records in terms of years, months, and days. Such records, kept to mark the anniversaries of deceased members of the community, do not place the obituaries outside a general concept of time. Some people listed

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prefati Glambonis et erat valde antiquus, unde recordabatur facta multorum annorum."

10 *Księga Henrykowska*, p. 284.

11 *Księga Henrykowska*, p. 285.

there were felt to be of historical significance, such as "Peter, the lord, founder of this place (*Petrus comes fundator loci*)" in St. Vincent's abbey (April 16). Even those unknown to us are identified in a way that was completely understandable to the author — "Bogumiła, hand-maiden of the house (*Bogumila famula domux*)" (March 28), or "Conrad who was killed (*Conradus qui fuit occisus*)" (March 27).[12] Those people belonged to history because memory of them was still alive, if only in cyclical recurrence, in annual prayers, and in a reference system where linear time had no value at all. An interesting contrast between the two perceptions of time is provided by the subsequent additions to the medieval necrologies in which omission of the year of death was no longer thinkable. The more modern attitude that resulted in the additions went back to the fourteenth century. Yet it would appear that the two different perceptions of time coexisted earlier and continued to coexist even to the present.

Doubtlessly, in the Middle Ages there was also a historical tradition involving general questions of community which lacked even a relative reference to time. Until recently such nonhistorical traditions were studied only by cultural anthropologists, but now they are considered legitimate research concerns by cultural historians, as well. For example, the Balto-Slavic fairy tale about the fight of the god of thunder with the demon Zmij/Zmej recorded in the nineteenth or the twentieth century has been proved, through linguistic evidence, to originate in a myth that dates back to proto-Indo-European times, and thus represents a cosmological and cultural view of the world that has survived many centuries.[13] More tangible evidence comes from ethnic onomastics: for example, the name "Slav" has provided a sense of community among the Slavs which, despite its loose character, was vividly felt throughout the Middle Ages. This awareness of common origins stimulated the intellectual elite to provide its historical features in works such as the "Tale of Bygone Years" and the prologue to the annals of Greater Poland.[14] A historical theme need not always be chronological to be valuable on several social levels. One example of this was the use of the term for antiquity in legal titles — "since from antiquity, since a time of which no memory exists (*ab antiqua a*

[12] *MPH*, n.s., vol. 9, pt. 1 (1971), s.v.

[13] V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov, *Issledovaniia v oblasti slavianskix drevnostei* (Moscow, 1974), p. 75ff.

[14] *Povest' vremennyx let*, ed. by S. Lixačev and V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1950), p. 11; *MPH*, n.s., 8 (1970):5.

tempore quo non existit memoria)" — to justify full- or part-ownership. In such instances, it was not necessary to specify the number of years, unless the title came under canon or secular law with prescriptive rights measured in years.[15] Besides, in the medieval mentality an important contradiction existed between the authority of tradition and innovative ideas, for tradition possessed an authority outside of time, as the ancient authors did.[16]

As we have seen thus far, historical consciousness, or a sense of history in terms of form and content, remained active on some levels of cognition and understanding. However, in the Middle Ages, it did not assume a shape anything like the one it has today. More than an understanding of manifold time dimensions is needed to make history a formative power in highly organized social life. The society itself must undergo radical change. It must form social groups interested in selecting past phenomena on the basis of an accepted hierarchy of values and in cultivating those phenomena perceived as important for social cohesion, most particularly for political and ethnic ties. Already at the beginning of Polish statehood, the governing elite broadened the range of its consciousness. With surprising ease it adopted forms or models from contemporary European intellectual culture, supplementing them with native content provided by Polish and foreign men of letters alike.

To the already existing political tradition illustrated by the predecessors of Mieszko I, the governing elite introduced a truly linear sequence of time by more careful recording of dates and events in annals. In the epic prose of Gallus Anonymus, an evolutionary sequence of phenomena was carefully selected and taken as far back as possible to explain the origins and splendor of the reigning dynasty against the background of Poland during that period.[17] The role of Cracow as the capital encouraged Magister Vincentius Kadłubek to establish its local traditions and at the same time to combine Polish history with universal history in an erudite, literary formulation.[18] Analogous efforts had already occurred in the oldest annals, whose earliest parts were borrowed and copied; although

15 W. Sobociński, in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich/Lexicon Antiquitatum Slavicarum* 4 (1970):374–75.
16 J. S. Preus, "Theological Legitimation for Innovation in the Middle Ages," *Viator* 3 (1972):3; P. Pacewicz, "Innovatio w średniowiecznej świadomości społecznej," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 21 (1976):103ff.
17 *MPH*, n.s., vol. 2 (1952), I, 1–4.
18 *MPH*, vol. 2 (1872/1961), I, 7.

the events described were totally irrelevant to Poland's past, they had meaning and value in establishing Poland's place in the general stream of history. The annalist of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter accomplished this in 1266 by including from Isidore's chronicle an appropriate excerpt about the beginning of the world. Thus, in the eyes of its compiler, an earlier preamble from foreign annals passed harmoniously into Polish annals.[19]

The selecting of events to create a tradition, as Magister Vincentius probably did, is all the more noteworthy because it determined the shape of that tradition in the minds of educated Poles for the next centuries. These early historical efforts have been brilliantly revived by modern scholarship. Recent analyses have focused on political and national as well as dynastic trends in historical selection — an emphasis shared, in fact, by historians in the thirteenth century despite their limitations. Whether the effort had its intended effect can be determined by looking at the long, if uneven, tradition of historical writing that led to the illustrious work of John Długosz.[20] That history performed the function of collecting the contributions of many generations and preserving them for posterity's use as the occasion arose, especially during periods of political fragmentation and of partial reunification of the kingdom. The historical treasury has been drawn upon to provide themes for compensation, revindication, and integration, and to provide moral and legal justification for endeavors both accomplished and intended.

That links exist between the attitudes of a particular political stratum and its historical writing is undeniable; without such links, chroniclers would simply not have written. We know that their works were read. The invaluable accounts of witnesses to the struggles between the Poles and the Teutonic Knights in the fourteenth century have been quoted many times over to prove the existence of a national consciousness and to show how much it owes to history both recounted and experienced. In those statements we find a sense of relative time, even in the mouths of bishops who could answer a question about the year of an event with "I don't remember (*non recordor*)," e.g., Florian, the bishop of Płock in 1320; yet, this did not prevent them, as a political class, from retaining infallible

[19] See the fragment from Isidore of Seville quoted in "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej," published in *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, ed. by Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, in *MPH*, n.s., 5 (1978):23.
[20] A recent edition is Ioannis Dlugossi, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* (Warsaw, 1964).

knowledge of the legal rights and historical titles to Polish possessions.[21]

To consider the second major component of historical consciousness, according to our initial formulation, we should turn briefly to interest in the use of the past and to its application in historical cognition. Each epoch, obviously, recreates its own past and rewrites history in its own way. Five centuries of Polish learning during the Middle Ages showed cognitive desires and efforts to have history respond to the needs of the secular and clerical elite. We can infer the questions these Polish writers put to history by examining the various literary genres of history in a broad sense, including hagiography, inscriptions, and other traces of interest in past events, and their anxiety to leave information about themselves for posterity. Indeed, a deep passion for history entails an appreciation and recording of present events. In the Polish Middle Ages, a powerful driving force of the individual and collective psyche — though certainly not always completely conscious — was at work, as well. Evident in it was the struggle of man against oblivion in his brief time on earth, which often took to heart the Biblical imperative of the Lord to Moses: "Write this for a memorial in a book" (Exodus 17:14). This biblical reference led Isidore of Seville to make the following distinction: "History is of times we can see, while annals are of those years which our age has not known (*Historia est earum temporum quae vidimus, annales vero sunt eorum annorum quos aetas nostra non novit*)" (1.41). These subtleties were not, to be sure, shared at the terminological level, but Gallus's practice indicates that alongside the annalistic attitude toward history was another one which sought to explain present happenings in terms of what had occurred before. In the case of Gallus Anonymus, the relative importance of present and past can be seen in the ratio of the two books dealing with contemporary time to the one devoted to the past which together comprised his three-volume work.

Generally speaking, the interests of Polish historians and their patrons involved church affairs and both politics and foreign policy — that is, both the struggle for power within the ruling elite and the struggle to defend or expand the territory of the elite. That effort led to the collection of a variety of information dealing with every sphere of the historical

[21] H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim w XIV wieku* (Poznań, 1967).

process, from politics and society to economy and culture. In the minds of writers, however, there was always a hierarchy of values, conditioned by the political, social, and religious order, which determined the degree of attention they devoted to various matters. A rather high place in that hierarchy was held by hagiographical testimonies; next came histories of bishoprics in the form of catalogues, and then histories of church institutions, which took the form of late medieval codices with copies of charters and other documents. The writers were also concerned with genealogies of dynasties and noble families, although these concerns have left only modest traces. It is probable that many genealogical legends and myths recorded by Bartosz Paprocki in the mid-sixteenth century were also created by the end of the Middle Ages.

Was the desire of Polish historians to learn about the past limited to native themes? Along with the links with universal history mentioned earlier and the work of Martinus Polonus, which had a tremendous European impact, religious history was of particular importance. Its principal source was the Bible and, later, the various texts based on the Bible that began to arrive in Poland in the fourteenth century. Biblical history also shaped the historical imagination at its cognitive and philosophical foundations, particularly after translations into the vernacular began to provide a vocabulary for Polish historical abstractions and realities. In the context of linguistic problems in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, one finds two meanings for *dawność* 'the past' — one of the past as prescriptive right and the other of the past as antiquity. Similarly, there were two meanings for *dzieje* 'history' — one for acts as events or *gesta*, a word which took root in the spoken language, and the other synonymous with the documentary term *acta*, a word which had no future in the Polish language.[22] The word *historia* was adopted by Polish in the fifteenth century to mean a historical work.[23] Attempts were made to introduce *pamięci*, 'mémoires', or *księgi pamiętne* 'memoir books', for chronicles, but these words were not accepted.[24] Biblical, Marian, Christological, and hagiographical literature supplied many Latin concepts and phrases for native history which remained until the appearance of Joachim Bielski's history in the vernacular.

22 "*W dawności* 'in antiquitate'" [1471]; "*diurnitate alias* 'dawnością'" [= "praescriptio," passim, fourteenth-fifteenth century texts]; *Słownik Staropolski*, 2:38ff.
23 *Słownik Staropolski*, 2:543.
24 Plural only: *pamięci*. "'Commentariis' *w pamięciach*" [1471], "in commentariis id est libris w pamiętnych," *Słownik Staropolski*, 6:14–16.

The third element involved in a discussion of historical consciousness is to what extent people grasped the meaning of the past and the reason for its study — that is, its pragmatic significance or usefulness to society. The author of the prologue to the annals of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter provided an answer to this question in the mid-thirteenth century which, though not original, remained an intellectual stereotype for the entire epoch. In his opinion, history brought facts together for the purpose of providing information about customs (*ad morum informacionem*), of recognizing and denouncing evil (*ad malorum cognicionem et detestacionem*), and for assuring posterity's knowledge of the past (*ad cautelam futurorum quia preteriti cognicio scire futura facit*).[25] The first aim was cognitive, the second involved moral judgment, and the third implied prediction or foresight. Taken together they seem to be modest enough aims, considering the grandiose philosophical and theological ambitions of the period. But they betray an awareness that history as recounted narrative history, the literature of fact — although it had still not set itself the goal of explaining the past or, in particular, of establishing causal links — was considered useful for contemporaries and even necessary for the functioning of a fully developed society at three levels simultaneously: as an information bank, as an ideology, and as a means for future prognosis. Some time earlier than the anonymous Cracow chronicler, Orderic Vitalis expressed a similar rationale for his profession: "I cannot explain the will of God that made this happen. I cannot reach the hidden causes of things. But when asked by my companions, I simply tell the story year by year." This modest ambition was beneficial for the climate of culture and the development of historical writing, because it adhered as closely as possible to perceptible reality and, thus, to contemporary needs.

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25 *MPH*, n.s., 5:21 ff.: "Quia vero in tradicionibus annalium gestorum quedam colligi possunt ad morum informacionem, quedam ad malorum cognicionem et destestationem, quia malum nisi cognitum est sane non vitatur, quodam vero ad cautelam futurorum quia pr[e]teriti cognicio scire futura facit —."

The *Polovci Dikii*

PETER B. GOLDEN

The absence of unity among the Cuman nomad tribes (Qıpčaqs, Polovcians) of the Ukrainian-North Caucasian steppelands in the two centuries before the Mongol conquest was obvious even to strangers.[1] The origins of this disunity are probably attributable to the migrations and dislocations of peoples that had brought the Qıpčaq tribes westward.[2] Their failure to form a unified state can in part be ascribed to the influence of their sedentary neighbors, the federation of Eastern Slavic principalities ruled by the Rjurikid dynasty. The Rjurikids presented an even greater spectacle of internal discord because the ready availability of nomadic auxiliary forces, either Cuman or *Černyj klobuk,*[3] prevented any one branch of the fractious Rjurikids from gaining ascendancy over any other. Cuman involvement in the internecine strife in Rus', particularly in the twelfth century, exacerbated the centrifugal tendencies found in any nomadic society.

Our sources do not indicate that the Rus' *bellum omnium* had its counterpart in Cumania. They do, however, reveal the presence of several

[1] Cf. the comments of Petaḥia in *The Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon,* ed. and trans. by A. Benisch (London, 1856), Hebrew text, p. 4, and translation, p. 5.

[2] On the Qūn migration see al-Marwazī, *Sharāf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India,* ed. and trans. by V. F. Minorsky (London, 1942), Arabic text, p. 18, and translation, pp. 29–30.

[3] The Černye klobuki ("Black Hoods") consisted of remnants of the Oğuz/Torks, the Pečenegs and lesser groups such as the Berendei, Kui/Kovui, Turpei, and Kaepiči (*Qay-opa/oba*). The relationship of the latter to the Central Asian Qāy of our Muslim authors (see fn. 2) who helped precipitate the Qūn/Quman migration is unclear. They are mentioned once in the Hypatian Chronicle s.a. 1160; see the *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*) vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1908; reprint, Moscow, 1962), col. 507, in connection with Berendei.

The Černye klobuki were organized by the princes of Kiev to act as a buffer against the Cumans. The latter had smashed the Pečeneg tribal union and the western groups of the Oğuz in the first half of the eleventh century; see S. A. Pletneva, "Pečenegi, torki i polovcy v južnorusskix stepjax," *Trudy Volgo-Donskoj arxeologičeskoj èkspedicii,* vol. 1: *Materialy i issledovanija po arxeologii SSR* (hereafter *MIA*), 62 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958): 218–219; and her recent *Drevnosti Černyx klobukov,* in *Arxeologija SSSR: Svod arxeologičeskix istočnikov,* no. E1-19 (Moscow, 1973), pp. 24ff.

Cuman subconfederations pursuing policies which paralleled or complemented those of their Rus' allies (and often kinsmen), one of the most important of which was that of the "Wild" Cumans, the *Polovci dikii* of the Rus' sources. The origin of this term is not altogether clear. As with *Polovci* in the language of Old Rus', which was a calque from Turkic *quman* ("pale," "pale-yellow," "pallid," cf. Arm. *Xartēs,* Ger. *Valwen,* Slav. *polovoj, polovyj*),[4] *dikij* may have reflected some Cuman word.[5] Many scholars, however, consider it a technical term used in Rus' to designate those Cuman groups who did not enter into regular treaty relationships with the Rus'.[6] Neither proposition necessarily excludes the other. The usage, regardless of its ultimate origins, reflects a Kiev-centered perspective. The Wild Cumans did not usually enter into agreements with the ruling princes of Kiev, but this did not prevent them from having relatively long and stable alliances with other Rus' factions. When one of those factions gained control of Kiev, conflict usually ensued. The conflict was inevitable because one of the principal sources of military support available to the ruler of Kiev was the *Černyj klobuk* confederation which, despite marriage and kinship ties to some of the Cuman clans, was consistently hostile toward the Wild Cumans.

The "Non-Wild" Cumans, as Omeljan Pritsak has shown,[7] were divided into two groups (in keeping with the well-attested Turkic bipartite principle in state structures), both centered on the Middle and Lower Dnieper

[4] J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen* in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen,* Philologisch-Historische Klasse, n.s., 13, no. 1 (1914):28–30, 55; Gy. Németh, "Die Volksnamen *quman* und *qun,*" *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* 3 (1940):95ff.; A. L. Ponomarev, "Kuman-polovcy," *Vestnik drevnej istorii,* 1940, nos. 3–4, pp. 366–70; A. Zajączkowski, *Związki językowe połowiecko-słowiańskie* (Wrocław, 1949), pp. 8–10; I. G. Dobrodomov, "O poloveckix ètnonimax v drevnerusskoj literature," *Tjurkologičeskij sbornik* (Moscow), 1975, pp. 102–129. Cf. also a new variant attempting to connect *Qıpčaq, Quman,* and *Qumuq*: A. Kononov, "K ètimologii ètnonimov kypčak, kuman, kumyk," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 48 (1976): 159–66.

[5] Turkic tribal names often develop as a result of dramatic events in the life of a tribe; cf. Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (hereafter *HMK*) (Budapest, 1930), p. 36. The term "Wild" Cuman might have arisen in connection with those Cuman tribes who, following their defeat at the hands of Vladimir Monomax, retreated to the North Caucasian steppes and Georgia (see Pletneva, "Pečenegi, torki," p. 224). Perhaps these "wild" and "untamed" elements living on the periphery of the Kievan Rus'/Non-Wild Cuman symbiosis developed the name as a symbol of defiance against Kiev.

[6] O. Pritsak, "Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," in *To Honor Roman Jakobson,* vol. 2 (The Hague and Paris, 1967), p. 1615; V. V. Kargalov, *Vnešnepolitičeskie faktory razvitija feodal'noj Rusi* (Moscow, 1967), p. 49.

[7] Pritsak, "Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," pp. 1617–23.

— the Burč-oğlı/Burč-eviči and the Ulaš-oğlı/Ulaševiči on the Left Bank, and the İt-oğlı/İt-oba and Urusoviči/Urus-oba on the Right Bank. The Wild Cumans were probably to their east, along the Don and Donec' rivers. They may have ranged as far north as the Rjazan' region and southward to Tmutorokan'.[8] If the Non-Wild Cumans can be identified with al-Idrisī's "White Cumania," the Wild Cumans may well correspond to his "Black Cumania."[9]

The Wild Cumans are closely associated with three separate branches of the Rjurikids: the Ol'goviči, descendants of Oleg Svjatoslavič (d. 1115), the grandson of Jaroslav I (*reg.* 1019–1054); the Davydoviči, descendants of Oleg's brother, Davyd; and the house of Jurij Dolgorukij (d. 1157), a son of Vladimir Monomax (d. 1125), who was also a grandson of Jaroslav I. They are first noted by the Rus' chroniclers s.a. 1146 (the same year that the name Černyj klobuk is first recorded), when they were brought in by the Ol'govič ruler of Kiev, Vsevolod II (1139–46), against Vladimirko of Galicia.[10] They appear again that year as allies of Svjatoslav Ol'govič following the seizure of the Kievan throne by Izjaslav Mstislavič (a grandson of Vladimir Monomax). Izjaslav's cause was greatly aided by the Černye klobuki who, like the population of Kiev, tended to be anti-Ol'govič.[11] Svjatoslav eventually sought sanctuary in Suzdal' with the Monomašič, Jurij Dolgorukij. Among the forces then called on by Svjatoslav in his coalition against Izjaslav Mstislavič were his uncles, the Wild Cumans Tjunrak Osouloukovič and his brother Kamosa.[12] In these hostilities, the chronicles also mention that Cuman forces aided the opponents of the Ol'govič-Suzdal' coalition. Rostislav Jaroslavič of Rjazan',

[8] Pletneva, "Pečenegi, torki," p. 224; idem, *Drevnosti Černyx klobukov*, pp. 27–28. For Cuman clan and tribal names in *-oba/opa*, see Zajączkowski, *Związki*, pp. 38–41.

[9] Idrisī, *Geographie d'Edrisi: Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert, vol. 5, pts. 1–2 (Paris, 1836–1840), pt. 2:400, 404; see also B. A. Rybakov, "Russkie zemli po karte Idrisi 1154 goda," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta material'noj kul'tury* 43 (1952): 13, 16, 17, 38, 43–44. Further comments by Rybakov on this appear in his *Slovo o polku Igoreve i ego sovremenniki* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 100, 240. Medieval Hungaro-Latin sources also mention the *Comanorum Alborum terra* and the *Nigrorum Comanorum terra*: see Simon de Keza in *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum*, ed. by E. Szentpétery et al., vol. 1 (Budapest, 1937), pp. 146, 148, 165. Unfortunately, they are not helpful in attributing specific territories to the groups.

[10] *PSRL*, 2:319.

[11] *PSRL*, 2:328.

[12] *PSRL*, 2:334; V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija rossijskaja*, vols. 1–7 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962–68), 2:161–71. Tjunrak = Turk. *tün* (K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (hereafter *KWb*) [Copenhagen, 1952], p. 259) 'Nacht' + suffix *-räk/-raq* = "darkish." Cf. Nogay *aq-raq* 'weisslich', *kög-ürek* 'bläulich, grünlich', in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed. by J. Deny et al., vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 466 and the

for example, fled to the Cumans of El'touk from the sons of Jurij Dolgorukij.[13]

This was not the first time that the Ol'goviči had made use of their familial and political Cuman connections. In fact, the tradition began with Svjatoslav's father Oleg, who brought in Cumans to fight his Rus' enemies in 1078.[14] They were similarly employed by the Ol'goviči in 1094, 1127, 1135, 1136 (where they are called the *Polovci Olgově*), 1138–1139, and 1144.[15] In light of these long-standing ties, it is reasonable to assume that the Cuman allies of the Ol'goviči during the 1130s (and perhaps as early as 1127) were these same Wild Cumans.

In 1147, Wild Cumans, along with others, again collaborated with Svjatoslav and his Rus' allies. The sources single out the Toksobiči (Toqsoba), an important Cuman clan, as one of the forces joining the Ol'govič prince. Svjatoslav placed them under the command of Soudimir[16] Koučebič (i.e., a member, if not the ruling khan, of the Küč-ebä "nomad" clan) and Gorěn. These Cumans were now operating closely not only with the Ol'goviči, but with Izjaslav Davydovič and Glěb Jur'evič, Dolgorukij's son, as well.[17] The Cumans who made peace that year with Izjaslav Mstislavič at Voin'[18] were probably Non-Wild Cumans. Thus, the hitherto existing pattern of alliances was maintained during the hostilities of 1148–1149. The Cuman allies of Jurij Dolgorukij are specifically identified as Polovci dikii,[19] who journeyed to the area of combat (Perejaslav) "from afar." We encounter them continuously in the early 1150s, as Dolgorukij struggled to gain the Kievan throne. Dolgorukij's allies of

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Mamluk Qıpčaq name formed with *-räk*: يكرك *yägräk* 'meilleur', in J. Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks," *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1950): 56. Cf. also *tünärig/tünärik* 'tëmnyj, mračnyj', in V. M. Nadeljaev et al., *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (hereafter *DTS*) (Leningrad, 1969), p. 597.

13 *PSRL*, 2: 339.

14 *PSRL*, vol. 1 (Leningrad, 1926), col. 200; *PSRL*, 2: 191.

15 *PSRL*, 2: 216, 290–91, 295–96, 297–99, 301, 304; *PSRL*, 1: 226, 296, 302–303, 304, 305–306, 311. The Cuman chieftains are named only for the 1127 campaign: Seluk (? **Selük*, cf. the Qaraim surname *Selük-Sülük* 'pijavka', *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*, ed. by N. A. Baskakov et al. [Moscow, 1974], pp. 501, 678) and *Taš'* ('kamen', *DTS*, p. 539); see *PSRL*, 1: 296; *PSRL*, 2: 290. Tatiščev, *Istorija*, 2: 139, has the form *Oseluk*; it is unclear whether this should be connected with *Osuluk*, the father of Tjunrak and Kamosa noted above.

16 Perhaps a Slavicization of Turk. *Sütemir*, *Sü* 'vojsko', *DTS*, p. 516; *temir/temür* 'železo', *DTS*, p. 551.

17 *PSRL*, 2: 341–42, 356–60; *PSRL*, vol. 9 (St. Petersburg, 1862), p. 178.

18 *PSRL*, 1: 315; M. D. Priselkov, *Troickaja letopis': Rekonstrukcija teksta* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 222.

19 *PSRL*, 2: 360–61, 374, 377, 379, 386; *PSRL*, 9: 180.

1151, again identified as Wild Cumans,[20] included "Sevenč Bonjakovič, the Wild Cuman who said 'I wish to plant my sword in the Golden Gates [of Kiev] just as my father did'."[21] Sevenč,[22] who perished in combat, was the son of the famous Bonjak whose career can be traced back to the early 1090s.[23] This clear association of the line of Bonjak with the Wild Cumans is significant. It was probably one of the two ruling houses of this confederation.[24]

In 1152, Jurij, angry over the burning of Gorodok by Izjaslav, gathered the "Otperljueve, Toksobiči and the whole of the Cuman land between the Volga and the Dnieper."[25] The "Otperlju-eve" are probably to be connected with the "Operьljueve" of the *Slovo o pьlku Igoreve,* both of which may be garblings of **Alp-erlü,*[26] a form which is found in the listings of Qıpčaq tribes given by Muslim authors: *al-b.rlū'/al-b.rlī=alp-erlü.*[27] Despite this sizable force, Jurij's offensive met with no success. His opponents staged a counterattack against his Cuman allies, their camps on the

[20] *PSRL,* 2:423.
[21] *PSRL,* 2:432.
[22] Turk. *sevinč,* cf. Grønbech, *KWb,* p. 223; *sövünč* 'Freude'.
[23] Cf. the Uighur name *Böngäk*: S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1951), p. 208. L. Rásonyi ("Türk özel adları ve leksikografyası," in *XI Türk Dil Kurultayında okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler, 1966* [Ankara, 1966], p. 44) attempts to derive it from **bön-* 'alt werden, altersschwach werden' and places it in the category of "protective" names. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1958), 2:181, connects it with the name of the sixth-century Sogdian Μανιάχ sent by the Türks to Constantinople (N. V. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantija na putjax v Indiju* [Moscow and Leningrad, 1951], p. 202, explained this as Syriac *Mani-ax* 'brother of Mani') and with the eleventh-century Byzantine general Γεώργιος Μανιάκης. The Byzantine form of Bonjak is Μανιάκης; see V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Vizantija i Pečenegi,* in his *Trudy,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 98, fn. 2. If Moravcsik's linking of Μανιάχ ~ Μανιάκης is correct, it could point to Manichaeanism among the Cumans. Rus' sources record his activities s.a. 1096, 1097, 1105, 1106, 1129 (*PSRL,* 2:221, 245–46, 257, 258, 303). It is unclear whether this was the same Bonjak who was defeated by Oleg Svjatoslavič in 1166/67 (*PSRL* 2:527), but it seems unlikely, for he would have been a centenarian (or close to it) by then. He was killed somewhere in the Kiev region at an unspecified time (*PSRL,* 2:646).
[24] Thus, Könčäk (*PSRL,* 2:646, s.a. 1185), who represented one of the Wild Cuman ruling houses, called him "our grand prince."
[25] *PSRL,* 2:455. The Nikon Chronicle (*PSRL,* 9:195) calls the Cuman leaders Temir, Dulep, and Berdaša, but they are otherwise unidentified, and since their names have a later, Mongol or post-Mongol character, they should be treated with caution.
[26] K. H. Menges, "The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos, the Igor' Tale," supplement to *Word,* monograph no. 1 (New York, 1951), p. 42.
[27] See ad-Dimašqi, *Nuxbat ad-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa'l-Baḥr,* ed. by A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 264, and Ibn Xaldūn, *Ta'rīx ibn Xaldūn al-musammā bi-Kitāb al-'Ibar* (Cairo and Bulaq, 1284/1867-68; reprint, Beirut, 1391/1971), 5:372: البرلوا (al-b.rlū') البرلى (al-b.rlī).

Ugol (now Orel') and Samara rivers were overrun, and many Rus' prisoners were liberated.[28] The camps were probably to the east-northeast of the quarters of the Non-Wild Cumans, the Ulaševiči identified by Pritsak.[29] A subsequent campaign in 1153, to the Pslo, again led by Mstislav Izjaslavič, "did not reach them and returned."[30]

The death of both Izjaslav Mstislavič and Vjačeslav Vladimirovič (Jurij's brother) brought dissension to the enemy camp, and that, combined with the unsettling presence of Cuman forces under Glěb Jur'evič, allowed the Suzdalian prince to take Kiev on 20 March 1155. According to the Nikon Chronicle, the Cuman princes who aided Jurij were Čemgura, Berdebek, and Temir (perhaps the same figure noted s.a. 1152).[31]

Once in possession of Kiev, Jurij quickly learned that his relations with the Cumans would be complicated by the presence of the Černye klobuki attached to the Kievan throne, as they remained throughout his brief reign (1155–1157). In the spring of 1155 the sources report a Cuman raid on the Ros' river region.[32] Jurij's son Vasil'ko pursued the raiders with a force of Berendei, overtook them, captured some, and killed others. In all likelihood, these were Non-Wild Cumans with whom the new government had not yet come to terms. Sometime later, Jurij went to Kaniv, one of the Rus' negotiating sites, with the Non-Wild Cumans for a peace conference:

> The Cumans came to him and began to ask for the [release] of their brethren whom the Berendei had captured. The Berendici would not hand them over, saying "We die for the Rus' land alongside your son and lay down our lives for your honor." Diurgi did not put any pressure on them [the Berendei] but gave the Cumans gifts and sent them off.[33]

28 *PSRL,* 1: 339; *PSRL,* 2:460.
29 Pritsak, "Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," p. 1623.
30 *PSRL,* 1:340; *PSRL,* 2:466.
31 *PSRL,* 9:200; see also A. G. Kuz'min, *Rjazanskoe letopisanie* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 96–97. Although the names themselves are suspect, the continuity of certain forms probably points to the same group of Cuman allies in Jurij's camp, i.e., the Wild Cumans. This alliance did not, however, render him immune to Cuman problems. A notice in the L'vov Chronicle (*PSRL,* vol. 20, pt. 1 [St. Petersburg, 1910], p. 117) for the year 1154 mentions a decisive and humiliating defeat inflicted on Andrej Bogoljubskij, Jurij's son, by Rostislav of Rjazan' and his Cuman allies. The latter were probably the horde of El'touk whom we have already encountered.
32 *PSRL,* 1:345; *PSRL,* 2:479; on the spring date, see N. G. Berežkov, *Xronologija russkogo letopisanija* (Moscow, 1963), p. 167.
33 *PSRL,* 2:479–80; cf. also *PSRL,* 2:345–46 which adds that the Cumans "having received gifts . . . went away not having concluded a peace. They caused much trouble around Perejaslav."

A second round of negotiations was required. Jurij again went to Kaniv. The Cumans were camped at a distance: "He sent a message to the Cumans saying 'Come to me for peace.' A small party of Cumans came, as if for reconnaissance (*jako na rozgljadanie*), and said 'tomorrow we will all come to you.' That night they all fled."[34] In 1156 a peace was finally concluded at Zarub. The Rus' chronicler notes that "a great multitude" of Cumans came for this conference, suggesting the presence of both Wild and Non-Wild Cumans. Izjaslav Davydovič, who seized power in Kiev after Jurij's death, renewed the peace in 1157,[35] and thereafter, the Wild Cumans, his allies in the past, were even more closely associated with his cause, as was soon apparent from the events that followed his accession to power. Apprehensive over the growing might of Jaroslav of Galicia, Izjaslav had tacitly supported the piratical adventures of Ivan Rostislavič "Berladnik" along the Danubian towns, where he made use of Cuman bands to interfere with Galician fishermen. His success encouraged Izjaslav to risk war with Jaroslav, for which he attempted to enlist the support of the Ol'goviči, his kinsmen, who held his own former patrimony of Černihiv. Svjatoslav Ol'govič, however, sought to dissuade him from reviving Rus' internecine strife by reminding him of the widespread destruction of his own *otčina,* seven of whose towns had lost their population and had become the preserve of hunters and nomadizing Cumans.[36] Izjaslav Davydovič ignored these warnings and brought in twenty thousand Wild Cumans under Baškord[37] to supplement his Kievan forces (including the Černye klobuki). Mstislav Izjaslavič, who had been popular with the Černye klobuki when his father directed the government of Kiev, joined forces with Jaroslav. The Černye klobuki led by the Berendei chiefs Tudor Satmazovič, Karakoz' Mnjuzovič, Karas, and Kokěi, apprehensive over the ties established between the Davydovič grand prince and the Wild Cumans, betrayed him at Bilhorod, where he was besieging Mstislav. He fled, relinquishing Kiev to Mstislav, who

[34] *PSRL,* 1:346; *PSRL,* 2:480–81.
[35] *PSRL,* 2:484–85, 496.
[36] *PSRL,* 2:496–99.
[37] Ethnonyms are frequently used by the Turkic peoples as personal names (Németh, *HMK,* pp. 82–84). Other examples of this among the Cumans can be seen in the names *Kitan* (*PSRL,* 2:217; cf. also the Cuman clan *Kitanopa, PSRL,* 2:255, deriving from *Qitań,* the Proto-Mongolian tribal confederation) and *Kuman* (*PSRL,* 2:229). For etymologies of Bašqort, etc., see Németh, *HMK,* pp. 309–313, and the recent survey in R. G. Kuzeev, *Proisxoždenie baškirskogo naroda* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 447–49.

entered it in December 1158 and passed the city and the seniority of rule to his uncle Rostislav in the spring of 1159.[38]

Rostislav Mstislavič (*reg.* 1159–1161) had briefly held Kiev in 1154; now ruler once again, he soon had to face sizable Cuman forces. The first hint of trouble was a Cuman attack in the Perejaslav region led by Santuz, a Cuman prince who perished in the raid when it was repulsed by Oleg Svjatoslavič, an Ol'govič, in July 1159. The Ol'goviči had uneasily thrown in their lot with Rostislav, which was a marked shift in policy. Izjaslav Davydovič (on whose behalf Santuz was probably acting) now brought "the whole of the Cuman force" toward Černihiv. Beaten back by an Ol'govič-Kievan-Galician army, he soon reappeared, only to be beaten off again, largely through the efforts of the Berendei and Kaepiči (Qay-oba) who in the process liberated "many of their own people whom the Cumans had captured."[39] Undaunted, Izjaslav, again relying on Cumans, returned once more and continued to press his attack. This time he won over most of the Ol'goviči, with the notable exception of Svjastoslav Ol'govič. In February 1161, Izjaslav again entered Kiev. In his subsequent campaigns against Rostislav and Mstislav, he was aided by Cumans, now clearly identified in the sources as the Wild Cumans, in all likelihood the very same Cuman allies (not otherwise labeled in the sources) who had previously supported his cause. The campaign of 1161 proved to be his last. Izjaslav was defeated and killed in retreat by the Tork warrior Voibor Genečevič. The Cumans (again presumably Wild Cumans) took revenge. A group which appears to have been associated with Prince Satmaz raided the Černyj klobuk settlement at "Gjurgev" and killed Voibor. Two of Satmaz's sons were captured by the pursuing Černye klobuki.[40]

The sources are then silent on the subject of the Wild Cumans for almost a decade, so their subsequent activities can only be conjectured. Their closest allies in Rus', Jurij Dolgorukij and Izjaslav Davydovič, had both died. Andrej Bogoljubskij, Jurij's son and successor and himself a grandson of the khan Aepa,[41] reversed many of his father's policies and

[38] *PSRL,* 1:348; *PSRL,* 2:500–1; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrainy-Rusy* (Lviv, 1898–1937; reprint, New York, 1954–58), 2:182–84.
[39] *PSRL,* 2:506–507.
[40] *PSRL,* 2:505–508, 512–21. *Satmaz* is a negativum aoristi form from *sat-* 'verkaufen'; Th. Houtsma, *Ein Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar* (hereafter *TAG*) (Leiden, 1894), pp. 30 and 75.
[41] *Ay-epa Ay-oba* (*ay* 'moon'), cf. ايبا *Ay*ª*ba* in Houtsma, *TAG,* Arabic text, p. 29.

launched an active campaign against the steppe. In 1160 (or 1162)[42] he led a force of northeastern Rus' princes deep into Cumania, far beyond the Don, in what proved to be a very costly campaign. Meanwhile in 1162 in Kiev Rostislav Mstislavič arranged the marriage of his son Rjurik to the daughter of the Non-Wild Cuman khan Beluk (= Begljuk ~ Biljuk: *Beğlük*).[43] Several years later (1165–1167) Cuman bands of undetermined affiliations were involved in the domestic strife of the Ol'goviči, a somewhat ironic turn, since the Ol'goviči had first introduced the Cumans into the internecine squabbles of the Rjurikids. These same Cumans then began to harry Rus' merchants traveling to Byzantium (the "grečniki" and "zalozniki"). The Ol'goviči now engaged in campaigns against the Cumans, an activity they had, for the most part, previously eschewed. Thus, in 1166, Oleg Svjatoslavič defeated a certain Bonjak, probably not the famous Wild Cuman mentioned above (fn. 23). In the winter of 1167–1168, the Ol'goviči attacked the winter camp of the hordes of Kozi and Beğlük.[44]

The death of Rostislav in 1167 led to a bitter struggle for power among his immediate kin. His nephew, Mstislav Izjaslavič, eventually acceded (May 1167) to an uneasy throne, but was unable to hold on to it for long, despite the excellent military and organizational abilities he displayed in his expedition against the Cumans on the Ugol, Snoporod, and Vorskla rivers and at the Black Forest (a Non-Wild Cuman refuge).[45] His reign was plagued by the intrigues of his uncle Vladimir Mstislavič and of the elements in the Černye klobuki who favored Vladimir's cause. Vladimir ultimately fled to the side of Andrej Bogoljubskij, whose forces, aided by the treachery of the Černye klobuki, toppled Mstislav. In March 1169, Andrej's son Mstislav took Kiev, sacked it, and then placed his uncle, Glěb Jur'evič (a grandson of khan Aepa and hitherto closely associated with the Wild Cumans) on the throne.[46]

Gleb encountered the same problems that had overthrown his father. Alliance with the Wild Cumans almost invariably brought with it the hostility of the Černye klobuki and the Non-Wild Cumans. The latter

[42] *PSRL*, 9:222; Tatiščev, *Istorija*, 3:78; Kuz'min, *Rjazanskoe letopisanie*, pp. 101 ff.
[43] *PSRL*, 2:521–22; Pritsak, "Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," p. 1619.
[44] *PSRL*, 2:525–28, 532; Tatiščev, *Istorija*, 3:81–83. These Cumans were most certainly Non-Wild, and hence the Ol'govič expeditions may not have marked a sharp departure from their long-standing alliance with the Wild Cumans.
[45] *PSRL*, 2:538–41; Rybakov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, pp. 135–36.
[46] *PSRL*, 2:543–45.

soon gave him particular cause for concern. When a large Cuman force entered Rus', Glěb was able to come to terms with the group at Perejaslav, but was forced to fight the tribes under "*İt-oğlı."[47] In 1170 he was faced with Mstislav Izjaslavič and his allies, including some of the Černye klobuki. Glěb was supported by the Wild Cumans (who now reappear in the sources), led by Könčäk[48] and his clan and the clan of Bastı (Basteeva čad') of the Berendei.[49] This is our first notice of Könčäk, an extraordinary figure among the Cuman khans, who succeeded in uniting many of the Cuman tribes.

The sources provide us with Könčäk's immediate family tree. His father was * Äträk/Ötrök[50] who, following a series of defeats at the hands of Vladimir Monomax in the early twelfth century, had withdrawn to the North Caucasian steppelands.[51] Äträk's daughter, Guaranduxt,[52] was married to Davit' Ağmašenebeli, the king of Georgia (*reg.* 1089–1125). In 1118, Davit' brought in Äträk's forces (some forty thousand warriors) to be used against the Oğuz tribes then terrorizing his land.[53]

47 *PSRL*, 1:357–61; *PSRL*, 2:555–59; *Troickaja letopis'*, ed. Priselkov, p. 247–49. *İt-oğlı* is most probably the name of the tribe involved in these events, as noted by Pritsak, "Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," pp. 1616–17. A similar pattern may be observed in connection with the Cuman raid on Kievan territory in 1171. See *PSRL*, 1:362–63; *PSRL*, 2:562–63; *PSRL*, vol. 25 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), p. 82.

48 Cuman: Grønbech, *KWb*, p. 151 *könček* 'Hosen'. Cf. the Qıpčaq Mamlūk name كنجك *Könčäk* (Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks," p. 55); see also the remarks of P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* in his *Oevres posthumes*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), pp. 95–96.

49 *PSRL*, 2:548–50; Tatiščev, *Istorija*, 3:94–95.

50 *Otrok* in the language of Rus', *At'rak'a* in Georgian. Cf. the name of the Oğuz chieftain, اترك, *äträk*, encountered by Ibn Faḍlān (A.Z.V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. 34, pt. 3 (1939), Arabic text, p. 15, commentary, p. 142, "fuchsroter Mann." See also Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk*, facsimile ed., Türk Dil Kurumu (Ankara, 1941), p. 63: *äträk al-ašqar min ar-rijāl 'Äträk* a fair-skinned (-complexioned) man'.

51 *PSRL*, 2:716, the *evšan* tale. Ja. Fedorov and G. S. Fedorov, *Rannie Tjurki na Severnom Kavkaze* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 229–35, view this as part of a long-standing movement of the Cumans to the North Caucasus.

52 This is a Transcaucasian variant of the Iranian *Bahramduxt*; see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895; reprint, Hildesheim, 1963), p. 121. This was probably her Georgian throne name.

53 *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, ed. by S. Qauxč'išvili, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1955, 1959), pp. 335–37; I. Javaxišvili, *K'art'veli eris istoria*, vol. 2 (Tbilisi, 1965–1966), pp. 199–200, 214–16. These Cuman/Qıpčaqs continued to play an important role in Georgia in the century before the Mongol invasions. Figures such as Qubasar and Qutlu Arslan were leading personalities on the Georgian political scene during the latter part of the twelfth century (cf. V. Abašmadze, *Narkvevebi Sak'art'velos politikur modzğvrebat'a istoriidan* [Tbilisi, 1969], chap. 4). Additional Qıpčaq elements entered Georgia during the reign of Giorgi III (1156–84). During his daughter's reign, a distinction had to be made between the "New Qıpčaqs" (*qivč'aqni axalni*; *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, ed. Qauxč'iš-

Äträk's brother was Syrčan who also figures in the "*evšan* tale." Their father was the redoubtable warrior Šarukan'[54] and their uncle, Sugr. We know the name of one of Könčäk's brothers, Eltut, who was killed in 1180,[55] at that same engagement where two of Könčäk's sons were captured. Another son, Jurgi (perhaps a Christian), whom the Rus' chroniclers noted as being "greater than all the Cumans,"[56] was Könčäk's heir.

Our only clue as to the clan or tribal affiliations of the Šarukanids appears in a very late source. Tatiščev, who used (and not infrequently garbled) a number of manuscript traditions no longer extant,[57] mentions two Könčäks, "the Kazibairovič and the Tuskobič,"[58] in his account of Igor' Svjatoslavič's ill-fated expedition of 1185. The latter form is an obvious corruption of *Tuksobič/Toksobič*: *Toqs-oba,* a tribe noted s.a. 1147 and 1152 as closely associated with the Wild Cuman confederation. The Šarukanids, then, would appear to be the ruling clan of the Toqs-oba, who, undoubtedly because of the prestige attached to their royal clan,

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vili, 2:65) and those who had entered the country earlier, the *Naqivč'aqaras.* Queen T'amar (1184–1212), a great-granddaughter of Davit' Ağmašenebeli and Guaranduxt, took as her first husband Jurij Andreevič, a son of Bogoljubskij, who was brought to Georgia from "the city of Sevinǰ, king of the Qıpčaqs" (*K'art'lis C'xovreba,* ed. Qauxč'išvili, 2:36). The Sevinč after whom this town in Cumania was named was undoubtedly Sevenč Bonjakovič of the ruling Boniakid line in Wild Cumania, who had been killed many years before. Towns in Cumania took the names of the prominent khans, whose winter quarters they presumably had been: cf. *Sugrov, Šarukan'.*

54 Šarukan' in the language of Rus', *Šarağan* in Georgian. These forms seem very much like Oğur (Old Čuvaš-Bulğaric) **šarakan* 'dragon' presently attested in Hungarian (*sárkány*), where it is a loanword. See Z. Gombocz, "Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache," *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 30 (1912):114; G. Bárczi et al., *A magyar nyelv története* (Budapest, 1967), p. 281. The Common Turkic equivalent is *sazağan, sazġan* attested in the *Codex Cumanicus* (Grønbech, *KWb,* p. 216; M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen* [Helsinki, 1969], p. 406). The Oğur characteristics seen here may also be explained as Mongolian. Another approach, by no means certain, might be: *šaru* ~ *šarı-qan,* i.e., khan of the *Šārī* (the people noted by al-Marwazī, *Sharāf al-Zamān,* ed. Minorsky, Arabic text, p. 18, translation, p. 30, as having been drawn into the qūn migration).

55 *PSRL,* 2:623: Eltout = *el* (Grønbech, *KWb,* p. 86 "Volk, Provinz"; *DTS,* p. 168 "plemennoj sojuz, narod, gosudarstvo") *tut* (*tut-* Grønbech, *KWb,* p. 258 "greifen, nehmen; anfassen, berühren; behalten"). For names based on imperatives, see L. Rásonyi, "Les noms de personnes impératifs chez les peuples turques," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 15 (1962):233–43.

56 *PSRL,* 1:504.

57 See discussion in B. A. Rybakov, *Russkie letopiscy i avtor "Slova o polku Igoreve"* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 184ff; cf. also the comments of Kuz'min, *Rjazanskoe letopisanie,* pp. 33ff.

58 Tatiščev, *Istorija,* 3:135.

continued to occupy a prominent position in the Qıpčaq world after the Mongol conquest. Thus, Ibn Xaldūn in illustrating the internal rivalries of the Qıpčaqs, a matter of some importance for the Mamlūk state, relates the tale of the murder of Minquš of the Dwr.t (دورت) tribe by *Aq Köbäk of the "Ṭuğṣ-oba."[59] Abū Ḥayyān in his Arabo-Qıpčaq grammar, which makes few references to *ethnica,* singles out the *Ṭoqs-oba.*[60] This same source also notes the يمك *Yämäk,*[61] the one-time ruling group of the Kimäk/Yimäk tribal union from which the Qıpčaqs emerged.[62]

Toqs-oba, if it does not derive from Turk. *toquz* "nine" + *oba* 'tribe' (cf. the Toquz Oğuz)[63] may be connected with the Tuxs/Tuxsi, a tribe of possibly Türgeš origin who were closely associated with the Čigil in the northern territories of the Qarluq union.[64] Other tribes in the Wild Cuman confederation included the *Alp-erlü (0/t/perljueve), the Kulobiči, Etebiči, and Ter'trobici.[65]

After 1170 the Wild Cumans are rarely mentioned in the sources. The one exception is s.a.a. 1195–1196 when they appear as allies of Rjurik Rostislavič (of the Monomax line; he held Kiev some seven times during the years 1173–1210).[66] They were, of course, very much on the scene. We may identify them as the Cumans under Könčäk (together with other groups), who were engaged in hostilities with Rus' ca. 1171[67] and in the years 1179–1185.[68] Cuman groups continued to figure as the allies of the

59 Ibn Xaldūn, *Ta'rīx ibn Xaldūn,* 5:372–73.

60 Abū Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk,* ed. A. Caferoğlu (Istanbul, 1931), p. 65: طقصبا قبيلة من القبجاق 'the Ṭoqsoba — a tribe of the Qıbčaq'. A grouping called Toqsoba continued to exist as one of the components of the Baybaqtı clan of the Mladšij žuz of the Qazaqs until modern times: see V. V. Vostrov and M. S. Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoj sostav i rasselenie Kazaxov* (Alma-Ata, 1968), pp. 94–95.

61 Cf. the Polovci emjakove, *PSRL,* 1:389.

62 Abū Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-Idrāk,* ed. Caferoğlu, Arabic text, p. 98. On the Kimäks, see the recent study by B. E. Kumekov, *Gosudarstvo Kimakov IX–XI vv. po arabskim istočnikam* (Alma-Ata, 1972).

63 Cf. the tribes/clans named Toquz among the Türkmän, Qırğız, Qara-Qalpaq, and Tuvinians: Kuzeev, *Ètnogenez baškirskogo naroda,* p. 454, table 1. Cf. also the *Yätä* ('seven' ?)-*oba* and the *Dwr.t* (? *dört* 'four').

64 *Ḥudūd al- 'Ālam,* trans. by V. F. Minorsky, Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., vol. 11, 2nd. rev. ed. (London, 1970), pp. 99, 300–301; Kāšğarī, *Divan,* pp. 21, 213.

65 Some of these names have been preserved by the Islamic authors. Ibn Xaldūn (who has better readings than an-Nuwayrī), *Kitāb al-'Ibar,* 5: 372, notes *قلابا اغل (Q^u*laba oğlı*) *K^ulobiči,* *ستا = *يتبا: *Yätäbä*: *Etebiči* (= *yeti/yedi* 'seven', the "Seven *Oba*s"). The Ter'trobiči are the well-known Terter who produced a dynasty in Bulgaria; see V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bŭlgarskata dŭržava prez srědnitě věkove,* vol. 3 (Sofia, 1940), pp. 567–75. The Rus' forms are noted in *PSRL,* 2:641.

66 *PSRL,* 2:690, 694–95, 700.

67 *PSRL,* 2:568.

68 *PSRL,* 2:612–13, 618, 621–23, 628, 632, 634–49.

Ol'goviči in Rus' domestic strife (in 1176, 1177, and 1180).[69] Given the traditional Ol'govič-Wild Cuman alliance of the previous decades we may assume them to be the steppe partners of the Černihiv princes, for when the Ol'goviči joined with the other Rus' princes in anti-Cuman campaigns, it was largely (but not exclusively) against the Non-Wild Cumans that these expeditions were directed.

There were shifts within the Cuman camp as well. The Wild Cumans, led by Könčäk and the Non-Wild Cumans, headed by Kobjak Karlyevič of the Lukomorian Cumans,[70] formed a coalition with Könčäk as leader which appears to have been particularly active after the death of Glěb Jur'evič (20 January 1171).[71] Its forays into Rus' in 1176 and 1179,[72] and in particular its participation in the Rus' squabbles of 1180–1181 (at the invitation of the Ol'goviči) in which a number of major Cuman figures either perished or were captured, led to a large scale Cuman assault in 1184, which ended disastrously for the nomads. Kobjak and his two sons, Izai Biljukovič, Sъdvak of the Quloba (Kolobič), Baškъrd (perhaps the Wild Cuman khan noted s.a. 1159), and other prominent Cumans were captured.

Martial success still lay with the Rus' the following year, when Könčäk brought in a Muslim specialist in Greek fire with the obvious aim of attacking Rus' cities. Forewarned by Rus' merchants returning from Cumania, the Rus' princes mounted a successful attack, driving Könčäk back into the steppe and even capturing his younger wife along with the imported Muslim military specialist. In the aftermath of these significant victories the Ol'govič prince of Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Igor' Svjatoslavič, embarked on the campaign immortalized in the *Slovo o pъlku Igorevě*. Igor' stumbled onto a massive Cuman force, he was defeated, and captured. Könčäk, however, was unable to follow up on what was psychologically, at least, an important victory. There was dissension in the Cuman camp as to where to strike next. The sources do not tell us whether the inability of the Cumans to settle on a common target was a conse-

69 *PSRL*, 2: 604–605, 618; *PSRL*, 1:383–84, 388.

70 *Kobjak*: *Köbäk* 'dog' (Abū Ḥayyān, ed. Caferoğlu, Arabic text, p. 78) *Karly-evič*: *qarlı* (V. V. Radloff, *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij*, 4 vols. in 8 pts. [St. Petersburg, 1893–1911; reprint, Moscow, 1963], vol. 2, pt. 1, cols. 196–97) 'pokrytyj snegom'. The *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (ed. by V. P. Adrianova-Peretc [Moscow and Leningrad, 1950], p. 18) makes the "Lukomorian" identification: "A poganago Kobjaka iz luku morja." Pritsak "Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," pp. 1616, 1620, 1623, has shown these Cumans to be the İt-oba/İt-oğlı group.

71 *PSRL*, 1:363; *PSRL*, 2:563; Rybakov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, p. 145.

72 *PSRL*, 2:603, 612–13.

quence of the long-standing alliances that the various Cuman groups had contracted with various Rus' princes, but this was probably a factor. The Ol'goviči, who became more aggressive toward the Cumans (a change dictated by Svjatoslav Vsevolodič's position as prince of Kiev, 1176–80, 1181–94), tended to direct their expeditions against the Non-Wild Cumans.[73]

Our last formal notices on the Wild Cumans appear under the years 1195–1196, where they are mentioned as allies of Rjurik Rostislavič, the Monomašič successor to the Ol'govič Svjatoslav on the Kievan throne in 1194. Vsevolod Jur'evič "Bolšoe Gnězdo," the senior Monomašič, seeking to maintain his influence in the south, caused a series of rifts between the southern princes.[74] In the course of the ensuing troubles, Könčäk and Kobjak's son Daniil helped Rjurik to take Kiev (2 January 1203) which they sacked.[75] This marked a considerable shift in Wild Cuman traditional allegiances.

After this, Könčäk's successors as the Cuman allies of Rjurik are Kotjan and Somogur Sutoeviči, who subsequently figure prominently in the history of southwestern Rus' and Hungary.[76] What ties, if any, they may have had to Jurgi Končakovič, the (presumed) khan of the Wild Cumans, is not noted in the sources. Jurgi Končakovič, the most powerful figure among the Cumans on the eve of the Mongol invasion, did not survive it. Similarly, we have no evidence that the confederation of Cuman tribes known to Rus' as the Polovci dikii continued as an entity with the Mongol reorganization of the Qıpčaq steppe.

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[73] As seen in the events of 1190–93; see *PSRL*, 2:668–75.

[74] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, 2:215–19.

[75] *PSRL*, 1:418; Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, 2:226.

[76] *Kotjan* (*Kötän*, Hung. *Kötöny*) asked for asylum in Hungary in 1238 and subsequently brought his horde there. Although difficulties ensued in this area of Cuman settlement (Kötän was murdered in 1241), substantial numbers of Cumans did settle in Hungary in regions which now bear their name: Nagykunság and Kiskunság. See the recent survey of A. Pálóczy-Horváth, "L'immigration et l'établissement des Comans en Hongrie," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 29 (1975):313–33, as well as the more general overview of Gy. Kristó, *Az aranybullák évszázada* (Budapest, 1976).

A Tenth-Century Source for Architecture

OLEG GRABAR AND RENATA HOLOD

Historians of Islamic art have usually been hampered in their research by the absence or easy availability of contemporary literary sources for monuments. Our understanding of the actual use, appreciation, and evaluation of ancient artifacts or works of art still relies largely on today's assumptions and constructs. Works dealing exclusively with lives of artists and the evaluation of their works are very rare. Dūst Muḥammad's few pages on Persian painters have been used to establish the chronology of Persian paintings, while his critical comments form the beginning of a critical (and technical) vocabulary.[1] Sadīqī's memoirs illuminate his own drawings and miniatures and give us a glimpse of a complex artistic personality.[2] Yet these two works, with their total preoccupation with criticism of painting and drawing, may be exclusively the products of their time, the sixteenth century, or of the tradition of royal libraries, particularly cultivated and encouraged in Iran, Central Asia, and India in the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. They can also be understood as an extension of the traditional concern of poets and literati for the arts of the book. While mention of a treatise or manual on architecture did occur among the lost volumes of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Universal History,* the earliest extant treatise is a seventeenth-century Ottoman work, reflecting the unusually important position occupied by architects in the Ottoman court and, perhaps, their specific practices.[3]

Technical treatises, while not providing contemporary or critical information, are nevertheless crucial in providing the specialized contemporary knowledge and vocabulary. Abū al-Qāsim's treatise on ceramics

1 For Dūst Muḥammad's treatise, see L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (1933; reprinted New York, 1979). Another example is Qāḍi Aḥmad, whose *Calligraphers and Painters* was translated by V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C., 1959).

2 For a discussion of Sadīqī's memoirs, see A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah* (New Haven, 1976), p. 41ff.

3 The manual on architecture was written by Safar Efendi for the Ottoman chief architect Muḥammad Aghā. See R. Lewcock, "Material and Techniques," in *Architecture of the Islamic World,* ed. by G. Michell (New York, 1978), p. 133.

has been of unique importance in all discussions of Persian pottery of the thirteenth century.[4] The eleventh-century treatise of Ibn Bādīs gives a detailed description of bookmaking with a precise terminology for the preparation of pens, inks, colors, papermaking, and bookbinding.[5] Other technical treatises have been noted in manuscript versions; only a minuscule number has been published.[6]

Thus the art historian must turn to other types of works, in which the description or evaluation of monuments or artifacts may be part of a historical narrative, a legal argument, a geographical description, a poetic metaphor, or a treatise on mathematics. Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* and Qāḍī al-Rāshid's *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa al-Tuḥaf* provide a hitherto insufficiently explored but quite extraordinary dimension to the study of Cairo and the Fatimid court, describing in extensive technical detail the construction of the monuments of Cairo as well as the holdings of the Fatimid treasuries.[7] *Ḥisba* manuals, regulating the production of various crafts, can contain valuable technical information. For example, the twelfth-century manual of Ibn 'Abdūn mentions sizes of construction materials, bricks, tiles, joists, and beams prescribed for construction in Seville.[8] Al-Kāshī's fifteenth-century treatise on arithmetic provides instructions for the measurement and computation of surfaces of arches, domes, and stalactites, thereby revealing the sophisticated theoretical background on which Timurid architecture, with its precise modular system and its series of structural innovation, could have drawn.[9]

[4] For the most recent translation and discussion of Abū' al-Qāsim's treatise, see J. W. Allan, "Abū'l-Qāsim's Treatise on Ceramics," *Iran* 11 (1973): 111–20.

[5] Al-Mui'izz Ibn Bādīs, "'Umdat al-Kuttāb wa'uddat dhawī al-albāb." For translation, glossary, and technical commentary, see M. Levey, *Mediaeval Arabic Bookmaking and its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n. s., vol. 52, pt. 4 (Philadelphia, 1962).

[6] Two handbooks on carpentry are mentioned by Lewcock, "Material and Techniques," p. 133. The tenth-century treatise of Abū' al-Wafā' al-Buzjānī on what a craftsman should know of measuring has been translated by A. S. Krasnova, "Geometricheskie preobrazovaniia," *Akademia nauk SSSR/Institut istorii estestvoznania . . . v stranakh Vostoka*, vol. 1 (1966).

[7] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* (Bulaq, 1854); Qādī al-Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir*, ed. by M. Hamidullah (Kuwait, 1959).

[8] E. Levi-Provençal, *Séville Musulmane au début du XII siècle: Le traité d'Ibn Abdūn sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers* (Paris, 1947), p. 74. For a glossary of terms, see E. Levi-Provençal, "Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Séville au début du XII siècle: La traité d'Ibn Abdūn," *Journal Asiatique* 224 (1934): 177–299.

[9] Jamshid Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī, *Miftāḥ al Ḥisāb wa al-Risālat al-Muḥīṭīyah*, translated into Russian by B. A. Rosenfeld, with commentary by Rosenfeld and A. P. Iushkevych (Moscow, 1956), pp. 161–79.

Finally, the ethnographic record can be used for information, particularly on processes of manufacture. In his description of the building industry in Tunis, Revault assumes a basic continuity of construction techniques and nomenclature, and extrapolates from the present to describe the materials and construction of seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century mansions.[10] Similarly, contemporary Yemeni or Persian building practices and materials have been given a historical currency reaching far into the past, because they are considered traditional utilizations of regionally available materials and skills.[11] While such argumentation may indeed be true, effort must continually be taken to check such information against the historical and archaeological record.

The following pages deal with one text, found in a particularly unexpected place, which provides a description of building techniques in tenth-century Khorasan or Transoxiana, areas which have so often been discussed by Professor Pritsak.

The *Kitāb al-Ba'd wa al-Ta'rīkh* (Book of Creation and of History) was composed in 355/965-6 by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, who was from the city of Bust, now in southern Afghanistan.[12] It is one of several "histories" — the most celebrated being Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab*[13] — which sought, among other things, to provide a Muslim statement of the nature of the world and of history culminating in the Prophet's Revelation.[14] One of its chapters deals with the traditional argument for the existence of God, that is, that no creation is possible without a creator. In it al-Maqdisī compares the creation of the universe with the construction of a building, the making of a ship, and the weaving of a cloth. None of these existing "things" are possible without a maker, and thus the existence of the universe presupposes the existence of God.

The argument itself is hardly an original one, as it is merely a modification and concretization of the broader theological notion of a Prime

[10] J. Revault, *L'Habitation tunisoise: Pierre, marbre et fer construction et décor* (Paris, 1978).

[11] Lewcock, "Material and Techniques," p. 139; H. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 110ff.

[12] *Le livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. and trans. by C. Huart, 6 vols. (Paris, 1903); undated (?) Beirut facsimile of Huart's edition. Little is known about our author; Huart was, in fact, at some pain to identify him (*Journal Asiatique*, 9th ser., 18 [1901]: 16–21; *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, supp. 1, p. 222). See also F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1967), p. 337.

[13] Ed. and trans. by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77).

[14] T. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography* (Albany, N.Y., 1975), esp. chaps. 2 and 3, with frequent references to our author.

Mover. To limit ourselves to the Muslim world, al-Ash'arī, in his *Kitāb al-Luma'*, uses the examples of cotton being spun and woven and of a mansion (*qaṣr*) having been erected in a wasteland to demonstrate the same point.[15] Further searches would no doubt uncover any number of other instances in which theologians, preachers, or just ordinary litterateurs utilized what certainly became a literary *topos*. What distinguishes al-Maqdisī's version is the unusual precision of his description of the building and weaving processes. Since this precision is of little significance to the theological argument and otherwise unique,[16] it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that it may reflect a somewhat more detailed practical knowledge of the two activities than would usually be expected. Too little is known about the author to use this information to imagine or reconstruct his life or social setting. But for architecture or weaving this text is a rare document on both the division of labor prevalent in Central Asia or northeastern Iran in Samanid time and the terminology for the various activities involved. This short note is limited to the section dealing with buildings. We will retranslate the text and then provide a few comparative observations drawn from the archaeological and ethnographic record.

The text itself reads as follows (vol. 1, pp. 68–69; translation, pp. 61–63):

If it were permissible to imagine the creation (*ḥudūth*) of this world without a creator (*muḥdith*), it would in fact be possible to imagine the existence of a building (*binā'*) without a builder (*bāni*), of a piece of writing (*kitābah*) without a writer (*kātib*), of a design (*naqsh*) without a designer (*naqqāsh*),[17] of an image (*sūrah*) without a painter (*musawwir*). It would, in fact, be permissible to the one who sees a solid residence (*qaṣr*)[18] and a firm building (*binā*) to believe the following: (1) a pile (*kūmah*) of earth (*turāb*) was gathered together without a

[15] Al-Ash'arī, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, trans. by R. J. McCarthy as *The Theology of al-Ash'ari* (Beirut, 1953), p. 6 of text, p. 7 of translation.

[16] The point of uniqueness in so much detail is advanced with some reservation, since neither one of us is familiar with theological literature. Enquiries from colleagues more learned in these matters failed to elicit immediate parallels in Muslim or Christian literature, although the idea itself permeates such passages as 1 Corinthians 2:10 and ff., as has kindly been pointed out to us by Professor Leo Hines of Fitchburg State College, Massachusetts.

[17] There are several different ways of understanding the word *naqsh*, including "design, engraving, decoration." In the absence of historical dictionaries, we chose the least specific meaning.

[18] The translation of *qaṣr* as "residence or mansion" seems more appropriate in this context than the usual "castle." The more general *binā* was rendered simply as "building."

gatherer (*jāmi'*); it was then mixed (*akhtalaṭa*) without a mixer until cohesive (*alfaltaffa*) and moist (*nāda*); (2) then it was molded (*ansabaka*) into a brick (*libn*) of perfect proportion (*taqdīr*) and admirable squareness (*tarbī'*) without someone to plan it in advance (*sābiq*) and to fashion it (*ḍārib*);[19] (3) then the foundations (*asās*) of the residence (*qaṣr*) laid themselves out, its footings (*qawā'id*) strengthened themselves (*tamakkana*),[20] its pillars (*sāqāt*) and transoms (*a'raq*) rose up,[21] so that its walls (*ḥayṭān*) could be extended (*ṭawala*) and its corners (*arkān*)[22] completed; and mud bricks (*libn*) flew into the air, landed on their (proper) sides (*tarakamat'alā ḥawāshihā*), and arranged themselves in the most beautiful order; (4) then joists (*judhū'*) and beams (*jawā'iz*) fell on their own according to the measurements of apartments (*buyūt*)[23] and of sectors (*khiṭāṭ*) and were cut for building without anyone gathering them (trees) and cutting them; (5) then [wood] was hewn (*antajara*) without a hewer, sawed (*antashara*) without a sawyer, smoothed (*asfana*) without a plane; when [these wood pieces] are completed, the uneven parts straightened out, they rise on their own grooves (*mughāriz*), transform themselves into ceilings over rooms (*buyūt*), and their pillars (*asaṭīn*) rise under them; (6) then a sheathing (*ṣafā'iḥ*) covers them (ceilings), doors open and close on their own; (7) then the building is covered with lime (*takallsa*) and mud (*tasayya*),[24] paved (*taballaṭa*) and plastered (*tajassasa*); it is decorated (*naqqasha*) with different kinds of ornaments (*tazāwiq*) and designs (*nuqūsh*). And so the work is finished, the building completed, its separate parts united in the best fashion and the most perfect arrangement. Not one of its partitions, bricks, or wooden beams appear without the viewer's admiration for its wisdom and its purpose, all of this without the maker (*fā'il*) who made it, the fashioner (*ṣāni'*) who fashioned it, the expert (*ṣā'i*) who formed it, the planner (*mudabbir*) who planned it!

19 The terms *sābiq* and *ḍārib* refer to pouring the mud brick mixture into the wood frame of the mold and beating into its corners. See the commentary which follows.

20 The exact activity involved here is unclear; most likely it still refers to the extension of the foundation into the first course of socle. See the commentary which follows.

21 These two words are difficult to interpret. *Sāqāt* may be taken to mean tree trunk, whereas *a'raq* (sing. *'araqah*) means "transom between two courses of brick stone." In this context, the author is referring to a process of half-timber construction where the wood frame is raised before laying in brick. See the commentary which follows.

22 *Arkān* normally means supports or pilasters. One can understand it simply in this fashion or, because a wood frame has already been mentioned by the author, a less common meaning, "corners," may be intended to describe some fashion of reinforcing corners. Such a technique is documented in stone and rubble masonry, although it is not commonly known in mud brick, half timber construction. See the commentary which follows.

23 The word *bayt* is another term with a long and complicated history. Since we are dealing with a single building, we prefer to interpret it in its early meaning of a discrete living unit within a larger complex; it could be as small as a single room (see below) or as large as a whole complex of rooms. See O. Grabar, R. Holod, J. Knudstad, and W. Trousdale, *City in the Desert* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), especially pp. 79–80.

24 Although the process of covering the building with plaster is here described as having two parts — i.e., a covering with lime and then with clay — the author is actually referring to the mud plaster mixture found on most buildings studied.

Al-Maqdisī has identified seven steps in the process of construction clearly separated by the conjunction "then."

(1) *The preparation of mud bricks*: Before mud bricks can be formed, the earth not only needs to be thoroughly moistened and mixed, but an addition of straw and/or chaff is necessary to give it resiliency and to prevent it from crumbling. As observed in recent practice in Iran, the three components — mud, straw, and water — are mixed with a hoe or by treading.[25] Al-Maqdisī's omission of straw in his description may indicate his unfamiliarity with the preparation process or, as is more likely, his assumption that this addition was common knowledge. His term *jāmi'* would then refer to the person treading the mud mixture.

(2) *Molding the mud brick*: The shaping of mud brick involved using a wooden mold frame, packing the mud mixture into it and beating it into the corners of the mold.[26] Al-Maqdisī's terms refer to the specialized workmen who manufacture mud brick.

(3) *The laying of foundation and building of walls*: The author does not specify the type of foundation that was laid. The simplest foundations could have been quite shallow stone rubble packed into a trench wider than the intended width of the walls, with a mud and lime plaster poured over the rubble course.[27] However, since the author also mentions another term, *qawā'id* 'footings', or, even more likely, 'socle', the building in question could have been larger, requiring somewhat more extensive foundations. Since the author was presumably describing a manner of building in Khorasan and perhaps Transoxiana, it is interesting to compare his statements with the foundation techniques known through archaeological or architectural studies. A common way of preparing the area on which a building would stand was to level it and make a platform of hardened earth by tamping it (*pisé*) or by flooding it several times. Such a platform was then edged with rough cut stone. Footings for walls which would bear additional weight were laid in rough cut stone with rubble brick and mud lime mortar core. A variety of footings and foundations could be found within one monument.[28] The footings for the walls

25 Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, p. 109.

26 The most complete discussion of the process is given by Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, p. 109.

27 Cf. Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, p. 111.

28 Cf. N. B. Nemtseva, "Medrese Tamgach Bogra-Khana v Samarkande," in *Afrasiyab III* (Tashkent, 1974), pp. 11–113; V. A. Nilsen, *Arkhitektura Srednei Azii V–VII vv.* (Tashkent, 1966), p. 217; N. M. Bachinskii, *Antiseismika v arkhitekturnykh pamiatnikakh Srednei Azii* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), pp. 16–20; D. Schlum-

were built above the ground to about fifty centimeters as a socle. It is on this socle that the wood framing elements would be erected.

Studies on Iranian and Central Asian architecture have been concerned largely with brick (actually mud or baked) building and vaulting techniques and have neglected the important role played by wood. Not only was it used for scaffolding and tie-beams in great monuments,[29] but its use in residential architecture appears to have been extensive. What al-Maqdisī is describing is a half-timber construction where the walls, with their openings for doors (and windows), are framed out in wood. However, he appears not to be describing a half-timber construction where there are any diagonal cross-bracing members or where the vertical members are too numerous to allow for horizontal brick coursing.[30] At Lashkari Bazar, mud brick as well as pisé was laid in courses with tie-beams inserted at infrequent intervals. The author of our text appears to be referring to an intermediate technique which used wood framing rather extensively, but still laid brick in courses rather than wedging them between the cross-bracing. Further proof of horizontal coursing may be the reference to the corners (*arkān*) of the walls, which seem to have been interlaid in bond.

(4) *Preparation of parts of the superstructure*: That wood superstructures were utilized throughout history in seemingly treeless areas is confirmed by archaeological and ethnographic evidence. Apparently, wood was available wherever there was irrigated land. At Dalvarzin Tepe, a Kushan site in southern Uzbekistan, numerous charred fragments of wood beams were discovered.[31] The famous seventh- to eighth-century site of Penjikent used wood in its superstructures, supports, and decoration.[32] Although Lashkari Bazar is better known for its rich collection of vaults, some traces of wood superstructures, destroyed by the conflagration in the mid-twelfth century, have been recorded.[33] There are a few

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berger et al., *Lashkari Bazar: L'Architecture,* Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, vol. 18 (Paris, 1978), p. 15.

29 Cf. Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar,* p. 16; Nemtseva, "Medrese Tamgach Bogra-Khana," p. 113; Bachinskii, *Antiseismika,* p. 25.

30 For examples of such techniques, see Bachinskii, *Antiseismika,* p. 30; T.V. Rapoport, "O progressivnykh traditsiiakh v arkhitekture narodnogo zhilishcha Uzbekistana," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 13 (1961): 209.

31 G. Pugachenkova, *Dal'varzin Tepe* (Tashkent, 1978), p. 196.

32 V. L. Voronina, "Arkhitekturnyi ornament drevnogo Piandzhikenta," in *Skul'ptura i zhivopis' drevnogo Piandzhikenta* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 107–108.

33 Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar,* pp. 16, 98.

monuments, such as the *masjid-i jāmi'* of Khiva, which still retain some of their early (tenth- to twelfth-century) elements.[34] According to the ethnographic record, wood joists and beams are probably the most ubiquitous superstructure in domestic architecture throughout Iran and Central Asia.[35]

(5) *The assembling of the ceiling*: Although al-Maqdisī seems to be describing domestic architecture, the edifice is not a simple peasant house. Because it has a ceiling, it must be a mansion or urban residence. The wooden pieces mentioned by the author are battens which were grooved to receive panels of wood mosaic.[36] They have also been recorded in traditional domestic architecture of Tajikistan, the Ferghana valley, and the Hindukush. What is even more important for our purposes is the discovery of charred remnants of a panelled mosaic ceiling in the reception hall of a residence at Dalvarzin Tepe.[37] Such a find indicates the continuity of a building tradition and allows us to utilize comparative examples from the ethnographic record with more certitude.

The rooms described in our text must have had spans larger than the available beams. Their ceilings were supported by wooden pillars or columns. For certain areas of Central Asia, a typology and chronology of wood elements has been developed.[38] In Iran, such material still needs to be studied, although the restoration studies of the Ali Kapu and the Chihil Sutun palaces in Isfahan now provide important information on the role of wood in Safavid architecture.[39] Mention should also be made of the relatively early (eleventh- to twelfth-century) wood structures in Abyaneh, north of Isfahan, and in Turan Pusht, west of Yazd. Little information is available on wood structural members in the region of Bust, although remnants of carved and painted wood consoles found at Lashkari Bazar might indicate a larger role for wood than is usually supposed.

(6) *Roofing and setting of doors*: The sheathing mentioned by the

34 V. L. Voronina, "Kolonny sobornoi mecheti v Khive," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 11 (1958).

35 Bachinskii, *Antiseismika*, p. 32; Rapoport, "O progressivnykh traditsiiakh," p. 215; V. L. Voronina, *Narodnaia arkhitektura severnogo Tadzhikistana* (Moscow, 1959); Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, pp. 110–14.

36 Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, p. 87, and Rapoport, "O progressivnykh traditsiiakh," p. 215, describe the construction of traditional ceilings in detail.

37 Pugachenkova, *Dal'varzin Tepe*, p. 195 and fig. 129.

38 Cf. Voronina's works on Ferghana and Penjikent, and her "Order v narodnoi arkhitekture Tadzhikistana," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 19 (1972): 183–91.

39 C. Zander, *Travaux de restauration des monuments historiques en Iran* (Rome, 1968).

author implies a flat roof, although it is not described in detail. Most likely, the covering consisted of reed matting or ceiling boards.[40] It was subsequently covered by several layers of a mud, lime, and straw mixture. The thickness of the roof varied from region to region.

The doors are set into their frames, already built during the construction of the wood skeleton, through prepared socket holes.[41]

(7) *Finishes*: Although the author has indicated two separate processes for finishing the walls of the building (*takallsa wa tasayya*), they were probably rendered in one step with a mixture of mud, straw, and lime. Such a procedure is well attested in archaeological and ethnographic sources.[42]

The term *taballaṭa* can refer to any kind of paving. The author may have had a specific material in mind, such as the variety of baked paving bricks that were recovered from Lashkari Bazar.[43] The finish coat of gypsum plaster would have been applied only in sheltered areas, while the decoration mentioned by the author could have consisted of carved plaster and paint similar to that found at Lashkari Bazar.

The type of building described belongs to domestic rather than monumental architecture, in spite of its size and decoration. Examples of domestic architecture or contemporary descriptions of houses are very rare for this time. This text, therefore, is an important addition to the historical record. Yet, several difficulties are apparent. Although the author is supposed to be from Bust, he may not have had a local building in mind. The information on construction techniques recently made available for Lashkari Bazar indicates a more extensive use of pisé for walls, intermixed with courses of mud brick, and much less wood than indicated by the author. Most striking at Lashkari Bazar and at Bust, however, is the variety of vaults, domes, and arches found not only at the royal palace, but also in the mansions (residences) which lay along the river.[44] Since al-Maqdisī took pains to note every part of the construction process, his omission of vaults may be significant. Either he was describing construction techniques outside the immediate area of Bust (thereby

[40] These are mentioned by Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, p. 111, and Rapoport, "O progressivnykh traditsiiakh," p. 209.
[41] Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, p. 86.
[42] Cf. Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar*, p. 15; P. I. Kostrov, "Tekhnika zhivopisi i konservatsiia rospisi drevnogo Piandzhikenta," in *Zhivopis' drevnogo Piandzhikenta* (Moscow, 1954), pp. 161–62; Zander, *Travaux de restauration*, p. 334; Rapoport, "O progressivnykh traditsiiakh," p. 218; Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, p. 112.
[43] Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar*, p. 17.
[44] Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar*, pp. 16, 90–94.

infirming somewhat the importance, tenuous as it is, of his life there) or vaulting was restricted to particularly expensive and monumental buildings. Without more texts and more monuments, we cannot decide which is the case. A provisional solution would be to consider that the text isolates patrician housing, to use Professor Bulliet's terminology,[45] which stood somewhere between princely and peasant buildings.

While the description of the building process is quite precise and in large part corresponds to archaeological and ethnographic data, the author was not necessarily a builder himself. His observations are rather those of someone whose memory or experience of a house (his house?) being built was triggered by a routine theological argument.

The fact that the text is in Arabic removes us from the specialized vocabulary probably used by the building trades in Khorasan and Transoxiana. By the same token, however, it suggests the existence of a terminology with wider currency than in a single region. But historical dialectology and the formation of an Arabic *koiné* are topics which have rarely been investigated.[46] If our comments on this apparently unusual passage have a special point, it is to draw attention not only to the need for wider social and lexicographic studies, but also to the fact that more evidence for such studies, even highly specialized ones, exists than has been imagined.

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[45] R. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

[46] Compare, for instance, our text with Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqqadimah,* chap. 5, nos. 24 and 25; F. Rosenthal, trans., vol. 2 (New York, 1958), pp. 357 and ff.; A. Wafi, ed., vol. 3 (Cairo, 1960), pp. 932 and ff. Ibn Khaldūn is much more academic in his discussion, but his general vocabulary is very close to Maqdisī's. On the other hand, his technical vocabulary reflects another time and another place.

The Nexus of the Wake: Ševčenko's *Trizna*

GEORGE G. GRABOWICZ

The entire body of Ševčenko's creative writings divides fairly cleanly along two lines. One is the division between his poetry and prose that gives us, on the one hand, the poetic oeuvre, traditionally called the *Kobzar,* and, on the other, his nine Russian novellas and the Diary (*Žurnal*).[1] The second, even more obvious demarcation is linguistic, dividing the canon into his Ukrainian and Russian writings. For the most part, the two lines of division are congruent and, as I have argued elsewhere, define the two fundamentally different modes, creative stances, and, indeed, personalities that appear in Ševčenko's works.[2]

The two lines of demarcation, the formal (or modal) and the linguistic, are not entirely congruent, however, and the two basic spheres of Ševčenko's writings — the Ukrainian poetry and the Russian prose — do not constitute the entire picture of his literary creativity. For between them lies a distinct intermediate zone which is an extension, as it were, of each of the two spheres. This is the small body of his Russian poetry, the long poems "Slepaja" and *Trizna*, and the verse in the preserved fragment of his drama "Nikita Gajdaj." In manifest, formal terms these works — poetry, but in Russian — mediate between the overall opposition of Ukrainian poetry/Russian prose. They also present the possibility of mediation on a deeper structural level and give promise of providing a key to the fundamental question of the interrelation of the two radically different (and ostensibly mutually exclusive) creative and psychological modes in Ševčenko's writings.

1 For present purposes, I will not consider Ševčenko's non-belletristic writings, i.e., his letters in both Ukrainian and Russian and various fragments and short pieces. The prose drama *Nazar Stodolja,* which Ševčenko originally wrote in Russian but which now exists only in Ukrainian translation (by P. Kuliš and another unknown translator) is also a special case.

2 See my "Do pytannja hlybynnyx struktur u tvorčosti Ševčenka," *Sučasnist',* May 1979, pp. 95–108; the original English version is to appear in *Shevchenko and the Critics,* ed. by George S. N. Luckyj (forthcoming).

Despite the apparent significance of Ševčenko's Russian poetry, the critical attention actually devoted to it has been limited. As with much of his work, critics have focused for the most part on surface content and "thematic" interpretation, and have occasionally elaborated this with ideological digressions and more or less reductive explications of Ševčenko's "language question." Since a unified understanding (or model) of Ševčenko's imagination and, especially, a method for analyzing the symbolic code of his poetry were lacking both in Soviet and (with but slight exceptions) in non-Soviet Ševčenko scholarship, it is not surprising that the Russian poetry was perceived largely in terms of extrinsic, or even entirely extra-literary criteria.[3] Even before the deep structures are established and the symbolic code analyzed, however, it is evident that far from being mere exercises designed to demonstrate proficiency in Russian, as P. Zajcev had claimed,[4] these works constitute an important stage in the evolution of Ševčenko's poetry — on both the surface and deep levels.

Already the monologues in the extant fragment of "Nikita Gajdaj" (published in the journal *Majak* in 1842) introduce new elements and intimate further developments in Ševčenko's work. Here, as has been variously observed, there are clear echoes of Ryleev, particularly his *Vojnarovskij*, as seen in both the elevated, pathetic rhetorical mode and, even more so, in the themes of the sanctity of the fatherland and of the

[3] One of the first to comment on the poetry (in the context of Ševčenko's Russian writings in general) was A. Pypin in his "Russkija sočinenija Ševčenka," *Vestnik Evropy*, 1888, bk. 3, pp. 246–86. Of those critics who have specifically focused on this issue, one must first mention Pavlo Zajcev. His contribution, however, is marred by the *a priori* and evaluative thesis that for Ševčenko Russian was an unnatural medium: cf. especially his "Poeziji Ševčenka rosijs'koju movoju," in Taras Ševčenko, *Povne vydannja tvoriv*, 14 vols. (Chicago, 1962), 5: 212–28. A somewhat different approach is provided by L. Bilec'kyj, who argues that even though (!) *Trizna* is written in Russian it is an important, indeed "messianic" work; cf. his *Taras Ševčenko v Jahotyni* (Augsburg, 1949), and the commentaries to his edition of the *Kobzar*, vol. 2 (Winnipeg, 1952), pp. 57–76. To this day the most substantial statement on the subject is L. Bulaxovs'kyj's "Rosijs'ki poemy T. Ševčenka ta jix misce v systemi poetyčnoji movy peršoji polovyny XIX stolittja," in *Pam"jati T. H. Ševčenka* (Moscow, 1944). In more recent Soviet publications the issue is per force presented in terms of Ševčenko's "progressive" reliance on Russian literary models. Cf., e.g., F. Ja. Pryjma's *Ševčenko i russkaja literatura XIX veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1961); cf. also *Ševčenkoznavstvo: Pidsumky i problemy*, ed. by Je. P. Kyryljuk et al. (Kiev, 1975), and the relevant entries in *Ševčenkivs'kyj slovnyk*, vols. 1 and 2 (Kiev, 1977). In émigré circumstances, on the other hand, the difficulty caused by Ševčenko's bilingualism, and particularly the need to reject this state of affairs, may lead to remarkably paranoid lucubrations. Cf., e.g., R. Zadesnjans'kyj [R. Bžes'kyj], *Apostol ukrajins'koji nacional'noji revoljuciji* (Munich, 1969).

[4] Zajcev, "Poeziji Ševčenka rosijs'koju movoju."

ultimate imperative of serving the cause of its freedom.[5] In contrast to Ryleev (and to other Decembrists), however, personal happiness, and indeed one's honor, need not be inevitably sacrificed on the altar of civic duty; instead, as is typical for Ševčenko, the public and the personal domains are conflated, and just as the hero's love for the Ukraine is made identical to his love for his wife, so also his future glory and that of his country are made one.[6]

The concluding historiosophic meditation of the hero on the tragedy of the fratricidal conflict between two Slavic peoples is, of course, a recapitulation of the Slavophile sentiments expressed at the conclusion of *Hajdamaky*, which was published only a few months earlier. This has been duly noted in the critical literature; what has not been stressed, but is perhaps more revealing of Ševčenko's "ideological" framework, is his use of history — very much in the spirit of the Decembrists, but also in the manner of such Polish pre-Romantic poets as Niemcewicz or Zaborowski, who turned to the Ukrainian past — as a metaphor for the present. To be sure, for Ševčenko this is not the persistent, determining perception of the past as an allegory for the present, nor is it the sense of history as a *magistrix mundi* that it was for these predecessors. Still, at times it is quite clear that the referent, the projected reality, is Ševčenko's time, not Xmel'nyc'kyj's. A striking instance of this is Nikita Gajdaj's last and most solemn tirade, with these crucial lines:

(Немного помолчав).
В ком нет любви к стране родной,
Те сердцем нищие калеки,
Ничтожные в своих делах
И суетны в ничтожной славе.
(Немного помолчав).
И чем несчастней, тем милей
Всегда нам родина бывает,

[5] These echoes are perceptible not only in the elevated and by then slightly worn sentiments (e.g., "Svjataja rodina! Svjataja! Inače kak ee nazvat'? / Tu zemlju miluju, rodnuju, / Gde my rodilysja, rosli / I v kolybeli poljubili / Rodnye pesni stariny"; Taras Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv v šesty tomax* (hereafter *Tvory*), 6 vols. [Kiev, 1963], 3:56), but also in the use of elements that are characteristic of an *exotic* image of the Ukraine. Such an element, to be found in the poetry of Ryleev or Puškin but never in Ševčenko's Ukrainian writings, is the term *kozačka*, which Nikita Gajdaj uses when addressing his wife (p. 51).

[6] Cf. the words of the protagonist: "I ty / Ukrajny obraz nesravnennyj. / Ljublju tebja, v tebe odnoj / Ja vsju Ukrajnu obožaju" (line 51), or "Ja slavu slovom zavojuju / I slavnyj podvig toržestvuju / S toboj odnoj! V tebe odnoj / Ja vsju Ukrajnu poceluju!" (lines 55–56).

Тем краше вид ее полей. (*Со вздохом*).
А наша родина страдает, (*печально*).
А прежде счастлива была.
Тогда враги ее боялись,
Тогда сыны ее мужали
И славные отцов дела
Своею славой обновляли.
И все минуло, все прошло,
Козак в неволе изнывает,
И поле славы поросло
Травой негодной. . . умирает
И звук, и память о былом! (*Торжественно*).
Нет, запоем мы песню славы
На пепелище роковом.
Мы цепь неволи разорвем,
Огонь и кровь мы на расправу
В жилища вражьи принесем. . . .
(lines 18–41)

As much as this foreshadows the great tribunicial poetry of the "three years" period, it is still not the most critical moment. That pivotal moment occurs, rather, as an extension of the shift in historical perspective; for along with the temporal displacement, there also appears in the narrative a displacement of identity: Nikita Gajdaj, Xmel'nyc'kyj's messenger to the Polish *sejm,* comes to incarnate the poet himself. As he ponders his address to the king and the ravages of this "stoletnjaja vojna . . . meždu rodnymy brat'jami," he arrives at a new self-perception: "Čto, eželi opredelono sud'boju mne, prostomu čeloveku, okončit' to slovami, čego milliony ne mogli končit' sabljami!"[7] And as he turns — "v vostorge" — to his wife, he again repeats, "Ja slavu slovom zavojuju. . . ." What is prefigured here, in short, is a quantum jump in the evolution of Ševčenko the poet. And this leads us directly to *Trizna.*

Intervening between these two works, however, is the poem "Slepaja," now thought to have been written sometime in the first half of 1842, although first published well after Ševčenko's death, in 1886. Judging by purely aesthetic and formal criteria, and, as Bulaxovs'kyj has demonstrated, by the norms of the literary Russian of the day, "Slepaja" is, in various respects, a weak poem. Its diction is highly rhetorical, vague and repetitive (especially when compared to Ševčenko's Ukrainian poems); it is not only long as his poems go (second only to *Hajdamaky*, though with little plot and hardly any of the dynamism of the latter), but is so

[7] *Tvory,* 3:55.

convoluted that even as uncritical a reader as Varvara Repnina found it illogical and confusing.[8] It is perhaps Ševčenko's most "Byronic" poem in its free use of melodramatic effects and its virtual abandonment of disci pline. For all that, it is a highly revealing poem, above all, in its intensely autobiographical and confessional qualities.[9] Of all his early poems (and indeed it has been suggested that it may have been written as early as 1840),[10] "Slepaja" is the richest in psychoanalytic material; its obsessive recapitulation of the primal traumatic experience, its extended "mad scenes," and with that the heightened self-consciousness that inevitably accompanies Ševčenko's Russian writings, makes it a central link in his symbolic code, and thus a work that deserves and requires close analysis. To be effective, however, this analysis must necessarily encompass the whole genre of Ševčenko's narrative poems, from "Pryčynna" to "Maria," for they all share similar structures.

The same does not obtain for *Trizna*: within Ševčenko's canon, it is in many respects an autonomous, almost *sui generis* work. The fact that it was published in a separate edition (in 1844; it first appeared that same year under the title "Bestalannyj" in the journal *Majak*) does not in itself make it unique, of course — it shares this distinction with *Hajdamaky* (1841) and the poem "Hamalija" (which also appeared in 1844). The fact that it was written in 1843, the year of Ševčenko's first Ukrainian journey, does give it a particular significance, especially when one notes that *Trizna*, along with the short poem "Rozryta mohyla," was the sum of his poetic production that year. The period 1843–1845, traditionally called *Try lita* after the manuscript collection and album by that name (which, in turn, was taken from the title of a poem in that collection), is generally considered the time when Ševčenko reached his full, mature stature. It is in this period that he writes his major "ideological" poems, from "Čyhryne, Čyhryne," to "Son," "Kavkaz," "Poslanije" and "Velykyj l'ox," and finally the so-called "Zapovit" ("Jak umru to poxovajte . . ."). Quite frequently, the year 1843 is taken as a watershed in Ševčenko's creativity, signaling, as a consequence of the impressions and insights gained during his journey in the Ukraine, a break between the early Romantic and idealized picture of the Ukraine and the harsh vision of its present social and

[8] Cf. her letter of 19 June 1844 in *Lysty do T. H. Ševčenka, 1840–1861* (Kiev, 1962), p. 27.

[9] This was already observed by Pypin, "Russkija sočinenija Ševčenka," p. 259.

[10] Cf. Pypin, "Russkija sočinenija Ševčenka," and the memoirs of Ja. Kuxarenko in *Spohady pro Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1959), p. 75.

national oppression. For this very reason, on the simple extrinsic basis of chronology, *Trizna*, the major work of this critical year, would naturally compel our attention. It becomes all the more important when, upon closer analysis, we see that "Rozryta mohyla" does not in fact fully, i.e., structurally, develop the transition in question.

Another moment that clearly distinguishes *Trizna* from Ševčenko's poetry as a whole, including "Slepaja" and the lyrico-rhetorical monologues of "Nikita Gajdaj," is its formal and conventional side, specifically the high degree of its "literariness." Such critics as Fylypovyč, Bulaxovs'kyj, and Zajcev have elaborated on the manifest parallels — in diction and phraseology, in the general "pathos" and style — between *Trizna* and the Russian Romantic poems of the 1820s to 1840s;[11] they (and more recently Ivakin) have also uncovered in *Trizna* distinct echoes and reminiscences, indeed "subtexts," of Ryleev's and Puškin's poetry.[12] Fylypovyč, in his monographic study of Ševčenko and the Decembrists, and subsequently Zajcev stressed the virtual cult of the Decembrists that flourished in the Repnin home where Ševčenko wrote much, if not all, of the poem. Zajcev also noted the influence of Masonic mysticism, particularly in the person of O. Kapnist, on Varvara Repnina, and thus, presumably, on Ševčenko himself.[13] Elements of the cult and of the mysticism, or at least of Masonic ritual, are indeed evident in the poem. Minute biographical research (a particularly fertile field in Soviet Ševčenko scholarship) has uncovered the detail that it was precisely during his stay at Jahotyn, the Repnin estate (November-December, 1843), that Ševčenko learned of the death of the Decembrist Nikita Muravev (28 April 1843).[14] Despite this range of circumstantial as well as purely literary influences, the qualification made by Bulaxovs'kyj deserves reiteration: *Trizna* not only presents us with high and inspired poetry — poetry which, as Kuliš was the first to observe, could well have been written by Puškin — but, far from being derivative, remains throughout a uniquely

[11] See P. Fylypovyč's *Ševčenko i Dekabrysty* (Kiev, 1925), as well as the articles of Bulaxovs'kyj and Zajcev mentioned in fn. 3. While providing new information, Zajcev's article is flawed by his desire to see *Trizna* as haphazard, occasional, and above all vitiated by the very fact of being written in Russian.

[12] In a short but interesting article Ju. O. Ivakin has noted echoes of Puškin's "Čem čašče prazdnuet licej" (1831) and "19 oktjabrja" (1825): "Notatky ševčenkoznavcja," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1975, no. 3, pp. 33-35. Zajcev also sees echoes of Hugo, *Faust*, and Lermontov ("Poeziji Ševčenka rosijs'koju movoju," p. 226).

[13] Zajcev, "Poeziji Ševčenka rosijs'koju movoju," p. 223 fn.

[14] Cf. Pil'huk, *T. Ševčenko i dekabrysty* (Kiev, 1958), p. 14, cited in *T. H. Ševčenko: Biohrafija*, ed. by Je. P. Kyryljuk et al. (Kiev, 1964), p. 117.

and specifically Ševčenkian poem.[15] And this of course, holds true not only for the manifest and formal, but, above all, for the deeper, structural level.

The ultimate argument for the poem's importance within Ševčenko's poetic oeuvre also rests on such structural considerations. For although I have argued that the Russian poetry as a whole performs a mediating function between the two different modes of his creativity, this mediation, in fact, is carried primarily by *Trizna*: Nikita Gajdaj, as we have seen, only intimates the issue, whereas "Slepaja" is in various essential respects closely tied to Ševčenko's "Ukrainian" mode. (It is indicative, for example, that for Bulaxovs'kyj, and others too, it reads much like a translation — and not always a very successful one — from his Ukrainian.) In short, it is *Trizna* which performs that unique dual function for Ševčenko of, on the one hand, carrying and developing what one can call his myth of the Ukraine, and, on the other, commenting and intellectualizing this process and task. This latter, "ratiocinative" function is something that goes against the very grain of his Ukrainian poetry; the mythical, emotive mode cannot accommodate it. Conversely, his Russian prose, while often treating "the same" issues, reveals a distanced attitude, and does not share the basic prophetic premises of his poetry. Between them stands *Trizna.*

In length *Trizna* is about average for Ševčenko's long poems — 508 lines, i.e., less than half the length of "Slepaja." In broad terms, its exposition shares various features with his other longer, narrative poems: introduction and invocation, digression and asides, shifts of narrative focus, etc. More specifically, just as the manifest content of *Trizna* sets it apart from all his other long poems, so also its narrative composition is individual and complex. The poem is dedicated to Princess Varvara Repnina in a separate thirteen-line poem dated 11 November 1843. Such dedicatory prefaces are not uncommon for Ševčenko's longer poems (cf. "Jeretyk," or "Neofity," or indeed "Maria," or even *Hajdamaky*, where the long, heterogeneous first "Introduction" is, after all, formally a dedication to Hryhorovyč), but this dedication is untypical in its formal conciseness and its unrefracted focus. Like many of his poems, *Trizna* has an epigraph from the Gospels, and these verses (22–25) from the First Epistle General of Peter concerning the rebirth of the chosen and the pure of

[15] Kuliš's comment is cited without further reference by Zajcev, "Poeziji Ševčenka rosijs'koju movoju," p. 226. Cf. Bulaxovs'kyj, "Rosijs'ki poemy T. Ševčenka," p. 75 and passim.

heart in the word of God that "endureth forever" point precisely to the central theme of the poem.

The first twenty lines constitute the opening part of the poem proper. They present the setting and purpose of the wake: twelve places have been set for a banquet of remembrance, a ritual, yearly wake. An initial doubt as to whether the twelve friends will actually appear (lines 3–6), is dispelled; they do appear to celebrate the wake, and the section concludes with an injunction in the elevated rhetoric characteristic of the Decembrists:

«Счастливое братство! Единство любови
Почтили вы свято на грешной земле;
Сходитеся, други, как ныне сошлись,
Сходитеся долго и песнею новой
Воспойте свободу на рабской земле!»
(lines 16–20)

The following section (lines 21–84) is a paean to the one for whom the wake is held, the recently buried "najlučšyj drug." It opens with a two-line benediction, "Blagosloven tvoj malyj put',/ Prišlec ubogij, neizvestnyj!," which is repeated at the conclusion of this part, except that the attributes in the second line are subtly and meaningfully altered: "Prišlec neslavlennyj, čudesnyj!" It is, first of all, a hymn of praise *for* the *prišlec,* the apostle, and his message of love, freedom and peace:

Ты силой господа чудесной
Возмог в сердца людей вдохнуть
Огонь любви, огонь небесный.
Благословен! Ты божью волю
Короткой жизнью освятил;
В юдоли рабства радость воли
Безмолвно ты провозгласил.
Когда брат брата алчет крови —
Ты сочетал любовь в чужих;
Свободу людям — в братстве их
Ты проявил великим словом:
Ты миру мир благовестил;
И, отходя, благословил
Свободу мысли, дух любови!
(lines 22–36)

It is also a plea *to* the *prišlec* (who is now projected as being with God in heaven *and* is addressed in the feminine as "duša") to send down pure thoughts to heal the coldness of mind and darkness of heart (lines 53–59); to teach one how to rule one's own and men's restless hearts (". . . nauči vladet' serdcami / Ljudej kičlivyx i svoim, / Uže rastlennym, uže zlym . . .";

lines 63–65), to impart the secret wisdom of how to lead men to righteousness —

> Скажи мне тайное ученье
> Любить гордящихся людей,
> И речью кроткой и смиреньем
> Смягчать народных палачей,
> Да провещаю гимн пророчий,
> И долу правду низведу,
> (lines 67–71)

— and finally to find true friends, a peaceful death, and union with him/her in God. Whereas the two functions of benediction and supplication are straightforward, the passage is in fact involuted, almost confusing. The difficulty in part is that what could be logically perceived as a eulogy expressed by the twelve assembled friends, a direct address with no indication as to whether the speaker is one or more persons, suddenly becomes (with line 49) the address of a single supplicant. This apparent shift in number, however, merely indicates a more profound shift in narrative voice. For what had been ostensibly a statement *about* the departed friend, becomes literally *his* statement, with the above discussed plea (lines 49–82) clearly serving as a recapitulation of his, the *prišlec*'s path. The means, or the locus, of this shift is precisely the semantic ambivalence of the "duša," which in the first part of the address is simply the soul of the deceased, and in the second (after line 49) becomes a feminine persona, structurally equivalent to the muse, the guiding light, the star, mother, etc., of so many of Ševčenko's poems. The identification implicit here is something to which we shall return; for the moment we see it as a complication of narrative stance and voice which is not at all untypical of Ševčenko in general, but which is particularly expected here, in *Trizna*, a work resonating with the paradox so favored by the Romantic imagination — an autobiography focused on the last stage, the wake, where one is both subject and witness.

The third part of the poem (lines 85–442) is by far the longest, and it presents the lifestory of the hero, who is, as the mottoes bracketing the preceding section indicate, a fusion of opposites, both lowly and sublime, "bestalannyj" and "čudesnyj." Leaving a close look at the basic structures and motifs of this crucial part for later, one can simply note here its compositional arrangement. The account, which indeed begins at the beginning ("V sem'e ubogoj, neizvestnoj / On vyrastal; i žizni trud, / Kak sirota, on vstretil rano"; lines 85–87), is in fact focused exclusively on the

emotional high points, on feelings rather than events, on the trials and the "epiphanies" of the hero's life. For the most part these are illustrated by his soliloquies, which range from brief exclamations of a few lines to longer monologues; the latter (i.e., lines 233–256, 331–351 and 427–437) are unquestionably crucial to the exposition of his life and the poem's overall meaning. While the narrative is constantly emphatic — to the extent of blurring any distinction between the narrator and the hero of his story — there are two extended "digressions," or, more precisely, authorial commentaries (lines 183–220 and 259–270). Analogously to the first half of the preceding section, they again describe, with high rhetorical pathos, the nobility, purity, suffering, and self-abnegation of the hero. The first of these, moreover, while stressing his victorious passage through life's tribulations and temptations ("Projti mytarstva trudnoj žizni, / Izmerjat' propasti strastej / . . . I soxranit' polet orla / I serdce čistoj golubicy! / Se čelovek!"; lines 184–191) turns into an impassioned indictment of the false prophet-poet who is guided by cold — but blind — reason, by self-advertisement, by fashionable cosmopolitanism and spitefulness. The second commentary, on the other hand, bemoans the fate of the one who feels and sympathizes:

> . . . но тот, кто не оком,
> А смотрит душою на козни людей,
> И может лишь плакать в тоске одинокой —
> О боже правдивый, лиши ты очей! . .
> (lines 263–266)

The hero is predestined for an early death — indeed, he longs for it ("Stradal neščastnyj sirota / Vdali ot rodiny ščastlivoj / I ždal konca neterpelivo"; lines 352–354) — and his life, gnawed by a secret, unsharable sorrow, is epitomized by the metaphor of a slowly wilting flower: "I vjanet on vjanet, kak v pole bylina, / Toskoju tomimyj v čužoj storone" (lines 327–328). His death, however, is peaceful and fitting, surrounded by his "prekrasnaja sem'ja" and fortified by their love and promise of remembrance. The last part of the poem recounts his burial (lines 443–451), the first wake that his friends hold for him (452–457), their determination to faithfully repeat this ritual (458–466), and, finally, the last such wake, with the last surviving friend departing, to return no more (467–502). At the end the poem comes full circle. The final six lines recapitulate the opening, only now the initial premonition is substantiated: "Nikto ne prixodit, / Naveki, naveki zabyty oni."

Two aspects of the poem stand out clearly. One is its strong autobio-

graphical cast — which is not, however, confined to the extrinsic facts, events, and details that traditional criticism has found in the poem.[16] Equally pronounced, and rather more significant, are the various moments of Ševčenko's inner life which appear here, as in so many of his works, especially his narrative poems, as *topoi* of his symbolic autobiography. Such, for example, are the overwhelming and recurring feelings of solitude, the sense of alienation, the sense of sublime calling or mission, coupled with a bitter awareness that this mission is at best only dimly perceived by his friends and contemporaries and more frequently scorned. This deeper form of autobiography constitutes the initial basis for our considering *Trizna* as a representative, conjunctive expression of Ševčenko's inner world.

The other outstanding aspect is the poem's emotionalism, its reliance on pathos, and its recourse to the sentimental. Indeed, the basic themes of the work — the hero's transcendent goodness, his preordained suffering and early death, and especially the concept of the wake, with its morbid fascination with one's death and its effect on others — link *Trizna* to pre-Romantic and Sentimental poetics. To be sure, emotionalism, sentiment, and the brooding over and lamenting of one's fate are not untypical for Ševčenko's early (and, *mutatis mutandis,* also his later) poetry. What distinguishes *Trizna* is the intensity of these moments *and* the total absence of irony and distance. Yet there is a paradoxical turn here, for with all its pathos and apparent self-indulgence or self-pity, *Trizna*, when taken in the broader context of Ševčenko's poetry, serves precisely as a means for putting his life in perspective and as a vehicle for summarizing, in basically rational terms, his sense of himself as a poet. In this respect one cannot but see the esssential difference between *Trizna* and the longer Ukrainian narrative poems: whereas the latter continue to reiterate only a few fundamental crisis points or traumas in Ševčenko's symbolic autobiography, *Trizna*, for all its "distortion," attempts to present this autobiography in its entirety. Moreover, whereas the deeper meaning of the given Ukrainian poems is inevitably highly coded, *Trizna* presents its message almost overtly, and in so doing recapitulates and bares the basic structures of Ševčenko's poetry.

Recapitulation, here and in Ševčenko's oeuvre in general, is rooted precisely in the autobiographic principle of his work — both poetry and

[16] I.e., his orphanage, early hardships, and notes of social protest, as well as allusions to his personal charm and ability to captivate people, etc. Cf. the entry in the *Ševčenkivs'kyj slovnyk,* as well as Zajcev, "Poeziji Ševčenka rosijs'koju movoju," and Bilec'kyj, *Taras Ševčenko v Jahotyni.*

prose. It follows that if his poetry is guided by this principle (or structure), its focus must be thematically narrowed and the content recurrent. And, of course, it is. (Thus, Shevelov's observation on the "pantopical" nature of the poetry written by Ševčenko in the last year of his life, arguing that a given poem may seem almost an allusive grammar of themes and motifs expressed in the earlier poetry, is only a statement of the narrower case.[17] The principle, if not the lapidary form of expression, becomes evident already with Ševčenko's mature work, and in its most profound sense is evident throughout.) It is also apparent that his life and emotional experiences, primarily those of his early years, are for Ševčenko the touchstone and measure for determining meaning and value in the world.[18] *Trizna*, in fact, proceeds to illustrate this.

As various critics have observed and subsequently analyzed with varying degrees of critical acumen, the image of the mother and the poet's relation to her figure very prominently in Ševčenko's poetry. Given the frequency and the virtual obsessiveness of this "theme" and, even more importantly, the fact that it appears not simply as a theme but as a structure, too, i.e., a semantic unit and function in a cluster of relationships and movements but with variable manifest values, that it is capable, for example, of being either positive (in "Marija," "Neofity," etc.) or negative ("Utoplena," "Petrus'") or indeed both positive and negative ("Najmyčka," "Vid'ma," and others) — given this, it is evident that this figure and her role necessarily originate not from a conventional or ideological frame, but from deeper psychic recesses. In *Trizna*, as we have noted, the mother appears only indirectly: she is the object of the introductory invocation, and though the actual addressee or referent is identifiable as Varvara Repnina, essentially, functionally, she is no different from the female object of reverential invocation found in "Marija" or "Knjažna." A mother figure is also implicit, however, in the second part of what I have called the paean (lines 49–85) — and this leads to something

[17] See George Y. Shevelov, "The Year 1860 in Ševčenko's Work," in *Taras Ševčenko, 1814–1861: A Symposium* (The Hague, 1962), p. 82 and passim.

[18] This is not to deny various ideological constructs in Ševčenko's world view or "ethical system"; nevertheless, in his work, especially the poetry, emotional experiences constitute the core, the deep structures. It is on this basis, therefore, that one can speak of Ševčenko's poetry, as opposed to his prose, as simultaneously fixated and visionary (cf. "Do pytannja hlybynnyx struktur . . ."). I would also argue that this is precisely what underlies Orest Zilyns'kyj's assertion that "Svit Ševčenka antropolohičnyj i antropocentryčnyj. Ne teoretyčni ujavlennja pro svitoporjadok, ne abstraktna ideja ljudjanosti, ne polityčni včennja, a ljudyna sama po sobi, v svojemu real'nomu butti, stojit' u centri joho uvahy." See his "Kil'ka aktual'nyx dumok pro Ševčenka," *Duklja*, 1968, no. 2, pp. 140–41.

rather more significant. For as closer analysis of Ševčenko's poetry will show, the mother figure is not merely an addressee of lyrical invocations or an object at which emotion, whether love or anger is directed, *but also a function, a role with which the poet, or more precisely a part of the poetic ego, identifies.*[19] Although in *Trizna* this identification is not developed, in contrast to such poems as "Vid'ma," "Najmyčka," "Slepaja," or "Marija," here it is operant, and it is signaled primarily by the narrative shifts of the poem. Beginning with Ševčenko's earliest poetry, e.g., the poem "Dumka" ("Tjažko važko v sviti žyty"), there appear sudden shifts of perspective and narrative center, where the narrator's overt identification with his represented characters (here a Cossack pining in a distant land) appears and disappears like the moon through the clouds that Ševčenko describes in the opening lines of "Pryčynna." (In *Hajdamaky* also, identification with the represented characters occurs at various times and at various levels, and not only in the longer digressions.)[20] In *Trizna* this process is rather intricate. There are, first of all, several voices in the narration: the omniscient third-person author, who sets the scene and describes the events of both the wake and the hero's life, but also makes lyrical apostrophes; the second-person paean to the *prišlec* (lines 23–48), which is probably to be understood as spoken by the twelve friends, but which shifts to a first-person supplication (lines 49–83); a first-person narrator, who appears briefly (in line 457: "Ax triznu takuju otpravil i ja") and seems to link up to the third-person narrator; and, at the end, the voice of the last living friend to come to the wake (lines 483–502). In view of the fact that the poem is autobiographical, that it is about the poet — in a word, that *he* is the *prišlec* and that the poem thus becomes his apotheosis — this complication of narrative may be taken as a kind of "safety mechanism" providing ostensible distance and depth and thus

19 The phenomenon of identification, of course, figures prominently in psychoanalytic theory. It is not surprising that in the first (and to this day the only!) psychoanalytic study of Ševčenko, Stepan Balej's *Z psyxol'ogiji tvorčosty Ševčenka* (Lviv, 1916), this moment is identified and commented at some length. At the same time, it must be noted that Balej's application of (Freudian) psychoanalytic theory is very tentative and at times diluted — perhaps in the hope of assuring some receptivity. This did not materialize, however, and, unfortunately, Balej's work, and its most valuable contribution, the approach itself, left no mark on Ševčenko criticism. The phenomenon in question is so pronounced, however, that the subtle critic, even when working without the framework of a rigorous method, occasionally could not but notice it: cf., e.g., M. Ryl's'kyj, "'Žinoča' liryka Ševčenka," in *Zbirnyk prac' Juvilejnoji desjatoji naukovoji ševčenkivs'koji konferenciji* (Kiev, 1962), pp. 22–27.

20 On the subject of digressions see David A. Sloane's "The Author's Digressions in Ševčenko's 'Hajdamaky': Their Nature and Function," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 3 (September 1978): 310–33.

making the proceedings more objective and less egocentric. While such a "modesty formula" is plausible, it is not the full answer, for in fact the shifts of voice and perspective create a pattern of resonance and recapitulation that clearly shows them to be refracted from a single source; the pattern determines alter egos, not autonomous presences. Two examples may suffice. At the conclusion of the paean, the speaker, addressing the *prišlec,* i.e., the soul in heaven, asks: "Pošli mne istinnyx druzej / Složit' xladejuščie ruki / I beskorystija elej / Prolit' iz družeskix očej" (lines 75–78). This, of course, is a capsule summary of the whole poem, a recapitulation of the opening scene and a foreshadowing of coming scenes; at the same time the speaker is functionally identified with the *prišlec.* The same is found when the movement is reversed. In one of his first soliloquies (lines 146–154) the *prišlec* addresses a heavenly light, implicitly a shining star (cf., for example, Ševčenko's apostrophes to the star in his lyrics, or his invocation to "Knjažna" or "Maryna") and asks for enlightenment and peace of heart: "Pošli na um tvoju svjatynju,/ Svjatym naitiem napoj" (lines 151–152) — and this is an exact echo of the narrator's earlier supplication *to the soul of the prišlec* (cf. lines 49–83). The implicit equation of narrator and hero is unmistakable. Moreover, it follows from this that however much the former is fallen, he is destined to attain the peace and glory in heaven that the departed hero already has. It is also more than plausible that the two figures or voices personify the two states of the poet's soul or the two parts of his ego.[21]

Trizna, in short, illustrates much more overtly than do Ševčenko's other long poems the operation of a characteristic system of identifications where ostensibly autonomous characters and voices are in fact fragments or projections of the poet's ego.[22] This is a central point for any future rigorous analysis of Ševčenko's symbolism.

In the world of Ševčenko's narrative poems, rape or seduction of the

21 A further variation on this is that occasionally (as, for example, in the opening of "Moskaleva krynycja" [1847] or in "Petrus'") the narrator himself is split between two voices. This, in turn, leads to the very interesting and quite unexamined problem of the dialogic structure of Ševčenko's poetry and prose, and his recourse to doubles or twins. (In his prose this is especially evident in the novellas *Bliznecy* and *Muzykant* and in the narrative composition of *Xudožnik.*)

22 One should stress here that these identifications are part of a psychological system of equivalencies which are the building blocks of Ševčenko's symbolic autobiography. They are not "masks." To treat them as such, i.e., in terms of Romantic irony and conscious play, as B. Rubchak apparently does in his "Shevchenko's Profiles and Masks: Ironic Roles of the Self in *Kobzar*" (to appear in *Shevchenko and the Critics*), will not serve to uncover Ševčenko's symbolic code and the essential structures in question.

main character is very frequently the central event; almost always this befalls a woman (e.g., in "Kateryna," "Slepaja," "Vid'ma," "Najmyčka," "Knjažna," "Maryna," "Marija," and others), but it can also happen to a man (cf. "Petrus'"). Frequently too, the seduction or sexual violence is associated with or presaged by a dream (or sleep). Emblematic of this is the poem "Knjažna," in which the poet exhorts the princess to wake before the incestuous rape is perpetrated: "Prokyns' / Prokynsja, čystaja! Sxopys', / Ubyj hadjuku, pokusaje! / Ubyj i Boh ne pokaraje!" (lines 353–355). The dream is often the source, i.e., the "motivation" of the poem, and the story that the dream tells often turns to sexual violence, as in "Vid'ma," for example, or, even more starkly, in "Buvaje v nevoli inodi zhadaju. . . ."[23] In this poem the story told by an old Cossack (whom the poet sees in his dream) of a Polish attack on his homestead, the ravishing of his daughter, and the revenge of the father as he sets fire to the buildings, killing both villains and victims, illustrates yet another connection — of sexual violence and a conflagration. Here, as in several major poems ("Knjažna," "Slepaja," implicitly in *Hajdamaky*), rape is followed by fire, either as retribution or as coincidence (which, of course, is not coincidental).[24] Indeed, the contiguity established between rape — as general violence — and fire carries over into the imagery of Ševčenko's "political" poems, as witnessed for example by "Jeretyk" or by the conclusion of the short lyric "Meni odnakovo . . .":

Та не однаково мені,
Як Україну злії люде
Присплять, лукаві, і в огні
Її, окраденую, збудять . . .
Ох, не однаково мені.

In effect, the dream (or sleep), rape (or seduction, or violation in general), and fire (often as consequence or retribution) constitute a structural unit. As such, it need not have rational motivation or explanation; as in the structure of myth, or in dreams, the interrelation of the components stems from deep unconscious or preconscious associations. But though in this case the coherence is primarily symbolic, it is not devoid of logic. One can

[23] A fairly large number of poems falls into this category, beginning with the three poems entitled "Son." One of the first to deal with this issue was N. F. Sumcov, in his "Sny T. G. Ševčenka," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademiji nauk*, 1913, no. 4, pp. 355–64.

[24] It is worth noting that whereas in "Knjažna" the fire *breaks out spontaneously* after the rape, with no explanation offered as to its causes and as if it were a self-explanatory accompaniment, in the "parallel" novella, *Knjaginja*, an entirely logical explanation is provided.

readily observe, for example, that the set is explainable by the mechanism of psychic trauma and repression: the repressed content (i.e., the "rape") is revealed — and *nota bene* it is only "revealed," that is, stated and restated obliquely and symbolically, i.e., repeated "obsessively" — only when the defenses of the conscious mind are down, as in dreams. An integral component of the experience is the recollected shock, the total assault on the ego which is here symbolized by destructive fire, by a conflagration.[25]

What, one may ask, is the relevance of this for *Trizna*? The relevance is, in fact, considerable, for in this instance, as in various others, *Trizna* provides a unique "baring of the device"; that which is so often present but encoded in Ševčenko's other narrative poems is virtually transparent here. The scene in question appears at the very beginning of the hero's biography, and is in fact the first extended depiction of the hero. After one or two cursory generalities about his childhood (". . . žizni trud, / Kak sirota, on vstretil rano; / Upreki zlye vstretil on / Za xleb nasuščnyj . . ."; lines 86–89), it presents the following:

. . . В сердце рану
Змея прогрызла . . . Детский сон
Исчез, как голубь боязливый;
Тоска, как вор, нетерпеливо,
В разбитом сердце притаясь,
Губами жадными впилась,
И кровь невинную сосала . . .
Душа рвалась, душа рыдала.
Просила воли . . . ум горел.
В крови гордыня клокотала . . .
Он трепетал . . . он цепенел . . .
Рука, сжимаяся, дрожала . . .
О, если б мог он шар земной
Схватить озлобленной рукой,
Со всеми гадами земными;
Схватить, измять и бросить в ад! . .
Он был бы счастлив, был бы рад.
Он хохотал, как демон лютый,
И длилась страшная минута,
И мир пылал со всех сторон;
Рыдал, немел он в исступленьи,

25 Other aspects of Ševčenko's fire symbolism should not be ignored, as, e.g., fire as Promethean creative energy, a purification, etc. Cf. in this regard Gaston Bachelard's *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* (Boston, 1964); Bachelard's emphasis, however, is more on archetypes than on the individual's psychic processes.

Душа терзалась страшным сном;
Душа мертвела . . .
(lines 89–111)

This is a remarkable sequence. From his dream of childhood the hero "awakens" through the agency of a "serpent" (!) into a terrifying reality, which is called at the end a "strašnyj son." That the scene is full of sexual implications and veiled allusions to sexual violation is hardly in doubt; it is enough to compare it with analogous scenes in "Knjažna," "Slepaja," "Maryna" or "Cari" to see distinct parallels. Significantly, too, the constant in these seductions-rapes is the image of the snake, the *zmija* (cf. for example, the exclamations of the narrator in "Knjažna" cited above or the mother's warning to her daughter in "Slepaja": "Ty ne znaeš, / Čto skoro vstretiš' meždu nimi / Zmeju, užasnuju zmeju!"; lines 597–599).[26] The serpent, moreover, is not merely a tempter, but, as the movement of the passage makes clear, a violator; and the fate of the hero, as of all the ravished victims in the various other poems, is *to be helpless*. Finally, here, too, we see the recollected violation presented through the image of cataclysmic fire: "I mir pylal so vsex storon."

The parallelism, indeed, the structural equivalence of this seduction-rape with the various others is not extraordinary by itself. What is extraordinary, however, is the fact that the usual encoding is dropped — the victim now is not one of Ševčenko's many seduced (or raped) and abandoned women, but the autobiographically, if symbolically, projected persona of the poet himself. The importance of this cannot be overestimated. It again reaffirms the pattern of identifications, and here specifically the pattern of Ševčenko's feminine identification. It is a pattern that coheres into a fundamental structure of his creative personality, and as such must figure prominently in any future study of Ševčenko's psychological makeup.[27]

What follows this primal trauma is something that can only be called a *sui generis* curse. The hero, to be sure, does awaken, and he is cleansed

[26] This image is often simply pejorative, as in political invective, e.g., in "Jeretyk." Its narrower, more intrinsic meaning is centered on treachery, perfidy, and lust (cf. especially "Saul" or "Cari").

[27] See fn. 19, above. Many have commented on Ševčenko's "concern" or "sympathy" for women at great length and with varying degrees of pathos. Although we are now at only a preliminary stage of analysis, it should be noted that in terms of psychoanalytic theory, such feminine identification often points to a homosexual orientation. In Ševčenko, this is substantiated by a number of other patterns and factors. Further textual and biographic investigation, focused on the role and function of this orientation in Ševčenko's overall creative personality, is obviously necessary.

through tears ("... On v slezax / Upal i zemlju lobyzaet, / Kak perši materi rodnoj ... On snova čistyj angel raja"; lines 116–119); and he does not abandon hope ("Nadeždy on ne sxoronil, / Vosprjanul dux, kak golub' gornyj, / I mrak serdečnyj, mrak judol'nyj / Nebesnym svetom ozaril"; lines 156–158). But a fatal consequence begins to crystallize. He goes forth to seek his destiny, and, given his origins, he attains more than he or anyone could have hoped for. And yet, in sketching his life, the author repeatedly stresses that he is profoundly unfortunate, that he is, as the very title of the first edition of the poem had it, *bestalannyj*.

Behind the conventional pathos of his tearful visage the cause of his ill fortune is seen as solitude and his isolation from humankind. It is an isolation, however, that flows from no external circumstances but is essentially immanent; it is embodied in his lovelornness, in his destined lovelessness. While this may be taken as a fairly conventional Romantic plaint, it is adumbrated by his strong sense of abandonment and conjoined with the feelings of an exile in a foreign land. On the simply biographical level this is of course an echo of Ševčenko's early orphanage, and feelings of rejection that did not and could not heal — just as the resultant feelings of anger and self-pity could never be fully defused.[28] On the literary (semantic and symbolic) level, it is worth noting that the actual evocation of the desired love is marked equally by eroticism and sublimated purity, and this tension is fittingly conveyed when he speaks of the hero's desire "... s"edinit' / Požar ljubvi, ljubvi nevinnoj" (lines 368–369).

The opposition of the erotic and the innocent actually reflects a more fundamental and pervasive opposition of what is traditionally called the sacred and the profane. It is perhaps in terms of this opposition, rather than the trauma of abandonment, that we can see the cause of the hero's misfortune, his curse. For as much as he is depicted as a man of virtue, purity, and selfless dedication to the betterment of his fellow-man, he also

[28] In the course of Ševčenko's creativity this is expressed in the symbolic movements of the narrative poems and the various novels, and in discrete fragments or elements in the non-narrative or lyrical poems. Thus we have the dominant pattern of abandonment, the narrower "theme" of orphanage, and the symbolic punishment of the mother in the manifest plot, i.e., in "Kateryna," "Vid'ma," "Knjažna," or "Najmyčka" (the latter poem, in fact, is the most overt elaboration of such a "punishment"). This problem also requires further analysis. One might note that Ševčenko's attitude to the mother in his poetry is characteristically complex. The infantile desire to punish the mother for having abandoned him — by dying — is linked to an equally infantile fantasy of the mother-lover, which Balej treats (with valid observations on the characteristic passivity that obtains in this relationship) under the rubric of Ševčenko's Endymion motif; *Z psyxol'ogiji tvorčosty Ševčenka*, pp. 16–46.

bears — evidently in consequence of that primal violation and "fall" — an indelible stain on his soul which condemns him to loneliness and prevents him from full participation in the normal life of men, and, to be quite specific, separates him from the company of women. This profane side of his soul can be purged only through death.[29]

His approaching death is linked directly to this unresolved tension, and is, in effect, its resolution. The final description of his life and travails, which follows a pathetic invocation to the long sought for but unrealizable love (lines 358–382), opens with the already established motif of resignation:

Но было некого любить;
Сочетаваться не с кем было;
А сердце плакало, и ныло,
И замирало в пустоте.
(lines 383–386)

but then turns in what would seem on the surface an unexpected direction:

Он таял тихо, молчаливо,
И на задумчивых очах
Туман ложился. Взор стыдливый
На нем красавица порой
Покоя, тайно волновалась;
И симпатической красой
Украдкой долго любовалась.
И, может, многие грустили
Сердца девичие о нем,
Но *тайной волей, высшей силой*
Путь одинокий до могилы
На камнях острых проведен.
(lines 392–403; emphasis mine)

It hardly need be argued that the roots of the hero's alienation from love (again — specifically heterosexual love) lie not with any mundane reason (his unattractiveness, lack of opportunity, etc.) but in the very essence of his being, or, in terms of the mystically tinged and exalted poetic idiom of this work, in the workings of "a secret will, a higher power." The very next lines (404–436, beginning with "Iznemogal on, grud' bolela . . .") depict his end. His death is both a release from the curse, from his *bestalannost'*, and a logically necessary step: with the confession made, with his life laid

[29] This set, depicting the profane and debased side of his soul, is pronounced and overt in Ševčenko's poetry quite apart from its coded presence in the narrative poems; cf. "Čy to nedolja ta nevolja," "Meni zdajetsja ja ne znaju," "Buvaje v nevoli inodi zhadaju," "Kolys' durnoju holovoju," and others.

bare, the hero can leave the scene, and in his place another set of symbols and issues can assume center-stage.

This final set or frame constitutes the essential, core meaning of the poem, and though it assumes full dramatic prominence only with the death of the hero and the inception of the ritual of the *trizna,* it is actually co-extensive with the whole. And here, the modality is as important as the content. It is the operant mechanism of *Trizna* and at the same time a deep structure for all of Ševčenko's poetry — the drive to apotheize the persona of the poet. The apotheosis is characteristically antipodal, and bodies forth on the plane of both the sacred and the profane. In *Trizna,* to be sure, the profane aspect is not developed as fully and drastically as it is in the poetry as a whole. But while the hero of *Trizna* is not manifestly an outcast or reprobate, as in "Varnak" or "Moskaleva krynycja," or a fallen, debauched soul, as in the above mentioned lyrical poems "Čy to nedolja to nevolja . . . ," "Meni zdajetsja ja ne znaju . . . ," and others, he nonetheless epitomizes (as we again think back on the original title, "Bestalannyj") the unfortunate protagonist-persona. He is an orphan, and, for all his friends, a lonely and inconsolable sufferer; he is, quintessentially, an outsider (cf.: "No on bednjak, on vsem ne svoj, / I tut i tam. Planeta naša, / Prekrasnyj mir naš, raj zemnoj, / Vo vsex koncax emu — čužoj"; lines 167–170); and, as we have seen, he is permanently marked by the violation and trauma that become for him his peculiar original sin. Structurally, he is one with the various cast out and despised protagonists of Ševčenko's poetry.

Parallel to this, however, there appears yet another crucial identification. In the course of his tribulations, "Providja žizni naznačen'ie, / Velikij Božij prigovor, / V samopytlivom razmyšlen'i" (lines 221–223), he addresses his homeland:

> . . . «О святая!
> Святая родина моя!
> Чем помогу тебе, рыдая?
> И ты закована, и я. . .
> (lines 233–236)

And here once again, an identification that is virtually omnipresent in the Ukrainian poetry is made overt and explicit: his suffering and that of his native land are equated and identified ("I ty zakovana, i ja").[30] Indeed,

[30] While there is no question that the Ukraine is meant, Ševčenko does not name it in the poem — which is in keeping with the more distanced, "universalist" tenor that is part and parcel of his "Russian mode." Cf. below.

symbolically *he becomes the Ukraine* on the strength of a twofold reason — he is one with it in suffering *and* sanctity. The continuation of his soliloquy expresses the heart of the matter:

Великим словом божью волю
Сказать тиранам — не поймут!
И на родном прекрасном поле
Пророка каменьем побьют!
Сотрут высокие могилы
И понесут их словом зла!
Тебя убили, раздавили;
И славословить запретили
Твои великие дела!
О боже! сильный и правдивый,
Тебе возможны чудеса.
Исполни славой небеса
И сотвори святое диво:
Воспрянуть мертвым повели,
Благослови всесильным словом
На подвиг новый и суровый,
На искупление земли,
Земли поруганной, забытой,
Чистейшей кровию политой,
Когда-то счастливой земли».
[Как тучи, мысли расходились,
И слезы капали, как дождь! . .]
(lines 237–258)

Several key elements merge here, perhaps the most evident of which is the other side of his apotheosis, the apotheosis of the sacred. As in so much of his poetry (most obviously in "Neofity," "Marija," "Jeretyk," but in others as well), the poet's protagonist-persona is presented as an apostle or prophet, the bearer of truth who expiates through his own suffering for the sins of his countrymen and mediates between them and God. Here, too, the deep structure that was steadily built up in the course of the poem is laid bare as he actually speaks of himself as a *prorok*. (Cf. also the reference to rule over men's hearts [line 63]; the goals that the hero — though not explicitly identified — sets for himself in the invocation to the *duša*: ". . . reč'ju krotkoj i smiren'em / Smjagčat' narodnix palačej, / Da proveščaju gimn proročij, / I dolu pravdu nizvedu" [lines 68–71]; or, finally, the words of the narrator as the hero expires: "Ego ne stalo! I mir proroka poterjal, I slava syna poterjala" [lines 440–442].)

Along with the apotheosis of the sacred, we also find here an articulate and explicit summation of Ševčenko's poetic mission, of the very essence of the message that he is called to bring to his countrymen — his holy

mission to resurrect the past, to make his debased countrymen conscious of who they are and who their parents were, and in so doing to restore them to true life.[31] While the statement of this "new and severe task" of "redeeming" a land both "defiled" and "forgotten" but also holy, i.e., "drenched with the purest blood," is moving and eloquent, it is also clear that at this point he does not see himself as doing this alone, but turns to God for help: "Blagoslovi vsesil'nym slovom. . . ." And this leads to the final and most fundamental structure of the poem — the search for and the creation of the Word.

The issue and the semantic field itself is signaled already at the very beginning of *Trizna*, in the dedication to Varvara Repnina.[32] Written in a diction and with sentiments characteristic of her milieu, it focuses exclu-

[31] The topos and "theme" of waking the dead, of resurrection, is indeed prominent in Ševčenko's poetry. There is, of course, the well-known "Poslanije," the full title of which is (N.B. the first term) "I mertvym i žyvym i nenarodženym zemljakam mojim v Ukrajini i ne v Ukrajini moje družnjeje poslanije." Beyond that, there are numerous moments when the dead are made to rise up through the working of his visionary power, as he says in *Hajdamaky*: "Zaspivaju — rozvernulas'/ Vysoka mohyla . . ." (lines 113–14); cf. the already mentioned "Za bajrakom bajrak" and "Buvaje v nevoli inodi zhadaju" as the most explicit instances of this. The wakening of the dead and the "living-dead" are, in turn, part of an even larger set, in which a prominent role is played by the *mohyla* as the resting place of the national soul, which sleeps but is not dead (e.g., "Rozryta mohyla," "Velykyj l'ox," and others). In overtly ideological terms, the theme of resurrection, often coupled with images of apocalyptic judgment, is most pronounced, particularly in the later poetry.

[32] There is general critical agreement that Varvara Repnina was in love with Ševčenko, but that his feelings for her were platonic; a subtle summation of the relationship and its context is provided in Marietta Šaginjan, *Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1941). It is worth noting that apart from her memoirs, Repnina also expressed her feelings toward Ševčenko in belles lettres, i.e., in an unfinished, autobiographical *roman à clef* (cf. *Russkie propilei,* vol. 2, ed. by M. Geršenson [Moscow, 1916], pp. 179–263). This work includes a letter from Ševčenko (see also *Tvory,* 6:25–26) in which he recapitulates in the same highly emotional tone some of the feelings expressed in *Trizna*. Repnina's *povist'* also contains an inserted story entitled "Devočka," which she gave to Ševčenko separately and to which he replied in the letter noted above (which was written sometime between 23–25 November 1843). What is quite remarkable here is that this breathlessly lyrical and allegorically autobiographical story is very much influenced by *Trizna,* and at times is almost a pastiche of Ševčenko's poem. (It is clear from Repnina's own account [cf. *Russkie propilei,* pp. 209–211] that she had received a copy of *Trizna* from Ševčenko at least two or three days prior to writing "Devočka.") Along with such elements as exalted religiosity, anguish, and resignation over a life of unrequited love, it has such specific echoes as references to a *prišlec,* a troubled dream, contemplation of and spiritual succor in the beauty of nature, an appeal to God ("Tebe vozmožny čudesa," a direct quotation from *Trizna,* line 245) and the early and unmotivated death of the heroine. While in itself the work has little literary value, it is interesting as perhaps the earliest instance of a literary text written under the influence of Ševčenko.

sively on the process of creating poetry.[33] Yet, while apparently accepting her mystical, almost quietist understanding of the soul's path (lines 1–4), and thanking her as the muse-angel (and beyond that, more basically, as the mother-surrogate) who brings him inspiration and peace of heart (lines 10–13), the statement about the actual creation itself (lines 5–9) is ambiguous. For the referent of *slovo* in line 5 is polysemous: it may be the soul and its destiny, God's gift of inspiration, or the poem that follows. It is not the Word, however, for as the dedication makes clear, the poet has succeeded only in turning tears into sounds; he has not yet found the message that arms the soul.

There is further ambivalence when in the beginning of the poem, in the paean to the hero, it is said, on the one hand, that "V judoli rabstva radost' voli / Bezmolvno ty provozglasil" (lines 28–29), and a few lines further this is reversed: "Svobodu ljudjam — v bratstve ix / Ty projavil velikim slovom" (lines 32–33). In terms of the poem's autobiographical subtext, *bezmolvno* may have three meanings. It may refer to the fact that the language in which Ševčenko's message, his poetry, was couched was not recognized, that his Ukrainian writings — both the medium and the content — were scorned as the pointless efforts of a *mužik* writing for *mužik*s; Ševčenko himself sardonically paraphrased this attitude in the introduction to *Hajdamaky*:[34]

[33] Душе с прекрасным назначеньем
Должно любить, терпеть, страдать;
И дар господний, вдохновенье,
Должно слезами поливать.
Для вас понятно это слово! . .
Для вас я радостно сложил
Свои житейские оковы,
Священнодействовал я снова,
И слезы в звуки перелил.
Ваш добрый ангел осенил
Меня бессмертными крылами
И тихостройными речами
Мечты о рае пробудил.

[34] Ševčenko was always concerned with the reception of his works, but he was also determined to establish his right to write in Ukrainian and, generally, the right for a literature in Ukrainian to exist and develop. Cf. especially his introduction to the unpublished *Kobzar* of 1847 (*Tvory*, 6:312–15). In his letter to H. S. Tarnovs'kyj (25 January 1843), while speaking about the reception of *Hajdamaky*, he put the matter bluntly: ". . . tut moskali zovut' mene entuziastom, syrič durnem. Boh jim zvydyt', nexaj ja budu i myžyc'kyj poet, aby til'ko poet, to meni bil'še ničoho i ne treba. Nexaj sobaka laje, viter roznese" (*Tvory*, 6:23). The first reactions to the *Kobzar* of 1840 generally acknowledged the poet's talent, but several reviewers expressed dismay at his decision to write in a "dead language" or in "dialect." The reaction of Belinskij was virulently hostile.

А то дурень розказує
Мертвими словами
Та якогось-то Ярему
Веде перед нами
У постолах. Дурень! дурень!
(lines 73–77)

Secondly, as almost a corollary to the preceding, it may refer to what Ševčenko may have perceived as a tepid reaction on the part of the Ukrainian and Russian reading public, to the fact — as he saw it — that his poetry did not have the desired effect.[35] The third and more profound possibility is that he himself, as noted above, had not yet found the full power of the Word. The reference to the "great word," in line 33, is therefore not so much a contradiction of *bezmolvno* as it is an expression of belief in the power of God's word, which the poet, however, has only *in potentio,* as it were. This latter reading is reinforced when he concludes the account of his life's trials with: "Vot drama strašnaja, svjataja! . . . / I on prošel ee rydaja, / Ee on strogo razygral / Bez slova" (lines 201–204). This is, moreover, the statement in the passage cited above (lines 237–258): while he, the hero-prophet, knows the divine message and is ready to sacrifice himself for it, he is powerless to effect anything and can only ask God's help for a miracle (". . . sotvori svjatoe divo"). His lack of efficacy, his literal helplessness is underscored when the scene concludes with his tears (not words!), "I slezy kapali, kak dožd'!," and the following scene elaborates this to the point of despair: ". . . no tot, kto ne okom, / A smotrit dušoju na kozni ljudej, / I možet liš' plakat' v toske odinokoj — / O Bože pravdivyj, liši Ty očej!" (lines 263–266).

The structure of the work, however, demands that a resolution be found. This resolution, as suggested above, is precisely the hero's death. Not simply death, but death and transfiguration. For it is through death that the hero's profane nature, his "original sin" and "curse," are purged and expiated, and his sacred nature finally established; with death the human frailties that turned the Word into tears are cast off and its power released; with death *he* can now become the Word. Indeed, as the title intimates, and the movement of the poem actually demonstrates, the hero-prophet's death is what gives meaning to his life.[36] The central and

[35] Cf. the letter to Tarnovs'kyj cited in fn. 34 or the letter to P. M. Korol'ov of 22 May 1842.

[36] Clearly, the name "Trizna" is more resonant and meaningful than the original "Bestalannyj." L. Bilec'kyj's argument to the contrary (*Ševčenko v Jahotyni,* pp. 15, 19, and passim) is superficial and unpersuasive.

unifying metaphor of the wake now also serves to elucidate the poem's circular and, on its surface, possibly confusing structure, in which shifting narrative voices and identifications repeatedly blur the distinction between time past and present. It becomes clear that the telescoping of time is precisely the point, that *Trizna* is nothing less than a ritual reenactment, not just a mass for the dead, but a celebration (replete with various elements of Christian liturgy, especially echoes of the Last Supper, the twelve friends-apostles, etc.) and a dramatic recapitulation of the life, the meaning, and the destiny of the "divine" hero. As in all myths, he must die in order to be reborn into a higher reality and into his true self.

The grandiose dimensions of this transformation, with the poet's persona assuming the role of Christ himself, may surprise us, if at all, only in the explicitness of the formulation. A closer look at Ševčenko's poetry shows such transformations to be part of a basic structure. The symbolism of his martyrdom and of his expiation and mediation is frequently conveyed by grandiose images: he is Hus and Prometheus ("Jeretyk" and "Kavkaz"), the holy tree ("U Boha za dvermy ležala sokyra"), and the oak that represents the Ukraine ("Buvaly vojny i vijs'koviji svary"); he not only speaks *with* God as the sole representative of his people (in "Zapovit"), but in the very voice *of* God (in the paraphrase of Hosea, chap. 14). What may seem an unexpected deviation from the structure, however, is the fact that *Trizna*, while asserting the ultimate identification of poet as Christ, apparently retreats from its implications, i.e., from the poet's sublime claim of prophecy and redemption. For the poem does end in disillusionment and dejection: the message and the memory of the *prišlec* is apparently fated to die with the last of his friends; the ritual of the *trizna* is apparently fated to be shortlived. The future is missing from the mythic conflation of time.

But this, in fact, is precisely where the context of Ševčenko's poetry must be allowed to reassert itself and the final meaning of *Trizna* as a symbolic nexus and stage in poetic development be allowed to emerge. For, as we can now see, it is a poem that is focused expressly on the search for the Word, on the identification and justification of that search. Whereas before, in the earlier poetry, Ševčenko could only, as he himself put it, generate tears, "A ja . . . a ja / Til'ko vmiju plakat', / Til'ko sl'ozy za Ukrajnu . . . / A slova — nemaje . . ." ("Dumy moji, dumy moji"; lines 66–69), he now establishes the Word as the essential, active core of his poetry; moving beyond the quixotic aspirations of a Nikita Gajdaj, he identifies both the prophetic function and the sacred content of his calling.

Taken by itself — especially by virtue of its ending — *Trizna* expresses

a pessimistic judgment on the poet-prophet's ability to fulfill the task before him: the wake encompasses both him and his message. As such, the poem conveys a characteristic Romantic sense of defeat and inadequacy in the face of the transcendent possibilities of the poet's calling, a feeling exemplified by Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode." The picture changes dramatically, however, when we see *Trizna* in the context of Ševčenko's poetry as a whole, and particularly in the tightly-knit unity of the poetry of *Try lita.* In this frame it becomes a necessary and positive evolutionary stage which ushers in a new chapter in his creativity. In a word, *Trizna* culminates the theme of the paradoxically solitary and mute bard who, like Perebendja, speaks only with nature, or, like the persona of "Dumy moji, dumy moji," communicates only with himself and a distant and amorphous Ukraine, or of the meek sufferer who can only weep over his own and his country's misfortune, and heralds the Promethean theme and the tribunicial stance of the poetry that follows. It is indicative that "Rozryta mohyla" — completed before *Trizna,* in October 1843 — which by virtue of the lament over the Ukraine's subjugation becomes Ševčenko's first "illegal" poem, is still written in the mode of tearful and helpless complaint (formally underscored by the fact that the body of the poem is an apostrophe by the ravished mother-Ukraine). In contrast, "Čyhryne, Čyhryne" — written just after *Trizna,* in February 1844 — already draws upon a new poetics: while there are still many echoes of the previously dominant plaint (e.g., "Nexaj že serce plače, prosyt' / Svjatoji pravdy na zemli") there is a palpable transition from passive lamentation to the imperative of action, if not revolution.[37] Even more indicative is the

[37]

Не рвіть, думи, не паліте!
Може верну знову
Мою правду безталанну,
Моє тихе слово.
Може викую я з його
До старого плуга
Новий леміш і чересло. —
І в тяжкі упруги . . .
Може зорю́ переліг той,
А на перелозі . . .
Я посію мої сльози,
Мої щирі сльози.
Може зійдуть, і виростуть
Ножі обоюдні,
Розпанахають погане,
Гниле серце, трудне,
І вицідять сукровату,
І наллють живої

contrast between *Trizna* and "Zapovit" (Jak umru to poxovajte . . .), the poem which concludes both the period of *Try lita* and the album-collection after which it is named (and which became for later generations of Ukrainians an unofficial national anthem). The latter deals with the same essential "subject matter" as *Trizna* — the poet's death and his legacy — but the mode and the meaning are entirely different. The poet's role as spokesman for his people is evident (cf. the symbolic location of his grave and his mission of mediating between his nation and God); his message (at least on the manifest level) is unswervingly that of rebirth through revolution —

Поховайте та вставайте,
Кайдани порвіте
І вражою злою кров'ю
Волю окропіте. —

and now, too, the remembrance of the poet, the "wake," is to be conducted not by twelve mortal followers but by the entire nation:

І мене в сем'ї великій,
В сем'ї вольній, новій,
Не забудьте пом'янути
Незлим тихим словом.

Even though elements of pathos and disenchantment will never disappear, and will, indeed, be prominent in the lyrics written in exile, the tribunicial voice of Ševčenko's poetry, from the great poems of *Try lita* ("Son," "Kavkaz," "Poslanije," and others) to "Neofity" and "Marija" will have been firmly established.[38] Its culmination, and the apotheosis of the power of the Word, will come in the powerful adaptations of the biblical prophets of the last years of Ševčenko's life, of "Isaija. Hlava 35" ("Prorvetsja slovo, jak voda, / I debr'-pustynja nepolyta, / Zciljuščoju vodoju vmyta, / Prokynetsja . . ."), of "Osiji. Hlava XIV" (". . . pravda

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Козацької тії крові,
Чистої, святої!!!
(lines 51–70)

[38] In a very essential way, "Marija," the last of Ševčenko's long narrative poems, also recapitulates *Trizna*. At the end of the poem, the Virgin Mary epitomizes the polarized apotheosis discussed above. She is both *beztalanna* and *čudesna*. She rallies and gives moral strength to Christ's weak disciples ("I ty, velykaja v ženax! / I jix unynije i strax / Rozvijala, mov tu polovu, / Svojim svjatym ohnennym slovom!"; lines 732–35), and yet she dies forsaken and forgotten (". . . Ty ž pid tynom, / Sumujučy, u burjani / Umerla z holodu. Amin'"; lines 744–46). In this, and in her sacred function as mother of the Logos, she is, of course, a projection of the poet himself. And it is through the Word, moreover, that she, and the poet who identifies with her, will live on: ". . . a ty . . . / Mov zoloto v tomu hornyli, / V ljudskij duši vozobnovylas'. . ." (lines 752–54).

ožyve, / Natxne naklyče, nažene / Ne vetxeje, ne drevlje slovo / Roztljennoje, a slovo nove / Mež ljud'my krykom ponese / I ljud okradenyj spase"), and especially of the paraphrase of the 11th Psalm, with these often cited lines: ". . . Vozvelyču / Malyx otyx rabiv nimyx! / Ja na storoži kolo jix / Postavlju slovo."

In this development *Trizna* plays an important, dual role. It allows us to speak with more confidence of an intrinsic and integral (not simply biographical or chronological) periodization of Ševčenko's poetry, specifically of the thematic-structural development of his poetic voice and the transition from a self-focused and largely sentimental to a Promethean and tribunicial stance. At the same time it illustrates the special function of Ševčenko's Russian poetry. In its narrative and dramatic structure *Trizna*, as I have argued, functions like a requiem, a mass, a solemn retelling of the life of the hero through a focus on its central "mysteries"; it is also a ritual recapitulation. To be sure, such recapitulation of central moments in the hero's symbolic biography is at the heart of Ševčenko's Ukrainian narrative poems, but there it is invariably deeply encoded. (The system of identifications, for example, can be perceived not from any one poem but only from a juxtaposition of patterns and movements of the various poems taken as variants of a basic story line.) In *Trizna* the meaning is relatively close to the surface, and at times almost explicit. And this corresponds to the more rational and the more distanced tenor of Ševčenko's Russian writings. Whereas the Ukrainian poetry invariably makes the poet, his persona and world actual and experientially immediate, the Russian mode involves distance and intellectual control (especially as regards the prose) and is conducive to commentary and observation. Because of this, *Trizna*, uniquely in Ševčenko's poetry, serves to summarize his past poetic achievements and to discuss them in terms of a program. Here the poet can take stock of what he has already done and, through the sublime paradox of rebirth through death, brace himself for his new task.

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Lviv Manuscript Collections and Their Fate*

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The city of Lviv, long at the crossroads of East Central European culture, can pride itself on the wealth and diversity of its manuscript collections. The stormy political fortunes of the city, as well as its important historical role as a commercial, political, and cultural center, have added to the interest and variety of its manuscript treasures, while making it difficult to trace their fate.

More diverse and heterogeneous than formal archival records, manuscript collections of various types are crucial elements in a region's documentary legacy. Often of equal importance to historians, literary scholars, linguists, and other researchers, they are also often harder to appraise and harder to catalogue because of their diversity, and harder to identify in provenance. Arising from the activities of cultural, scientific, and religious institutions, these collections in turn reflect the culture and achievements of the varied groups or individuals who brought them together. Individual manuscripts have their own history. They may be prime sources for various scholarly pursuits or prime literary or artistic

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monuments. Yet, for purposes of scholarly identification they are associated with the manuscript collections of which they form — or previously formed — a part. Thus, the history and fate of the collections is a crucial element in the chain of scholarly discovery or literary identification.

The present survey cannot describe all of the manuscript collections that had developed in Lviv by the early twentieth century. Many have been mentioned or described in published catalogues, which will be identified bibliographically below. The biggest problem facing interested scholars, however, is the lack of information about what happened to the collections, because so little has been published on the subject since the Lviv area became part of the Soviet Ukraine in 1939. It is this problem that is central to our discussion.

The most complete guide to Lviv holdings in the 1920s listed some twenty-one libraries and museums with sizable manuscript collections, in addition to eight separate archives with important collections among their major holdings of official governmental or church records.[1] The archives as such will be the subject of a separate study, but it may be helpful to mention them here. The Lviv Land Court Archive (Archiwum Ziemskie we Lwowie), familiarly known as the Bernardine Archive, contained records predominantly from the period of Polish rule through the end of the eighteenth century. The Lviv State Archive (Archiwum Państwowe we Lwowie) contained records predominantly from the period of Austrian rule in Galicia (1772–1918). After 1933 these two traditionally separate institutions were combined administratively under the aegis of the Lviv State Archive, which was a part of the Polish state archival system. The Lviv City Archive (Archiwum Miejskie) contained

[1] E. Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie: Archiwa, biblioteki, gabinety, galerje, muzea i inne zbiory pamiątek przeszlości w ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie,* 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Lviv, 1926), pp. 367–429. Chwalewik's coverage is — as his title suggests — much more complete for Polish collections than Ukrainian ones. For each institution, he furnishes a brief description of holdings and an extensive bibliography of relevant publications. No similarly comprehensive directory has appeared since. See the review of this directory, with particular relevance to its Basilian collections, by I. Skruten' in *Analecta ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni / Zapysky chyna sv. Vasyliia Velykoho* 3 (1930): 273–76. See also the less detailed coverage in *Materiały do spisu instytucyj i towarzystw naukowych w Polsce,* in *Nauka Polska* 7 (1927): 37–45, 122–30, 181–85; and ibid. 12 (1930): 36–42, 100–105, 154–58. A popularized description of many of the major Polish libraries, which in most cases includes brief coverage of their manuscript holdings, is in *Publiczne biblioteki lwowskie: Zarys dziejów,* ed. by L. Bernacki (Lviv, 1926), and in a similar volume issued in French three years later, *Les Bibliothèques de Lwów: Aperçu sommaire,* ed. by E. Gaberle et al. (Lviv, 1929). In the case of a few major manuscript collections, the mid-nineteenth century coverage by B. Dudik, "Archive im Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien," in *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 39, pt. 1 (1868): 1–122, remains unsurpassed on some details.

records of municipal institutions going back to the fourteenth century and some earlier documents from as early as the thirteenth century. Separate archives, many of which also had manuscript collections, were maintained by both the cathedral chapters and the consistories of both the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic (Ruthenian/Ukrainian Uniate) churches, and by the consistory of the Armenian church.[2] Some governmental archives also included miscellaneous manuscript collections, but these will be considered elsewhere.

The major library and museum collections in Lviv contained manuscripts cutting across religious, linguistic, and national divisions within the population. Indeed, in many cases the variegated, multifaceted cultural life of the city blurred the distinctiveness and homogeneity of national or ethnic traditions. Nevertheless, particularly during the interwar period of Polish rule, national orientation was clearly apparent in most major cultural institutions in Lviv. The rebirth of the Polish republic after the First World War brought an outpouring of national pride and self-consciousness that greatly affected the cultural life of the area. It placed Polish institutions and those supported by the predominant Roman Catholic church in a position of special favor and state support. Obversely, the failure of the attempt to form an independent Ukrainian state produced a legacy of defeat, resentment, and bitterness that also had cultural repercussions. Concurrently, the increasing national fervor of Ukrainians brought renewed popular interest and support to Ukrainian-oriented institutions.

In surveying the manuscript collections of the area, we will first cover those which, by virtue of origin and orientation, were favored by the politically dominant Polish and Roman Catholic population during the interwar period. We will then consider the holdings of institutions whose orientation stemmed from their support by the Ukrainian community. Finally, we will mention a few other collections developed by other national or religious groups in the area, such as the Armenians and Jews.

Largest by far and most important in its manuscript holdings during the 1920s was the library of the Ossolineum, known more formally as the Ossoliński National Institute (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich). It was founded in Lviv in 1817 by the Polish magnate and cultural devotée Count Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński (1748–1826), who believed that

[2] In addition to the concise coverage by Chwalewik cited above, see the admirable survey of the history and holdings in the major archives of the area by E. Barwiński, "Les archives en Petite Pologne Orientale," *Bulletin de l'Union des Sociétés Savantes Polonaises de Léopol*, no. 11/12 (1931): 1–32.

"nobility had been acquired not only by the sword, but also through science." He chose Lviv as the site for a public foundation devoted to the development and preservation of Polish culture because he feared the city might be threatened by Germanization under Austrian rule. His personal library and archival collections were transported to Lviv from Vienna in 1823. In the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the Ossolineum flourished with the private support of wealthy Polish benefactors and with state sanction as a public institution. Its library grew remarkably, largely through public gifts and substantial bequests. Rare books and family archives came from such illustrious Polish magnates as the Sapieha, Lubomirski, Jabłońowski, Potocki, Rzewuski, Radzimiński, and Wybranowski families. With its substantial endowment, the Ossolineum was also able to increase its holdings through the purchase of many valuable rare books and manuscripts.[3]

By the time Lviv became part of the independent Polish republic after the First World War, the Ossolineum was one of the most important Polish cultural centers in the country. Its manuscript collections were replete with rich treasures in many languages on many subjects and representing many different cultural traditions. By 1925 it held 5,477 bound manuscript volumes (with an additional 2,000 as yet uncatalogued), 728 musical scores, 5,289 autographs, and 1,742 separate charters and other documents, in addition to large print and graphic collections.[4] Three volumes of detailed manuscript descriptions had been issued at the end of the nineteenth century, compiled by Wojciech Kętrzyński (1838–1918), the accomplished and energetic director of the library. During the interwar years the library issued an additional two volumes in a briefer inventory format and a scholarly catalogue covering 287 early documents.[5]

[3] See the historical survey by T. Trzynadlowski, issued in both Polish and French editions: *Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1817–1967: Zarys dziejów* (Wrocław, 1967); *Institut national Ossoliński, 1817–1967: Précis d'histoire* (Wrocław, 1967). Also see the comprehensive bibliography by M. Górkiewicz, "Bibliografia dotycząca Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (do r. 1939)," *Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* 4 (1953):293–327 (1–35). For more details about the founding of the Ossolineum and a detailed analysis of the original library and manuscript collection of Józef Ossoliński, see the monograph by J. A. Kosiński, *Biblioteka Fundacyjna Józefa Maksymiliana Ossolińskiego* (Wrocław, 1979).

[4] These figures are cited by Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie*, 1:414. Figures for other years can be found in the history by Trzynadlowski (see fn. 3) and the other general directories cited above (fn. 1).

[5] W. Kętrzyński, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Nar[odowego] im. Ossolińskich*, 3 vols. (Lviv, 1881–98); these covered the original catalogue numbers 1 to 1504. *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Lwowie*, 2

The Lubomirski princes had been associated with the Ossolineum from its beginnings, and the family continued to be active in its development. Already in 1823, on the death of Prince Henryk Lubomirski (1777–1850), the family's extensive collection of paintings and sculpture was joined to the Ossolineum, although its distinct identity as the Lubomirski Museum was maintained. In addition to its artistic holdings, the museum amassed an important collection of manuscript books, original documents, and family papers, many of which were more fully described in a catalogue published in 1937.[6] The Pawlikowski Library, founded by Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski (ca. 1792–1852), formally became a part of the Ossolineum after the First World War. It, too, had a rich collection of manuscript books, autographs, and parchment documents, most of which were eventually catalogued as a separate collection.[7]

By far the largest and most important library in Lviv, the Ossolineum had amassed over 13,500 manuscript volumes and 2,125 separate documents by 1939.

Another major seignorial library organized for the preservation of Polish culture and science in Lviv was that of the Dzieduszycki family. Originally brought together at the family estate at Potorytsia (Polish Poturzyca), near the village of Sokal (now in Lviv oblast) by Count Józef Dzieduszycki (1776–1847), the collections were transferred to Lviv in 1857 by his son Włodzimierz. The Potorytsia Library (Biblioteka Poturzycka) and the separate Dzieduszycki museum collections were opened to the public in 1885. The library included an important manuscript collection along with major portions of the estate archives and personal papers of the Dzieduszycki family. The library was merged with the Ossolineum on the eve of the Second World War.[8]

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vols. (Lviv, 1926–34); issued in limited edition, mimeographed format, these inventories cover catalogue numbers 1505 to 6000. The parchments and paper charters were catalogued by F. Pohorecki, *Catalogus diplomatum Bibliothecae Instituti Ossoliniani nec non Bibliothecae Pawlikowianae inde ab anno 1227 usque ad annum 1506* (Lviv, 1937); see also Pohorecki's survey "O średniowiecznych dyplomach Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich," *Ziemia Czerwieńska* (Lviv), 1, no. 1 (1935):90–98.

[6] S. Inglot, *Inwentarz Archiwum XX. Lubomirskich (linia Dąbrowieńska)* (Warsaw, 1937).

[7] M. Gębarowicz, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki im. Gwalberta Pawlikowskiego* (Lviv, 1929). Some of the early documents in the Pawlikowski collection were listed in the Pohorecki catalogue, cited in fn. 5 above.

[8] No description of the Dzieduszycki Library was published before 1939, apart from its coverage in the general directories listed in fn. 1. See especially the articles by the interwar librarian M. des Loges in *Les bibliothèques de Lwów*, pp. 24–30, and in *Publiczne biblioteki lwowskie*, pp. 53–56; and the coverage in *Nauka Polska*, 12:41–42.

Among the most interesting and distinctive libraries in the city was the Baworowski Library (Biblioteka Wiktora Hr. Baworowskiego), originally founded by Count Wiktor Baworowski (1826–1894). Baworowski, a wealthy Polish writer, translator, and man of culture who reportedly preferred the company of books to that of men, prodigiously collected rare books and manuscripts during his lifetime. In addition to his own miscellaneous gatherings, he consistently bought up many important private collections of the period, such as those of the Stadnicki, Grabowski, Batowski, and Osiński families. One of his most significant acquisitions was the collection of the Ukrainian historian Denys Zubryts'kyi (1777–1862), who had brought together many valuable Cyrillic manuscripts and miscellaneous historical documents of West Ukrainian origin. At Baworowski's death these collections were left to the public together with the rest of his fortune, which helped endow their growth and upkeep. The library holdings were brought together in Lviv, organized along the best French model by the noted scholar and bibliophile Dr. Józef Korzeniowski (1863–1921), and opened to the public in 1900. By the mid-1920s, the library numbered over 1,200 manuscript books and over 500 original documents, along with other graphic materials.[9]

By the 1920s the Library of Lviv University (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu im. króla Jana Kazimierza) had grown to be one of the most important research libraries in the city, although its manuscript collections had less renown. It had been founded as the library of the Jesuits' college in Lviv, which was transformed into a university by King Jan Casimir in 1661. After the Austrian government's abolition of the Jesuit Order in Galicia, the library was reopened in 1784 under state auspices. Many of its collections, including the early manuscript holdings, were destroyed in a fire that swept the library building during the 1848 revolution. After 1867 the university became increasingly Polonized, and during the interwar period it was an important bastion of Polish scholarship. Some of the local archival materials that the university had brought together before the First World War were subsequently turned over to the Bernardine

[9] W. Kętrzyński, "Biblioteka Wiktora hr. Baworowskiego we Lwowie," *Teka Konserwatorska* [1] (1892): 40–48. More details about the organization of the library in the 1920s can be found in the coverage by H. Gamska in *Les bibliothèques de Lwów*, pp. 17–23, and by R. Kotula in *Publiczne biblioteki lwowskie*, pp. 43–51. Zubryts'kyi's archeographic activities and manuscript collection are discussed by Ia. D. Isaievych, "D. I. Zubryts'kyi i ioho diial'nist' v haluzi spetsial'nykh dystsyplin," *Naukovo-informatsiinyi biuleten'* (Arkhivne upravlinnia URSR), 1963, no. 1, pp. 48–53.

Archive.[10] In 1925 the library held over 1,100 manuscript volumes and more than 250 separate documents and charters. It also held 40 rare Arabic manuscripts, some particularly valuable Armenian texts, and a number of illuminated manuscripts from the abbey of Tyniec.[11]

The Municipal Library in Lviv, founded in 1891, although rich in printed collections, did not have significant manuscript holdings. By the 1920s it had become consolidated with the library of the City Archive, and was likewise housed in the City Hall. The Historical Museum of the City of Lviv (Muzeum Historyczne miasta Lwowa), also founded in 1891 and adjunct to the City Archive, brought together a number of documents relating to the history of the city, including some originals from the collections of the city magistracy.[12]

Several other museums in the city had significant manuscripts among their holdings. Most notably, the King John III National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe im. króla Jana III), founded in 1908, included miscellaneous documentary materials. The Polish School Museum (Muzeum Szkolne Polskie), founded in 1908, also held some manuscripts.[13]

The central importance of Lviv in the religious life and ecclesiastical administration of the entire area resulted in religious manuscript collections of considerable importance. Lviv was the seat of an archdiocese of the Roman Catholic church, particularly favored during the 1920s by virtue of its ties to the city's Polish population. Collections of manuscript books, remnants of monastic archives, and separate collections of early

10 Of the materials transferred to the Bernardine Archive, 633 units of documentation from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were inventoried by E. Barwiński, *Repertorium znajdujących się w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej we Lwowie aktów zajęcia i sprzedaży dóbr królewskich i kościelnych* (Lviv, 1909; originally published in *Teka Konserwatorska*, vol. 3).

11 Aside from the survey by Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie*, 2:390–93, no general description of the manuscript holdings was published during the interwar period. The Armenian manuscripts were described by F. Macler, "Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Galicie et en Bukovine (juillet-août 1925)," *Revue des études arméniennes* 8 (1927): 108–155, and later, starting in the 1930s, by N. Akinian (see fn. 46 below). Some of the manuscript holdings as organized in the 1860s were listed by Dudik, "Archive im Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien," pp. 111–24. Nine Vlach-Bulgarian manuscripts were described by S. Romanski, "Vlakhob"lgarski rukopisi v" L'vovskata universitetska biblioteka," *Periodichesko spisanie na B"lgarskoto knizhevno druzhestvo v" Sofiia* 71, no. 7/8 (1910): 587–610.

12 L. Charewiczowa, *Muzeum Historyczne miasta Lwowa: Przewodnik po zbiorach* (Lviv, 1936), described the holdings of the museum and mentioned some documents from the City Archive.

13 No descriptions of the manuscripts and documentary holdings of these museums are available, apart from the brief mention by Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie*, 1:405–407, 410.

parchment documents were housed with the archdiocesan archive.[14] Other collections were found in the Roman Catholic cathedral chapter archive in Lviv.[15]

Many of the Roman Catholic orders active in Lviv had important monastic libraries, namely, the Bernardines, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Franciscans, the Resurrectionists, and the Jesuits. Most of the early Bernardine library was dispersed after the order was dissolved by the Austrian emperor Joseph II at the end of the eighteenth century. Rebuilt in the nineteenth century, the library included archival materials and manuscript books dating from as early as the sixteenth century. In the 1920s the Carmelite library numbered some 400 manuscript units. The libraries of both the Franciscan and Jesuit orders in Lviv had been depleted, and neither held important early manuscripts at that time. Most notable of the Roman Catholic monastic holdings in the 1920s was that of the Dominican library, whose collections totalled 474 manuscript units. The library also had a rich collection of printed books including 270 incunabulae, and an important documentary collection including 129 parchments.[16]

Among the many rich, predominantly Polish, private collections in Lviv, at least five deserve special note for their manuscript holdings — the collections of Aleksander Czołowski (1865–1944), Leon Piniński (1857–1938), Kazimierz Przybysławski (1900–), Aleksander Semkowicz (1850–1923), and the Stadnicki family. Part of the large Czołowski collection was acquired by the Ossolineum in 1936, but the rest remained in private hands and was taken to Poland during the Second World War. The city certainly had other such collections not listed in the 1926 guide.[17]

[14] A survey catalogue was prepared by S. Zajączkowski, *Archiwum Archidiecezjalne Obrządku Łacińskiego we Lwowie* (Lviv, 1932); see also the very brief survey by S. Szurek, "Archiwa archidiecezji lwowskiej ob. łac.," *Collectanea Theologica* 15, no. 3 (1934): 367–74. Many of the parchments in the Roman Catholic archbishopric archive were listed by Dudik, "Archive im Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien," pp. 142–46.

[15] See the historical and descriptive survey of the holdings by S. Zajączkowski, "Archiwum Kapituły Łacińskiej we Lwowie," *Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie*, pt. 2: *Historyczno-filozoficzny* 1, no. 7 (1923): 391–428; and the later survey by S. Zajączkowski, "Archiwum kapitulne we Lwowie," *Archeion* 5 (1929): 31–36. The parchments held by the chapter archive in the nineteenth century were listed by Dudik, "Archive im Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien," pp. 135–41.

[16] Apart from the brief survey by W. T. Wisłocki in *Les bibliothèques de Lwów*, pp. 67–72, there are no published descriptions or catalogues of Roman Catholic monastic holdings in Lviv. For the Dominican holdings, see also the earlier listings by Dudik, "Archive im Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien," pp. 147–48.

[17] See the listings by Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie*, 1: 421–29. The Czołowski collection was considered a separate library in the *Nauka Polska* directory and was described

Unlike most of the Polish institutions mentioned above, which grew out of major seignorial legacies, the Ukrainian institutions in Lviv all developed through the efforts of large segments of the Ukrainian community. During the Polish period after the First World War, these institutions frequently suffered from the lack of state favor and financial support. At the same time their significance as major centers of Ukrainian national awareness increased.

For Ukrainian culture in the Western Ukraine, the Shevchenko Scientific Society (Naukove tovarystvo im. T. H. Shevchenka, or NTSh) played the central role from the time of its establishment in Lviv in 1873. The cultural and intellectual life of the Ukrainian community was enriched by the activities of its different sections. The society became a virtual Ukrainian Academy of Sciences before the First World War and continued to maintain that role for the Western Ukraine until 1939, after which time some of its activities continued in emigration.[18] Indeed, symbolically, the building that formerly housed its headquarters and library in Lviv today houses the Institute of Social Sciences of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the library of the Shevchenko Society grew through the prodigious activity of its members and through donation and purchase. Its manuscript wealth grew proportionately, especially through the bequests of personal papers and manuscript collections of Ukrainian cultural leaders during the interwar period. Its collections of Ukrainian ethnographic materials were without parallel; they included the personal collections of the noted ethnographers Mytrofan Dykarev (1854–1899; pseud. M. Kramarenko), Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871–1926), and Meliton Bychyns'kyi (1847–1903). Of special significance were the papers of the Zaklyns'kyi family and those of the bibliographer and newspaper editor Ivan O. Levyts'kyi (1850–1913), which in-

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there in more detail (vol. 12, pp. 39–40). The 2,500 manuscripts that Czołowski presented to the Ossolineum in 1936 (and the other 25 presented in 1939) are listed in the typescript "Inwentarz rękopisów dyr. dra Aleksandra Czołowskiego ofiarowanych do Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich," available in the National Library in Warsaw (MS no. 5543). Most of the rest of Czołowski's manuscript collection and his personal papers are held by the National Library, as described by published catalogues, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej*, vols. 4–7 (Warsaw, 1955–69). Some manuscript materials from the Czołowski collection brought by the family to Poland were transferred to the Main Archive of Early Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw, where a new typescript inventory is in preparation.

18 For a brief history of the NTSh, with mention of its library collections, see the pamphlet by V. Doroshenko, *Ohnyshche ukrains'koi nauky: Naukove tovarystvo imeni T. Shevchenka* (New York and Philadelphia, 1951).

cluded the materials Levyts'kyi had collected for a bio-bibliographical dictionary of the Western Ukraine.[19] Among the most important bequests in that period was the personal library, manuscript collection, and literary papers of Ivan Franko (1856–1916). The NTSh also received part of the papers of the Ukrainian writer Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880–1951), among other Ukrainian literary legacies. A major part of the library and personal papers of Mikhailo Hrushevs'kyi (1866–1934) were left to the Shevchenko Scientific Society, although some of Hrushevs'kyi's later papers remained in Kiev after his death. Of exceeding cultural and political importance to the NTSh was the legacy of the prominent Barvins'kyi family, brought together by the historian Bohdan Barvins'kyi (1880–194?); within this collection, the papers of Oleksander Barvins'kyi (1847–1926) included many documents relating to the Ukrainian publications with which he had been associated. During the interwar years the NTSh library became a repository for archival materials from important Ukrainian institutions in the area, such as the theatrical group "Ukrains'ka besida," the publishing house "Rus'ka-ukrains'ka vydavnycha spilka," Ukrainian serial publications such as *Zoria, Pravda,* and *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk,* the interwar encyclopedia (*Ukrains'ka zahal'na entsyklopediia*), the underground Ukrainian University (1921–1925), and the Ukrainian Galician Army. Unfortunately, because of inadequate funding and staff size in the period, the library's manuscripts were never the subject of a published catalogue or description, although acquisitions were mentioned in periodic library reports.[20]

A major cultural achievement of the 1848 revolution in Galicia was the establishment, under imperial Austrian subsidy, of the "National Home" (Narodnyi dom) in Lviv in 1849. Its role in Ukrainian cultural affairs was somewhat diminished in the late nineteenth century, as it became identified with the declining local "Old Ruthenian" and later Russophile (sometimes called Moscophile) movements. However, the manuscript collec-

19 About the Dykarev papers see the prefatory note by Ivan Franko in *Posmertni pysannia Mytrofana Dykareva z polia fol'kl'oru i mitol'ohii* (Lviv, 1909; "Zbirnyk filolohichnoi sektsii NTSh," vol. 6), pp. v–xii. About the Levyts'kyi papers, see the recent description by Ia. R. Dashkevych, "Materialy I. O. Levyts'koho iak dzherelo dlia biohrafichnoho slovnyka," *Istorychni dzherela ta ikh vykorystannia* 2 (1966): 35–53.

20 *Khronika NTSh* (74 nos.; Lviv, 1900–1914; 1919–38), passim; the longer report in no. 69/70, pp. 7–24, serves as a general review and surveys the acquisitions for the years 1926–1930. A German edition appeared during the years 1900–1914: *Chronik der Ukrainischen Ševčenko Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Lemberg* (59 nos.). See also the history of the library by U. Doroshenko, "Biblioteka Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka u L'vovi," *Zapysky NTSh* 171 (1961): 7–58, which lists the names of other important personal papers received by the library.

tions of the National Home continued to grow through donations from wealthy patrons, imperial Austrian sponsorship, subscription by the Ukrainian community, and even some unofficial Russian contributions. Many of the most valuable manuscripts of the National Home were evacuated to Moscow in 1915 with the retreating Russian armies; these were revindicated after the First World War.[21]

The manuscript collection of the Lviv National Home remained one of the most valuable belonging to Ukrainian institutions during the interwar period. Many of its early Cyrillic manuscripts, dating from the fifteenth through the nineteenth century, were described in published catalogues issued before the First World War.[22] The noted collection of Antonii Petrushevych (1821–1913), the prominent Ukrainian scholar and religious and political leader, was bequeathed to the National Home and formed a separate division in the library.[23] The National Home also amassed the personal papers and documentary collections of many of its own members as well as those of other cultural and political leaders of the Western Ukraine. Of particular note were the papers of Bohdan Didyts'kyi (1827–1909), the writer and political leader who edited a number of publications of the National Home and headed the society "Halyts'ko-rus'ka matytsia," Pylyp Svystun (1844–1916), the Slavicist and director of the National Home Library, and Spyrydon Lytvynovych (1810–1869), the religious leader and Galician metropolitan. The library also held the papers of the "Ruthenian Triad" — the poet Markiian Shaskevych (1811–1843), the poet and philologist Iakiv Holovats'kyi (1814–1888), and the historian and ethnographer Ivan Vahylevych (1811–1866).

The only archive and library of a Ukrainian institution to remain

21 B. Barvins'kyi, *Biblioteka i muzei "Narodnoho domu" u L'vovi, 1849–1919 r.* (Lviv, 1920; originally published in *Vestnik "Narodnogo doma,"* 1918–1919); a supplement appeared the following year, "Biblioteka i muzei 'Narodnogo doma' s 1 ianvaria 1920 g. po 1 iulia 1921 g.," *Vestnik "Narodnogo doma,"* 1921, no. 1, pp. 26–32. See also the earlier coverage by Dudik, "Archive im Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien," pp. 122–24.

22 I. S. Svientsits'kyi, *Tserkovno- i russko-slavianskie rukopisi Publichnoi biblioteki Narodnogo doma v L'vove* (St. Petersburg, 1904; originally published in *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi akademii nauk* 9, no. 3 [1904]: 350–414); and *Opisanie inoiazychnykh i noveishikh karpatorusskikh rukopisei biblioteki "Narodnogo doma" v L'vove* (Lviv, 1905; originally published in *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik "Galitsko-russkoi matitsy,"* 3, no. 4 [1904]:81–104; 4, no. 1 [1905]: 108–49).

23 I. S. Svientsits'kyi, *Opys rukopysiv Narodnoho domu z kolektsii A. Petrushevycha,* 3 vols. (Lviv, 1906–1911; "Ukrains'ko-rus'kyi arkhiv," vols. 1, 6, and 7; "Rukopysy l'vivs'kykh zbirok," pts. 1–3); see also O. A. Markov, "Opisanie rukopisei XIX v. sobraniia A. S. Petrushevicha v biblioteke Narodnogo doma v L'vove," *Vestnik "Narodnogo doma"* 30 (8) (1912), no. 1, pp. 6–11; no. 2, pp. 26–32; no. 3, pp. 34–40.

virtually intact from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that of the Stauropegial Brotherhood. The Brotherhood of Lviv was granted Stauropegial status in 1589, which placed it directly under the patriarch of Constantinople. It functioned as the major cultural, educational, religious, and charitable institution of the Ukrainian burgher population in Lviv from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. Transformed by the Austrian authorities into the Stauropegial Institute in 1785, it continued to maintain its rich archival and library manuscript collections.[24]

A subsidiary Stauropegial Museum was founded in 1889 as an outgrowth of a major exhibit the previous year, and several catalogues were published that included coverage of some of its manuscripts.[25] Its archival division had over 1,100 individual documents and charters dating from as early as the thirteenth century. The library included an impressive collection of early Cyrillic manuscript books. Two of the earliest (both on parchment) were the Krystynopil' (Horodyshche) Apostol, dating from the twelfth century, and the Buchach Gospel, from the thirteenth century. In addition to religious manuscripts the museum had notable secular ones, including an early copy of the Lithuanian Statute of 1529. Like those of the National Home, many of its most valuable holdings had been evacuated with the retreating Russian armies in 1915. These were revindicated in the 1920s, and the museum continued to function as a library and research facility during the interwar period.[26]

The Greek Catholic church was predominant among the native Ukrainian population in the area, and since 1807, Lviv had served as the seat of the Ukrainian metropolitan for Austrian Galicia. Lviv continued as the center of the metropolitan see for the Western Ukraine under Polish rule after the First World War. The archives of the metropolitan in Lviv were

24 See the recent studies of the Stauropegial brotherhood and its library and archival legacy by Ia. D. Isaievych, *Dzherela z istorii ukrains'koi kul'tury epokhy feodalizmu* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 16–50, and "Biblioteka L'vivs'koho bratstva," *Bibliotekoznavstvo ta bibliohrafiia* (Kharkiv), 3 (1966): 126–32.

25 A. S. Petrushevych, *Katalog tserkovno-slavianskikh rukopisei i staropechatnykh knig kirillovskogo pis'ma nakhodiashchikhsia na arkheologichesko-bibliograficheskoi vystavtse v stavropigiiskom zavedenii* (Lviv, 1888); I. Sharanevych, *Katalog arkheologichesko-artisticheskikh predmetov, tserkovno-slovenskikh rukopisei i staropechatnykh knig kirillovskogo pis'ma, nakhodiashchikhsia v muzee Stavropigiiskogo instituta na den' 1 (13) marta 1890* (Lviv, 1890); I. S. Svientsits'kyi, *Opis' muzeia Stavropigiiskogo instituta vo L'vove* (Lviv, 1908). See also the earlier survey of the manuscript and archival holdings by I. Sharanevych (Szaraniewicz), "Muzeum Instytutu Stavropigijskiego we Lwowie," *Teka Konserwatorska* [1] (1892): 53–60.

26 The article by I. Sharanevych (Szaraniewicz) cited above (fn. 25) was reissued by the museum as a pamphlet in 1937, but there were no further published descriptions of the holdings.

never fully catalogued before the war, although they held some important manuscript books and documentary collections.[27]

Particularly rich in manuscript books and archival materials relating to the Greek Catholic church was the Ukrainian National Museum (Ukrains'kyi natsional'nyi muzei), organized in 1908. It had originally been founded in 1902 as the Church Museum in Lviv (Tserkovnyi muzei v L'vovi) under the patronage of the metropolitan of Galicia, Count Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1865–1944), on the basis of his personal collections. The museum took over some of the manuscripts from the Lviv cathedral chapter library and manuscripts from other churches in the Western Ukraine that had been collected in a series of archeographic expeditions during the 1920s, launched by the museum's devoted director, Ilarion Svientsits'kyi (1876–1956). Cataloguing of the museum's manuscript books was not completed before the war, although many of the most important manuscripts have been mentioned in different published accounts.[28] A few of the church archival materials collected by the museum were also mentioned in published sources, but for the most part these were never adequately catalogued. They included part of the early section of the Greek Catholic metropolitan chapter archive and a large part of the Sheptyts'kyi family archive.[29]

One of the most impressive manuscript collections pertaining to the Greek Catholic church was brought together by the Basilian Order after the First World War. The library of the St. Onufrius monastery in Lviv had become a center for holdings gathered from many Basilian churches and monasteries in the area. A general description was published and a detailed catalogue prepared; however, its publication was never completed.[30]

27 Dudik, "Archive im Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien," pp. 148–50, mentions some of the Greek Catholic holdings in Lviv as found in the mid-nineteenth century. Both chapter and consistory archives were still held in the St. George Cathedral, but had reportedly not been inventoried before 1939. Part of the chapter archive, however, was deposited in the Ukrainian National Museum (see fn. 29).

28 I. S. Svientsits'kyi, *Opys rukopysiv*, pt. 1: *Kyrylychni perhaminy XII–XV vv.* (Lviv, 1933). Also see the director's earlier survey reports, "Zbirky Halyts'koi Ukrainy: Natsional'nyi muzei u L'vovi," in *Pro muzei i muzeinytstvo: Narysy i zamitky* (Lviv, 1920), pp. 21–29; and "Natsional'nyi muzei u 1924 r.," *Dilo*, 1925, nos. 8 and 9.

29 See the discussion of the eighteenth-century visitation protocols by Ivan Franko, "Prychynok do istorii halyts'ko-rus'koho pys'menstva XVIII v.," *Zapysky NTSh* 107 (1912): 110–15. The 1930 supplement to the *Nauka Polska* directory (vol. 12, p. 37) specifically mentions part of the chapter archive and the large Sheptyts'kyi archive as being then held by the museum.

30 L. Skruten', "Biblioteka l'vivs'kykh Vasyliian," *Analecta ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni / Zapysky chyna sv. Vasyliia Velykoho* 1 (1924): 161–76; 3 (1928): 65–73. The

Also important for its Greek Catholic holdings was the library of the Theological Academy in Lviv (Biblioteka Bohoslovs'koi akademii u L'vovi), founded in 1929 by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. Josyf (now Cardinal) Slipyj served as its rector until 1939. Although its published holdings were more significant than its manuscript collections, it continued to increase its unpublished holdings before 1939.

The Armenian Catholic (Uniate) church was still active in Lviv in the 1920s and 1930s. It had been important in the area since the influx of Armenian merchants and other settlers from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards. Lviv had been the seat of an Armenian archbishopric since 1361. A large part of the manuscript and documentary collection from the Armenian cathedral chapter in Lviv — at least from the pre-nineteenth century period — had been described when the collection was intact in Lviv in the mid-nineteenth century. Many of the manuscripts were subsequently deposited in the Ossolineum and described in its published catalogues, although many of the Armenian-language ones were transferred to Vienna, where they were deposited in the Mechitarist Library.[31] The consistory archive and the collection of the Armenian archbishopric, which included manuscript books and miscellaneous documentary collections, remained separate.[32]

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first volume of the more detailed catalogue, compiled by Ia. Hordyns'kyi, *Rukopysy Biblioteky monastyria sv. Onufriia ChSVV u L'vovi* (Zhovkva [now Nestoriv], 1927), was originally published serially in the same journal; vol. 2 was only published serially, in ibid., 3, pt. 1/2 (1928):40–64; 3, pt. 3-4 (1930):345–76. According to Basilian sources the Hordyns'kyi catalogue was completed in the 1930s, but the manuscript was lost before publication could be finished. An additional part had been planned in the aborted fifth volume of the *Analecta*. An early survey of the pre-nineteenth-century holdings by Ia. Holovats'kyi (Golovatskii), "Korotka vedomost' o rukopisakh slavianskikh i Ruskikh nakhodiashchikhsia v knizhnitsi Manastyria Sv. Vasiliia Vel. u L'vove," in *Rusalka dnistrovaia*, pp. 122–29, listed 24 manuscripts, but due to imprecise descriptions, it has not been possible to correlate these with later catalogues.

31 S. Barącz, "O rękopisach kapituły ormiańskiej lwowskiej," *Dziennik Literacki*, 1853, nos. 34–37, 39–40. In addition to the Ossolineum catalogues cited above (fns. 4–5), see the coverage by F. Macler, "Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Galicie et en Bukovine (juillet-août 1925)," *Revue des études arméniennes* 8 (1927):79–94. The Armenian manuscripts deposited in Vienna are described by H. Dashian, *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeřagrac' matendaranin Mkhit'arianc' i Vienna/Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharisten-Bibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna, 1895; "Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeřagrac' hratarakeal i Uxit'arean miabanut'enē i Vienna/Haupt-Katalog der armenischen Handschriften, hrsg. von der Wiener Mechitharisten Congregation," vol. 1, pt. 2).

32 T. Mańkowski, "Archiwum lwowskiej katedry ormiańskiej," *Archeion* 10 (1932): 1–11, explains the fate of Armenian collections in Lviv. Armenian manuscripts in the Lviv University Library and some held by the archbishopric are described by Akinian (see fn. 46). See also Mańkowski's study of illuminated Armenian manuscripts from

Little was published about manuscript holdings relating to the Jewish community in Lviv, and it is particularly difficult now to determine what happened to them. The Israelite Community Library (Biblioteka gminy Izraelickiej), founded in 1900, was particularly rich in Judaica and Hebraica, including some manuscript materials held by the "Schomer Israel" Society.[33]

No comprehensive directory covering manuscript holdings in Lviv has been published since the 1920s. Nor have any details about the fate of most of these collections been published. Individual manuscripts within the collections are also difficult to trace, because even before the Second World War relatively few were covered by published catalogues, and even in the institutions themselves some were not included in preliminary finding aids. The names by which many of the collections mentioned were known and identified in the 1920s and 1930s rarely appear in published literature today, which adds to the problem. Yet, interestingly enough, many of them exist intact, although in some cases they have been consolidated and rearranged in newly organized institutions.

Following the establishment of Soviet rule in the Western Ukraine in 1939, virtually all archival and manuscript holdings in the area were nationalized. The entire archival legacy of the area was legally decreed part of the State Archival Fond of the Ukrainian SSR, which placed it under state jurisdiction and control. Library and museum manuscript holdings were included along with the holdings of all previously existing archival institutions. Church records and manuscript collections of religious groups were subject to the same authority, as were business records and other documents from the private sector. In addition, Soviet archival authorities accessioned the records of all other public and private institutions and organizations in the area which had previously not been subject to archival control or which had remained in the custody of their creating agencies.[34]

Lviv as part of his article, "Sztuke ormian lwowskich," *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki* 6, pt. 1 (1934): 136–60 (Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności).

33 Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie,* 1: 380–81, mentions some manuscript holdings, but it has not been possible to locate a more detailed published account. The Shunami bibliography of Hebraica lists a library catalogue — "no. *4489: *Katalog der Bibliothek des Vereines "Schomer Israel" in Lemberg,* Ausgabe 1 (Lemberg, 1881; 20 p.)"; the asterisk indicates that it was not a *de visu* listing. I have not been able to find a copy, either.

34 Among the most detailed accounts of Soviet archival reorganization in the Western Ukraine are those by O. H. Vainbaun and P. V. Zamkovyi, "Arkhivne budivnytstvo v zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrains'koi RSR," in *Z istorii arkhivnoho budivnytstva na Ukraini: Zbirnyk statei, prysviachenyi 40-richchiu radians'koho arkhivnoho budiv-*

Administrative authority and control of this vast documentary legacy was vested in the Archival Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, which was, in turn, subject to the authority of the all-union Main Archival Administration in Moscow. State archives in the area were organized on the basis of previously existing archival institutions, and were themselves directly administered by the Archival Administration. Manuscript holdings of libraries and museums — including those previously held under private auspices — were turned over to the administration of either the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment or the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus all preexisting archives, libraries, and museums in the area were reorganized according to standardized patterns already established in other parts of the Soviet Union.

As a matter of expediency, many previously existing holdings initially remained intact and continued to be housed in the same storage areas. But even institutions that continued to function as they had, and whose manuscript collections remained intact in the same location, were renamed in accordance with Soviet usage, administratively reorganized, and subjected to centralized guidelines for the registration and administration of their holdings. In some cases several earlier institutions were combined into a single administrative entity, or in other cases, a single institution served as a consolidation point for collections from scattered public and private holdings.

The revolutionary transformations planned and undertaken during the initial period of Soviet rule in Lviv were cut short in June 1941, when the Nazi invasion brought the area under the administration of the Third Reich. In terms of the area's archives and manuscript collections, wartime destruction was relatively light. As will be discussed below, some religious archives and manuscript collections were evacuated to Poland, where they are today. Several thousand valuable manuscripts and parchment documents were removed from Lviv institutions during the war — whether by official order or personal initiative is sometimes unclear. For instance, at the time of bombing raids and the German withdrawal in April 1944,

nytstva na Ukraini (Kharkiv, 1958), pp. 93–103; and by A. Iaroshenko, "Arkhivne budivnytstvo v zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrains'koi RSR," *Naukovo-informatsiinyi biuleten'* (AU MVS URSR), 1948, no. 2(3), pp. 23–27, and "Arkhivy zapadnykh oblastei USSR k 10-letiiu vossoedineniia ukrainskogo naroda v odnom Ukrainskom Sovetskom gosudarstve," ibid., 1950, no. 1 (6), pp. 15–21. Additional specific information on institutional developments since 1939 comes from my personal interviews with local specialists in or from Lviv, from research in unpublished catalogues, and from observations in Lviv institutions.

many manuscripts and documentary materials were evacuated to the West; most of these never returned to Lviv. Despite such instances of wartime loss and dislocations, the overall effect of the war on Lviv's collections was relatively minor: by far the greatest percentage of collections survived intact and remain in the city today. However, because of the lack of published catalogues or accounts of known wartime shifts and losses, it is difficult to provide precise details in every case.[35]

After Soviet power was reestablished in the Lviv area in July 1944, reorganization proceeded, largely along the lines planned in 1939–1940. In fact, most archives and other manuscript repositories in the city today continue to be organized according to the plans initially decreed then. Although there have been subsequent changes in organization, internal structure, and nomenclature, and some shifts of holdings back and forth between institutions, the overall organization has remained constant. Hence it is well to review the major institutions that emerged from the Soviet reorganization and the holdings they took over from previously existing repositories. Although the emphasis here is on manuscript collections, mention must also be made of the general archival organization, since there has been considerable overlap and interaction between the two types of holdings.

The new Soviet state archives in the Lviv area were organized on the basis of existing archives from the Polish period, although the principle of division between different institutions changed, following the rationalized patterns established in the Eastern Ukraine. After the initial proclamation of Soviet rule in 1939, the Central Archive of Early Acts in Lviv (Tsentral'nyi arkhiv davnykh aktiv v L'vovi) was established for historical records on the basis of the previously operating Polish State Archive. Eugeniusz Barwiński continued as director until the end of the war (the State Archive had since 1933 been administratively consolidated with the Bernardine Archive). In addition to the Archive of Early Acts, a separate

35 A German account of the archival situation in Poland, including brief mention of the archives in Lviv, was presented shortly after the German invasion by Erich Randt, "Die Archive des Generalgouvernements," *Die Burg* (Cracow), 2, pt. 1 (January 1941): 25–55; pt. 2 (April 1941): 51–91; the article includes references to earlier catalogues and publications. The Badecki papers in the manuscript department of the Jagellonian Library in Cracow contain extensive documentation about wartime developments, as do some of the later files in the Barwiński papers in the Wawel branch of the Cracow Province State Archive. The accounts of wartime developments by M. Hlyns'kyi ("Arkhivna sprava v zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy v roky Vitchyznian-noi viiny [1941–1945 rr.]," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1968, no. 2, pp. 14–24) and N. F. Vradii ("Do istorii l'vivs'kykh arkhiviv u 1939–1944 rr.," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1974, no. 5, pp. 54–56) are somewhat polemical in tone and lack detailed documentation.

State Oblast Historical Archive (Derzhavnyi oblasnyi istorychnyi arkhiv) was organized which eventually was to house the more local holdings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the area of the newly created Lviv *oblast'*. All of the previously existing archives in the area were put under the administration of one or the other of these two institutions. Although eventually the holdings of the former Lviv City Archive were split between these two institutions, initially they remained under separate administration. Most of the early records from these institutions were evacuated to the abbey of Tyniec, near Cracow, in early 1944 and were returned to Lviv with only minimal loss in 1945.

Although there has been some subsequent reorganization and changes in nomenclature, the basic pattern of two state archives in Lviv remains to this day. The prewar Archive of Early Acts has become the Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv URSR u m. L'vovi, or TsDIA-L), although before 1958 it was officially considered a branch of the Ukrainian historical archive in Kiev. The local oblast archive is now officially called the Lviv Oblast State Archive (L'vivs'kyi oblasnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv, or LODA). These two archives are the centralized repositories for all institutional records from the area.[36]

Soviet practice attempts to maintain a relatively sharp break between formal institutional archives, on the one hand, and library- or museum-type manuscript collections, on the other. Whereas institutional records were all taken over by the newly expanded state archives, manuscript collections, for the most part, came under the jurisdiction of libraries and museums. Most particularly, the newly created Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences consolidated most of the library and private manuscript collections in Lviv. In the case of major cultural institutions such as the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Lviv National Home, and the Stauropegial Institute, whose holdings included institutional records, manuscript collections, and the personal papers of many cultural or political leaders, a split was made between materials to be placed under archival jurisdiction and those retained by libraries or museums. Institutional records per se eventually came under archival authority and were placed in the state historical archive in Lviv (now TsDIA-L). Manuscript collections came under the authority of libraries or museums. Personal papers usually went along with the manuscript collections, for many large

[36] For details of Soviet developments, see the articles cited in fn. 35. A comprehensive guide to the oblast archives has been issued: *L'vivs'kyi oblasnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv: Putivnyk*, comp. by V. I. Kotel'nikova et al. (Lviv, 1965).

manuscript collections included groups of personal papers, and often a clear-cut distinction between the two had never been made. However, the papers of some important individuals, especially those deemed politically most sensitive, were eventually shifted to archival jurisdiction. The state archives themselves acquired a number of groups of personal papers along with the institutional records. The net result has often meant a split in the disposition of many groups of personal papers, so that today they remain divided between libraries and archives.

In Lviv today manuscript collections per se are predominantly concentrated in the library of the Academy of Sciences, while smaller collections are still retained by the library of Lviv University, by the Lviv Historical Museum, and by the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art. The following brief survey of the holdings of these present-day institutions will emphasize their relationship to prewar collections in the Lviv area.[37]

The most revolutionary event in the organization of libraries in Lviv was the establishment in January 1940 of the Lviv Branch of the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (L'vivskyi filial Biblioteky Akademii nauk URSR), administratively linked with the main Ukrainian Academy Library in Kiev. This institution brought together under one administrative authority the holdings — including all manuscript collections — of some eighty public and private libraries in Lviv, including the libraries of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Lviv National Home, the Basilian Order, the Jewish Community Center, the Baworowski Library, and most significantly, the Ossolineum with its subsidiary Pawlikowski Library, the recently acquired Potorytsia Library of the Dzieduszycki family, and others. The Lubomirski Museum, which had been a part of the Ossolineum since 1921, initially remained separate; many of its museum collections were transferred to the jurisdiction of the newly established local state museum, but eventually its manuscripts were brought into the Academy Library. The library also took over the libraries of many monasteries and other religious establishments in Lviv, as well as those of private families such as the Potocki family from its estate in Pomoriany (Pol. Pomorzany), the Pawlikowski family (from Medyka), and those of many other individuals, such as the historian Oswald Balzer (1858–1933) and the literary scholar Ludwik Bernacki (1882–1939).

The administrative center of the Academy Library was set up in the

37 A brief report on a colloquium devoted to manuscript holdings in libraries and museums in Lviv (P. I. Zakharchyshyn, "Seminar z dzhereloznavstva," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1972, no. 2, p. 153) mentioned reports on these four institutions by knowledgeable specialists; unfortunately, however, none of the reports themselves was ever published.

building formerly occupied by the Ossolineum. The library also took over several other library buildings in the city, and many of its holdings remained, at least at first, in their storage places. Gradually, however, some of the collections were rearranged and integrated into the manuscript division.[38] For the most part, the collections the Academy Library brought together by June 1941 remained in Lviv under the Nazi regime, albeit with considerable administrative reorganization. The University Library in Lviv, which had previously remained independent from the Academy Library, was established in 1941 as the first section of the German-organized State Library (Staatsbibliothek); the Ossolineum was considered the second section, while the third section comprised the libraries of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the National Home.

During the Nazi regime, some manuscript materials were taken to the West, including the famous drawings by Albrecht Dürer from the Lubomirski Museum. In the aerial bombardments of April and May 1944, the main Ossolineum building suffered some damage. Some printed book holdings were destroyed, but no manuscript materials were lost. However, in April 1944, as part of the preparations for the Nazi retreat and as a precaution against further bombardments, the Germans took many exceedingly valuable manuscripts and museum exhibits — 60 crates in all — from the Lviv collections to Cracow and later to Zagrodno (then Adelin) in Silesia. Those materials that escaped destruction (many were badly damaged) were transferred to the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw in 1945. From Warsaw, 1,451 manuscripts and 325 documents from the original Ossolineum collections were sent on to the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław in 1947–1948. Some manuscripts that were removed at the same time from the Lviv University Library, the Baworowski Library, and a few from the Potorytsia Library of the Dzieduszycki family have remained in the National Library in Warsaw; however, some documentary materials that came to Warsaw from these latter two libraries were transferred to the Main Archive of Early Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw.[39]

38 Considerable details about developments during the years 1939 to 1945 are given in the general history of the Ossolineum by Trzynadlowski cited in fn. 3.

39 For a list of manuscripts from the Baworowski and Dzieduszycki libraries that now remain in the National Library in Warsaw, see the undated typewritten inventories available in the manuscript department there: "Wykaz rękopisów Biblioteki Baworowskich" and "Wykaz rękopisów Biblioteki Poturzyckiej Dzieduszyckich." Materials from these libraries in AGAD — transferred there from the National Library in Warsaw — are covered by separate typescript inventories available in the public reading room. See fns. 45 and 46 regarding manuscripts in Warsaw from the University Library. Data regarding the transfer to Wrocław were furnished to me from the Ossolineum records there.

Following the reestablishment of Soviet rule in the area in 1944, all except what had been the first (University Library) section of the German State Library were reorganized as the Lviv Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (L'vivs'ka biblioteka AN URSR, or LBAN), according to the plans begun in 1940–1941. In subsequent years, some major collections — or parts thereof — that had originally been consolidated in the Academy Library were shifted elsewhere. Only a few of the most important changes can be mentioned here. Most crucial was the transfer in 1946 and 1947 of a large part of the library and over half of the remaining manuscript holdings of the former Ossolineum to Wrocław, which by then had become part of Poland. The Ossolineum itself was reestablished there as a major library under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The official agreement stated that manuscripts most specifically relating to Ukrainian history and culture, particularly those from and relating to the area of Lviv, were to be retained in Lviv. Unfortunately, however, the division of the collection was executed in haste and often without regard to the integrity of previously existing collections. Thus, many of the integral Ossolineum collections have been and remain split between Wrocław and Lviv, making it difficult for researchers to use many of the manuscripts concerned. Detailed catalogues have been published in Wrocław covering the parts of the collections transferred there, but no similar catalogues have been prepared in Lviv to describe the many rich parts of the collections that remain.[40]

As mentioned earlier, in 1940 the Academy Library took over the library and manuscript collections of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the National Home, but in both cases the institutional records involved were transferred to the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv (TsDIA-L), along with some archival materials and personal papers. Relatively few papers were taken abroad by those who emigrated during or immediately after World War II.[41] After the war the records and some

[40] See my article "The Stefanyk Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences — A Treasury for the Manuscript Collections of Lviv," forthcoming in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. Statistics about current holdings and details about their current organization were furnished to me by the library's staff during my visits there in 1973 and 1978.

[41] *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu*, 6 vols. and index vol. (Wrocław, 1948–79). The first two volumes, edited by J. Turska (together with a separate index volume), cover the manuscripts transferred from Lviv; the second volume includes a reedition of the Gębarowicz catalogue of the Pawlikowski library (see fn. 7). Numbers for manuscripts remaining in Lviv are omitted from the Wrocław catalogues. Separate charters and other individual documents held by the Ossolineum in Wrocław are covered by the catalogues compiled by Adam Fastnacht, *Catalogus diplomatum Bibliothecae Instituti Ossoliniani*, suppl. 1:

of the manuscript collections of the Shevchenko Society's ethnographic division were transferred to Kiev, where they are now held by the Institute of Ethnography, Folklore, and Art of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.[42] The personal papers, literary manuscripts, and Slavic manuscript book collections of Ivan Franko, which had previously been held by the Shevchenko Society, were likewise transferred to Kiev; they are now held by the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences. Also transferred there were some personal papers and literary manuscripts of Lesia Ukrainka and other noted Ukrainian writers which had earlier been retained in Lviv.[43]

Since 1945 there have been some additional shifts of the materials that came to the library in 1940, but it is not possible to document all the details. More important than transfers out has been the continuing growth of the manuscript division, which makes it today the second most important library in the Soviet Ukraine, after the manuscript holdings of the Academy of Sciences Library in Kiev. Transferred to the administration of the Ministry of Culture during the years 1963–1969, the library was subsequently returned to Academy jurisdiction, and in 1971 took its present name of the V. Stefanyk Lviv Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences (L'vivs'ka naukova biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka AN URSR).[44]

Only one other previously existing library in Lviv has retained important manuscript holdings that were not incorporated into the Academy Library. Indeed, the holdings of Lviv University Library remained largely intact, although under Soviet rule the official institutional name was changed to the Scientific Library of the Ivan Franko Lviv State Univer-

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Inde ab anno 1279 usque ad annum 1506 (Wrocław, 1951) (a supplement to the earlier Pohorecki catalogue cited in fn. 5); and *Katalog dokumentów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*, 2 vols. (Wrocław, 1953–59) (covering documents from the years 1507 to 1939). Additional data regarding the Ossolineum holdings in Wrocław in relation to their earlier situation in Lviv will be provided in my article on the Academy Library in Lviv (see fn. 40).

42 The Shevchenko Scientific Society has been widely dispersed in emigration; its main centers are in Sarcelles, France, and in New York. The society maintains a publication series and some scattered archival holdings. Data regarding Ukrainian archival holdings outside the USSR are being collected at the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard.

43 A comprehensive guide to the institute's manuscript holdings which includes a survey of the NTSh collections has been completed in typescript form, and is available for reference use at the institute in Kiev; unfortunately, it has still not been published.

44 For the Franko papers, see the survey by Ia. R. Dashkevych, "Arkhiv Ivana Franka," *Zhurnal Biblioteky Akademii nauk URSR*, 1947, no. 1 (3), pp. 83–86. There is no comprehensive guide to the manuscript holdings of the Institute of Literature in Kiev, although separate articles survey some other important fonds that include manuscripts transferred there from Lviv.

sity (Naukova biblioteka L'vivs'koho derzhavnoho universitetu im. Ivan Franka). Unlike the Academy Library, the University Library never became a consolidation point for additional manuscript collections in the area. In fact, today it retains most of the same manuscript holdings that it had had in the 1920s. However, a number of its treasures were lost or dispersed during the Second World War. In fact, some of its most valuable manuscripts were part of the large evacuation in April 1944. Approximately 120 of these manuscripts (predominantly Polish materials) were recovered in Poland and sent to Warsaw in 1945, and are now held by the National Library. There have been a few subsequent additions to the university collections in Lviv. Unfortunately, no catalogue or even basic survey description of its holdings has ever been published, although these now comprise approximately 1,600 units.[45] There has been a published description of Armenian manuscripts,[46] and a selected list of those of special Polish interest.[47]

Apart from the libraries of the Academy of Sciences and Lviv University, only two museums retained manuscript collections following the period of Soviet reorganization. In both cases, these museums exist today in much the same way as when they were established in 1939–1940.

[45] A brief pamphlet has been issued describing the library, but it mentions the manuscript holdings only in passing: *Naukova biblioteka L'vivs'koho derzhavnoho universytetu im. Iv. Franka: Korotkyi dovidnyk*, comp. by I. M. Kirilov (Lviv, 1959). Among the most valuable manuscripts taken from Lviv University Library in 1944 and now held by the National Library in Warsaw are 19 Latin religious manuscripts dating from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century, a number of which are on parchment, including three illuminated manuscripts from the abbey of Tyniec. Among those from later centuries are important Polish literary manuscripts, Catholic religious manuscripts, including a series of catalogues from Galician monastic libraries, and five Cyrillic Slavonic religious manuscripts; microfilms of all of these former Lviv manuscripts are available on order from the National Library in Warsaw.

[46] The publication of Nerses Akinian's catalogue of Armenian manuscripts began serially in the journal *Handēs amsoreay* in 1936. It was reissued in a separate edition in 1961: *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Lvovi hamalsarani matenadarani ark' episkoposarani ew Stanislawovi / Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in den Bibliotheken zu Lwow und Stanislawow* (Vienna, 1961; "Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' hratarakeal i Uxit'arean miabanut'enē i Vienna / Haupt-Katalog der armenischen Handschriften, hrsg. von der Wiener Mechitharisten Congregation," vol. 11), unfortunately without taking into account the postwar disposition of holdings; see the review by Ia. Dashkevych in *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 1 (1964): 436–38. The manuscripts listed by Dashkevych as having been lost during the Second World War (nos. 48, 52, 55, 58–61, and 64–69) are now all held by the National Library in Warsaw, where they are listed in the card catalogue of accessions and are available for order on microfilm.

[47] The manuscript books from the Stauropegial Museum that had been described by Svientsits'kyi in the inventory mentioned above (see fn. 25) are all reportedly held by the Historical Museum, although the archival documents covered are in TsDIA-L. See the citations for current holdings as given in the recent studies by Isaievych cited above (fn. 24).

Officially created already in 1939, the State Historical Museum in Lviv (L'vivs'kyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi muzei) was a combination and outgrowth of three previous institutions — the earlier Historical Museum of the City of Lviv, the Museum of the Stauropegial Institute, and the King John III National Museum. In effect, the actual organization and opening of the new exhibitions took place only after the war. The manuscript collections of the three earlier institutions were combined as a basis for the newly consolidated state museum. Although most of the manuscript books earlier held by the Stauropegial Museum are now held by the Historical Museum, most of its archival documents and institutional records were deposited in the State Historical Archive (TsDIA-L).[48] In the case of the other component collections now held by the Historical Museum, inadequate cataloguing makes it impossible to determine how many of the historical documents and manuscripts held before the war have been retained. Apparently, a few of the holdings were dispersed during the war and some of the documents restored to fonds held by the State Historical Archive. While the museum has expanded greatly in the past four decades, it has not increased its manuscript or documentary holdings, except for a few copies of documents used for exhibits. No descriptions of the manuscript holdings have appeared.[49] Since the early 1970s the institution's official name has been simply the Lviv Historical Museum (L'vivs'kyi istorychnyi muzei).

The Ukrainian National Museum, another museum of great note for its manuscripts, retained its original building and collections. Renamed the Lviv State Museum of Ukrainian Art (L'vivs'kyi derzhavnyi muzei ukrains'koho mystetstva) in 1940, it is now officially called the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art. Although the character of the museum has been transformed greatly during the last four decades, its manuscript holdings have remained intact. Most valuable are its fine illuminated manuscript books and its scattered archival materials from Uniate churches in the Western Ukraine. The museum manuscript holdings now total over 4,000 units, including approximately 1,020 manuscript books. However, as is the case

48 The recent guide to the museum, *L'vivs'kyi istorychnyi muzei: Putivnyk*, comp. by R. S. Bahrii et al. (Lviv, 1976), mentions and illustrates a few of the manuscript books exhibited. A catalogue of part of the graphic collection compiled by I. O. Sveshnikova, *L'viv u kolektsii hrafiky: Anotovanyi kataloh*, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1960), is the only scholarly finding-aid issued by the museum since 1940.

49 The survey article by M. Wąsowicz, "Materialy do dziejów polski w Centralnych Historycznych Archiwach Państwowych w Lwowie i Kijowie," *Archeion* 33 (1960): 111–17, provides a list (with dates, size, and code numbers) of seventy-seven especially notable manuscripts and twenty-five maps and atlases now held by the Lviv University Library.

with so many valuable manuscript collections in the Soviet Ukraine, its treasures still await descriptive cataloguing.[50]

Manuscript collections that had been in the custody of various religious groups before 1939 were nationalized by Soviet authorities under the same decree that subjected church records to state archival authority. However, after Soviet Ukrainian rule was established in the Lviv area, or subsequently, during German occupation, some of the major archives and manuscript collections of the Roman Catholic church were removed to Poland. Since the Roman Catholic church was associated predominantly with the Polish population in Lviv, it had a relatively minor role after the population exchanges under Soviet rule. In fact, the Roman Catholic see in Lviv has remained vacant, although an apostolic administrator responsible for portions of the archbishopric resides in Lubaczów, Poland.

The archive, with some associated manuscript and documentary collections of both the Roman Catholic chapter and consistory in Lviv, had been well ordered and described before 1939.[51] Part of the diocesan archive was removed and a part reportedly destroyed by fire after Soviet troops occupied its premises in 1939. Some other parts were brought to the Dominican monastery and later turned over to the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv. Scattered records remain there now from both the Roman Catholic consistory (dating from the years 1482–1944) and from the chapter (from the years 1417–1939), but these consist of actual church records — including parish registers, i.e., metricular books — rather than manuscript collections.[52] Major groups of records from the

[50] The recent guide to the museum exhibits — *L'vivs'kyi muzei ukrains'koho mystetstva: Putivnyk,* comp. by Ia. I. Nanovs'kyi et al. (Lviv, 1978) — mentions several of the illuminated manuscripts, as did earlier editions. Ilarion Svientsits'kyi, who had directed the museum from its early years until his death in 1956, prepared a descriptive catalogue of 720 of the manuscript books, but unfortunately it has never been published; it is listed among his manuscripts in the memorial issue of *Pytannia slov"ians'koho movoznavstva* 5 (1958): 290. A short article by I. P. Kryp"iakevych, "Nevykorystane dzherelo do istorii staroi knyhy," *Naukovyi zbirnyk Biblioteky AN URSR* 1 (1946): 98–102, briefly described the eighteenth-century Greek Catholic visitation protocols that remain among the extensive, church-related, archival materials in the museum. I have not been able to determine whether or not all of the Greek Catholic archival materials — including the early archive of the Sheptyts'kyi family — listed as having been there in the 1930s are there today.

[51] See fns. 14–15 above.

[52] Based on data furnished to me at TsDIA-L in 1978. Parchments from the Roman Catholic archives that remain there have been integrated into the consolidated parchment collection in TsDIA-L. They have been described in *Kataloh perhamentnykh dokumentiv Tsentral'noho derzhavnoho istorychnoho arkhivu URSR u L'vovi, 1233–1799,* comp. by O. A. Kupchyns'kyi and E. I. Ruzhyts'kyi, ed. by Ia. R. Dashkevych (Kiev, 1972).

consistory and from the metropolitan chapter have been deposited in the archbishopric curia archive in Lubaczów (Archiwum Kurii Arcybiskupiej w Lubaczowie), which was established there in 1945. Most of the materials now in Lubaczów consist of actual church records, but miscellaneous documents and manuscript books are among them.[53]

Few manuscript collections as such from Roman Catholic institutions remain in Lviv today. Once Soviet rule was established there, some of the library manuscript collections of the Roman Catholic religious orders were removed. Since the orders were not reactivated in the Western Ukraine after the war, their collections remained in Poland. For example, many archival records and manuscripts from the Bernardine Order from Lviv are now part of the Bernardine Archive in Cracow.[54] However, many of the manuscripts from the library of the Benedictine monastery in Lviv remain in the Academy Library in Lviv. Some Jesuit materials from the area are similarly held by the archive of the Jesuit Province of Little Poland in Cracow.[55] Parts of the rich Dominican collection from Lviv are also now in Cracow, in the archive of the Dominican Order there, and some are held by the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław. Scattered materials from other religious orders are in other Polish repositories.[56]

Under Soviet rule, the Ukrainian Uniate (called Greek Catholic during the interwar period) church, which had been predominant among the native Ukrainian population of the Western Ukraine, was gradually suppressed and then, in 1946, officially abolished in the Ukraine. Many Uniate institutional records nevertheless remain in Lviv, where after the Second World War they were consolidated into the reorganized Central

53 No new published catalogue has been prepared since the Second World War. The holdings, with references to the prewar catalogues prepared in Lviv, are mentioned in the recent encyclopedia article, "Archiwa kościoła katolickiego w Polsce," in *Encyklopedia Katolicka,* vol. 1 (Lublin, 1973), col. 881.

54 See the listing of materials from Lviv in the catalogue prepared by H. E. Wyczawski, "Katalog Archiwum Prowincji OO. Bernardynów w Krakowie," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 3, pt. 1/2 (1961): 25–102; 4 (1962): 23–225; and 5 (1962): 13–210.

55 The article by S. Bernarski, "Polonica w archiwach jezuickich," *Nauka Polska* 20 (1935): 141–67, although it does not provide a catalogue, gives some indication of the types of materials to be found in the Cracow archive for the Jesuit Province of Little Poland. Other Jesuit records from the area are in Rome.

56 As mentioned earlier, the Dominican manuscript holdings in Lviv were the largest among those of Roman Catholic religious orders, but I have not been able to trace their fate, since they were not covered by published catalogues. Eleven manuscripts from the Dominican monastery in Lviv are now held by the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław (nos. 14,198–14,208). There is no published description of the Dominican archive in Cracow, but some materials from the Lviv area are reportedly held there. For listing of scattered documentation regarding the Franciscans in Lviv, see the article by O. D. Synowiec, "Źródła rękopiśmienne do działalności duszpasterskiej franciszkanów galicyjskich (1772–1918)," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 24 (1972): 318–44.

State Historical Archive (now TsDIA-L). That archive has major segments of the records of the metropolitan consistory in Lviv (with documents from the years 1332–1945) and of the metropolitan chapter (from the years 1746–1944), but these do not include any of the library manuscript collections. Records from the estates of the Galician metropolitanate for the years 1656–1942 also remain there, but the bulk of them are from the twentieth century. Some other manuscript materials from the Galician metropolitanate — especially from the early nineteenth century, when Mykhailo Cardinal Levyts'kyi (1774–1858) was metropolitan — are held by the Academy Library.[57] As mentioned earlier, the Academy Library acquired the collection of the Library of the Theological Academy in Lviv (Biblioteka Bohoslovs'koi akademii u L'vovi), with religious manuscripts dating from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century. And perhaps more important, the Academy Library also holds the extensive Basilian collections, including those from the St. Onufrius monastery and other former Basilian churches from the area.[58] It should be noted, however, that the institutional archive of the Basilian Order and its monasteries, along with some of their manuscripts, is held in TsDIA-L.

The Armenian Catholic church, too, is no longer operative in the Lviv area. Records that remain from the archepiscopal consistory (dating from the years 1512–1938) are now held by TsDIA-L. As mentioned earlier, many of the early manuscript collections from the Armenian cathedral chapter library in Lviv had been deposited in the Ossolineum in the nineteenth century. Linked to the fate of that institution, some were transferred to Wrocław after the Second World War, while some remain in the Academy Library in Lviv; another part of that collection is now in the Mechitarist Library in Vienna. Part of the Armenian library collections was brought to the Academy Library in 1940, with the acquisition of the library of the Armenian Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz (1864–1938),

[57] Data about current holdings in TsDIA-L were furnished during my visit there in 1978. See the more detailed notes by Wąsowicz, "Materiały do dziejow polski," pp. 108–110. For the records of the estates of the Greek Catholic Galician metropolitanate 1978. See the more detailed notes by Wąsowicz. "Materiały do dziejow polski," pp. 108–110. For the records of the estates of the Greek Catholic Galician metropolitanate now in the Academy Library, see E. M. Humeniuk, "Arkhiv stolovykh maietkiv halyts'koi mytropolii," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1970, no. 1, pp. 68–72.

[58] According to current figures in the Academy Library, there are 972 units in the Basilian collection; all manuscripts that were described in pre-1939 accounts appear to be extant there.

but some of the manuscripts from the Teodorowicz collection were later transferred to Wrocław.[59]

Most of the Hebrew manuscripts that remained in Lviv after the Second World War were reportedly transferred to the Leningrad Branch the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. A few remnants of the Jewish Community Library remain in the Academy Library in Lviv, but some of its holdings were dispersed during the war and most of the rest were transferred to Leningrad. However, there is no catalogue or descriptive publication which covers these holdings.[60]

Much more could be written about the fate of manuscript collections in Lviv, and much more information is badly needed by scholars anxious to find individual manuscripts or to pursue the study of the rich and varied culture of the area. What is needed most at present is a massive cataloguing effort by the major Lviv repositories themselves. Until detailed catalogues are prepared and published, it is impossible to understand completely the fate of major collections or the whereabouts of individual manuscripts.

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59 For the details of the present location of documentation — including religious collections — from and relating to the Armenian community in Lviv, see the thorough coverage and additional bibliography in the lengthy article by Ia. R. Dashkevych, "Administratyvni, sudovi i finansovi knyhy na Ukraini v XIII–XVIII st. (problematyka, stan, i metodyka doslidzhennia)," *Istorychni dzherela ta ikh vykorystannia* 4 (1969): 129–70. For coverage of some of the extant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documentation from the Lviv Armenian community, see Dashkevych's later article, "L'vovskie armiano-kypchakskie dokumenty XVI–XVII vv. kak istoricheskii istochnik," *Patma-benasirakan handes / Istoriko-filologicheskii zhurnal* (Erevan), 1977, no. 2 (77), pp. 151–76. For a survey of materials extant in TsDIA-L, see the article by P. Kh. Pyrozhenko, "Materialy TsGIA Ukrainskoi SSR vo L'vove po istorii armianskikh poselenii na Ukraine," *Istoricheskie sviazi i druzhba ukrainskogo i armianskogo narodov: Sbornik materialov nauchnoi sessii* (Erevan, 1961), pp. 237–51. With regard to the fate of Armenian manuscripts from the Lviv University Library, see Dashkevych's review of the Akinian catalogue cited in fn. 46. Manuscripts from the collection of Archbishop Teodorowicz now in Wrocław (nos. 12,079–12,103) are described in the sixth volume of the Ossolineum catalogue.

60 I have not been able to obtain precise data about the fate of Hebrew manuscripts or archival materials regarding the Jewish community in Lviv. To be sure, some materials were lost or dispersed during the Second World War, the explanation most frequently given now. However, part of the problem stems from the lack of adequate catalogues or published descriptions of pre-1939 holdings, and from the fact that there are no Hebraic scholars active in Lviv now. A few Hebrew manuscripts remain in the Academy Library, and some scattered Jewish archival materials remain in TsDIA-L, but no published descriptions are available.

Evliya Çelebi as Linguist

TIBOR HALASI-KUN

Philologists specializing in Ottoman studies — A. Bombaci, K. Foy, G. Hazai, W. Heffening, J. Németh, A. Zajączkowski, and myself included — have long attached great importance to Ottoman texts written by non-Turkish scribes in non-Turkish scripts, that is, to the western Latin, Italian, Croatian, Hungarian, Polish, German, Gothic, Cyrillic, Greek, and eastern Syriac manuscripts generally referred to as Ottoman transcription texts.[1] These documents provide invaluable information, especially regarding the vocalic stock of a language.

Far less attention has been paid to those reverse transcription texts which also exist, i.e., to the textual monuments in Ottoman script by Ottoman authors and scribes, which directly or indirectly provide an enormous variety of information for both non-Turkic and Turkic linguistics. Thus, for instance, little or no use has been made of the Ottoman cadastres as a linguistic source, though it stands to reason — and I confirmed it in my work with them[2] — that the scribes of the *defter*s aimed at rendering sound equivalents as closely as possible, especially where names of individuals and places were concerned. Consequently, if used correctly, these registers can be a gold mine of valuable linguistic data. The few pertinent literary works that have so far been identified as transcription texts in reverse are only the beginning: they include the "Hymn of Dragoman Murat,"[3] some *mülemma*s from Bosnia,[4] and

[1] T. Halasi-Kun, "Gennadios török hitvallása," *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1935–39): 139–247; G. Hazai, "Nachträglisches Vorwort zu einer Veröffentlichungsreihe," *Archivum Ottomanicum* (hereafter *AO*), 6 (1974, in press); idem, "Present-day Views on Ottoman Historical Grammar and Some of its Prevailing Problems," *AO* 7 (1975, in press).

[2] T. Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı yer adları üzerinde araştırmalar," *Türk dili ve Tarihi Hakkında Araştırmalar* 1 (1950): 63–104; idem, "Sixteenth-century Turkish Settlements in Southern Hungary," *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kurumu), 28: 1–72.

[3] F. Babinger, "Der Pfortendolmetsch Murād und seine Schriften," *Ungarische Bibliothek* (Ungarisches Institut an der Universität Berlin), ser. 1, 14: 33–54.

[4] O. Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler* (Leipzig, 1868).

especially the language notes of Evliya Çelebi, the renowned seventeenth-century Ottoman historical geographer, although these last are regarded by some with reservations.[5] It was precisely this skepticism combined with certain hints provided by the exacting manner of transcription found among cadastre scribes that first prompted me to scrutinize some of Evliya Çelebi's transcriptions more closely, with the thought that positive findings might eventually induce scholars to reevaluate Çelebi as a historical geographer, as well.

In his *Seyahatname*, Evliya Çelebi provides samples of some twenty-six languages and dialects, most of which have yet to be subjected to thorough philological scrutiny.[6] I concentrated my attention on the Hungarian material, already worked on by L. Ligeti, but instead of using the two available editions,[7] each offering an often greatly altered version of the original manuscript, but both still in general use, I based my investigation on a photostat copy of the autograph (vol. 6, fol. 9v) preserved in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul.[8]

Before proceeding to the text itself, however, two major factors affecting the outcome of any such investigation should be mentioned. One of them is, of course, the quality and the authenticity of the source itself. The other is that the way Ottoman texts transcribe non-Turkic language material is strongly affected by certain Ottoman predispositions, or, as I

5 Gy. Szekfű, "Bevezetés (Kútfőkritikai tanulmány a hódoltság korabeli török történetírókról)," *Török történetírók* 3: 1–63.

6 On the Kaytak material, see V. Bart'old, "K voprosu o proisxoždenii kajtakov," *Ėtnografičeskoe obozrenie* (Moscow), 4–5 (1910): 37–45; P. Pelliot, "Le prétendu vocabulaire mongol des Ḳaitaḳ de Daghistan," *Journal Asiatique*, 1927, no. 1, pp. 279–94; idem, "Les formes turques et mongoles dans la nomenclature zoologique du Nuzhattu-'l-ḳulūb," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London), 6 (1931): 555–80. On the Caucasian material, see R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasischen Sprachproben in Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname," *Caucasica* 11: 84–126; J. von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa . . . , by Evliya Effendi*, 2 vols. (London, 1846–50), 2: 58, 173, and 197. On the Hungarian material, see L. Ligeti, "Evliya Cselebi magyar szójegyzéke," *Magyar Nyelv* 67 (1971): 394–409 (= *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van*, vol. 1, Budapest Oriental Reprints, A I [Budapest, 1977], pp. 324–40). On the German material, see H. J. Kissling, "Einige deutsche Sprachproben bei Evliyā Čelebi," *Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa* 11 (1935): 212–20. The Rumanian material is currently being compiled by M. Zobian, Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University. The dialect of Bolu is being studied by H. Eren.

7 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vols. 1–10 (Istanbul, 1886–1938); Z. Danışman, ed. and trans., *Evliyâ Çelebi seyâhatnâme, Mehmet Zıllı oğlu Evliyâ Çelebi*, vols. 1–13 (Istanbul, 1969–71; vols. 14 and 15 have not yet been published).

8 A. Taeschner, "Die neue Stambuler Ausgabe von Evlijā Tschelebis Reisewerk," *Der Islam* 18 (1929): 209–310; R. Kreutel, "Neues zur Evliya-Çelebi-Forschung," *Der Islam* 48 (1971): 269–78; P. A. MacKay, "The Manuscripts of the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi. Part 1: The Archetype," *Der Islam* 52 (1975): 278–97.

prefer to call them, *Systemszwangs* that are mainly orthographic, phonetic, and morphophonetic in character.[9]

Thus, for instance, though on occasion one might find a *ye* as an indicator of consonant palatalization,[10] in the majority of cases the same phenomenon is reflected by a *kef*. This is the result of a *Systemszwang* that is orthographic in character.[11] Similarly, the Ottoman transcription for the Hungarian consonant cluster *m+b* is a consistent *nun+be,* as can be seen — just to give one example — in the Hungarian place-name *Sombor.*[12] The reflection of the Italian *gl,* or the South Slavic *ć* (read *t'*) with *kef* (in the latter case, the usage is restricted to *ć,* and, as a rule, never extended to *č* or *c*) is also orthographic in character.

When we turn to the phonetic *Zwangs*, pertinent data seem to show rather clearly that aside from Islamic loan material, where the original Arabic and Persian ways were sacrosanct, vocalic length in Ottoman texts is not proved. This is especially true if one realizes that after the introduction of the Latin script, vocalic length, since it was alien to the basic sound stock of the language, tended to diminish even where Islamic loan material was concerned. In addition to vowel shortening in general,[13] phonetic *Systemszwang* is involved in the reflection of the Hungarian closed and open long *e* as a short *i* and a short *e,* respectively, whenever indicated.[14] For the first case we find examples such as H. *körtvély* = T. *körtvil, négy* = *nid', méz* = *miz.*[15] Even today, the Turkish ear will perceive the Hungarian closed long *é* as short *i*: H. *szép* = T. *sip.* For the second case the most obvious examples are the Hungarian geographical names *Erdély* = T. *Erdel,* and *Bécs* = T. *Beç.* The Hungarian long non-labial *á* is commonly heard and rendered as a short *à,* as, for example, in the Hungarian place-name *Vác* = T. *Vàç.* The same place-name also serves as a good example of a consonantal *Systemszwang*: missing from the Turkish sound stock, the Hungarian *c* (read *ts*) is mainly reflected with a *çim* in Ottoman script.[16] Phonetic in character is the nonindication of *geminata*

9 For the effect of *Systemszwangs*, see my article "The Ottoman Elements in the Syrian dialects," I, II, II cont., in *AO,* vols. I, 5, and 7; and P. B. Golden's "The Oğuz (Ottoman-Safavid) Elements in Georgian," *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and the Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern* (New York, 1977).

10 The depalatalized forms in the list that follows (nos. 41, 43, 57, 58, 61, and 70) can be attributed to depalatalized dialect variants.

11 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 94.

12 Halasi-Kun, "Sixteenth-century Turkish Settlements," p. 35 and passim.

13 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," pp. 94–95.

14 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," pp. 94–95.

15 Ligeti, "Evliya Cselebi," p. 331.

16 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 95.

(consonant length),[17] a phenomenon accepted and reflected only in Persian loanwords, whether of Persian or Arabic origin.[18] The rendering of the Hungarian final voiced consonants by the Turkish *media explosiva* (medial plosives) is also phonetic in character.[19]

Morphophonetic *Systemszwang* is involved in the dissolution of consonant clusters by epenthesis, elision, and epithesis.[20]

Aside from the various *Zwang*s, some simple orthographic practices also affected the ways initial and final vowels, and vowels in general, are reflected. And although, except for the neglected effort by Thúry,[21] no systematic study of the historical characteristics of Ottoman Turkish orthography has yet been done, some of these characteristics are obvious from the texts. Thus, vowels, whenever they are indicated, are represented either by a vowel symbol (*vav, ye, elif*), by a *hareke* (*fetha, kesre, zamme*), or by a combination of the two. Though generally considered a vowel symbol, *elif,* in most cases, is actually the carrier of a *hemze* (probably small *'ain*), representing a *Stimmritzenverschlusslaut* present in every vocalic sound in the initial position. For the sound color the *elif* is usually complemented with a second vowel symbol: *elif* complemented with a *hareke* usually represents a palatal *e,* and *elif* complemented with a *medde* (i.e., a combination of two *elif*s in which the first one carries the *hemze,* and the second is of vocalic value) usually stands for a velar *á.* In representing vowels in general, earlier Turkic writings made generous use of the *harekes*. Later on, however, in Eastern Turkic (Chaghatay, etc.) texts the *harekes* were brought down and up to the line, made *plene,* whereas in Western Turkic (Ottoman) they lost their function altogether as it came to be considered sufficient to mark the vowel only once, if at all,[22] in the same word, and to do so in *plene.* Of the vowels in final position, *-a,* and *-e,* as a rule, are reflected with a *he*; only in a very few random cases do we find an *elif* in that position.[23]

Turning back now to Evliya Çelebi's Hungarian sample, my reading of the relevant material follows:[24]

17 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 95.
18 Halasi-Kun, "Ottoman Elements."
19 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 95.
20 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," pp. 96–97.
21 J. Thúry, "A XIV. századbeli oszmán-török nyelv," *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 34 (1904): especially 151–57.
22 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 102.
23 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 96.
24 For the material in brackets, I rendered the initial *hemze* by the usual symbol ('), the straight *harekes* by raised a, u, i, the *plene* vowel marks by lower case a, w, y, and

1. [ʼ^{a}k] *ed'* 'one'
2. [k^{a}tW] *ketö* 'two'
3. [xarm] *har(o)m* 'three'
4. [nYk] *nid'* 'four'
5. [hWt] *höt* 'five'
6. [xat] *hat* 'six'
7. [h^{a}t] *het* 'seven'
8. [kWç] *n'oç* 'eight'
9. [kYlnç] *kil(e)nç* 'nine'
10. [tYz] *tiz* 'ten'
11. [ḥ^{u}swAn] *husvan* 'twenty'
12. [k^{a}twAn] *ketvan* 'twenty'
13. [ḫar . . .] *har(minç)* 'thirty'
14. [nkwan] *n(e)d'ven* 'forty'
15. [hWtwAn] *hötven* 'fifty'
16. [ḥAtwAn] *hatvan* 'sixty'
17. [h^{a}twAn] *hetven* 'seventy'
18. [k'WçwAn] *n'oçvan* 'eighty'
19. [ḳ^{i}lnçwAn] *kil(e)nçven* 'ninety'
20. [tYzwAn] *tizvan* 'hundred'
21. [knYr] *k(e)nir* 'bread'
22. [w^{i}z] *viz* 'water'
23. [şW] *şo* 'salt'
24. [şAytUn] *şayt* 'cheese'
25. [wAy] *vay* 'butter'
26. [mYz] *miz* 'honey'
27. [t^{a}y] *tey* 'milk'
28. [t^{a}yf^{a}l] *teyfel* '(sour)cream'
29. ['alWtt^{a}y] *aluttey* 'butter(milk)'
30. [ḥAkmA] *had'ma* 'onion'
31. [ḳ^{a}nAl] *kanal* 'spoon'
32. [k^{a}ş] *keş* 'knife'
33. [ṭAlṭ] *tal(a)t* 'dish'
34. [pYnçbH] *pinç(e)be* 'basement'
35. [k^{a}rkA] *d'ert'a* 'candle'
36. [lWnAḳ] *lonak* 'it is a horse (= T. *at dır*)'
37. [tWz] *tüz* 'fire'
38. [d^{i}snW] *disno* 'pig'
39. [hWzzh bWzAt] *hozza buzat* 'bring the wheat'
40. [hWzzh 'abrAḳt] *hozza abrak(o)t* ['bring the fodder']
41. [l^{i}yan] *liyan* 'girl'
42. [k^{a}rmk] *d'erm(e)k* 'child'
43. [ʼ^{a}ṣṣwn] *asson* 'woman'
44. [s^{a}mH] *seme* 'eye (of)'

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the same, when complemented with *harekes*, by upper case A, W, Y. In rendering the consonants, I followed, more or less, the standard form.

45. [zWrWt] *(a)z orot* 'nose'
46. [ṣAyH] *saya* 'mouth (of)'
47. [haṣh] *haṣa* 'belly (of)'
48. [kww^{a}l] *d'övel* 'come'
49. ['^{a}r^{a}k] *ered'* 'go'
50. [h^{a}mAr ḥWz] *hamar hoz* 'bring fast'
51. [s^{a}k^{a}r] *seker* 'wagon'
52. [mWjtkH] *mojt ke* 'wash it'
53. ['Ynkh] *inge* 'the shirt of'
54. [hWçH n^{a}ḳ^{a}m 'ayandYḳ] *hoça nekem ayandik* 'here, give me a gift'
55. [fWḳm^{a}k] *fok meg* 'grab it, etc.'
56. [kWḳ] *t'uk* 'hen'
57. [kWḳmAn] *t'ukmon* 'egg'
58. [ḳWrtwYl] *körtvil* 'pear'
59. ['lma] *alma* 'apple'
60. [m^{a}k] *med'* 'sour cherry'
61. [ç^{a}rṣnH] *çereṣne* 'cherry'
62. [hAlH] *hala* 'the fish of'
63. [çWnpW] *çompo* 'terch'
64. [l^{i}st] *list* 'flour'
65. [sWl] *söl(ö)* 'grape'
66. [s^{i}lwA] *silva* 'prune'
67. [fAyH] *faya* 'the wood of'
68. [d^{i}yW] *diyo* 'walnut'
69. ['anb^{a}r] *ember* 'man'
70. [m^{a}nAçkH] *meneçke* 'bride'
71. [kywakwn] *ki vad'on* 'who is it'
72. [n^{a}m tWdWm] *nem tudom* 'I do not know'
73. [nm lAt^{a}m] *n(e)m lat(t)am* 'I did not see'
74. [hWnlWḳ . .] *hun lakol* 'where do you hail from'
75. ['Yt lAḳWm] *it lakom* 'I live here'
76. [hWzH ḳ^{i}çY vAlAḳAt] *hoz(z)a kiçi valakat* 'bring your little c . . t here'
77. [bAṣWm ṣ^{a}g^{a}t] *basom ṣeget* 'f . . . your ass'
78. [bAṣthm anyh] *bastam anyat*[25] 'f . . . your mother'.

From this list it is evident that: (a) in a number of incidents, nouns appear with case endings (33: acc., 34: ill., 36: dat., 45: acc.), even if they are not given as part of a phrase; (b) the third-person-possessive suffix often appears at the end of nouns, especially nouns designating parts of the human body (44, 46, 47, but also 53, 62, 67), a phenomenon also observed by Grønbech;[26] (c) in one instance (40) the Turkish meaning is missing from the entry. Entries 12, 40, 76, 77, 78 are missing from the two

[25] The final twice-dotted *he*, in given cases (*status constructus*, feminine, etc.) representing a final *te*, often appears undotted in Ottoman.
[26] K. Grönbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Copenhagen, 1942), pp. 30 (*avzu*), 36 (*alnı*), 37 (*amu*).

published editions, and one entry in them (*kétszáz,* following our entry 20: *tizvan*) is not to be found in the autograph. All in all, the examples presented here reflect the work of a good linguist with a remarkable ability to render accurately even sounds alien to the Turkish ear.

If one is willing to discount certain descriptive predispositions characteristic of that stage of Ottoman historiography, the core of Evliya Çelebi's narration might also effectively repudiate some of the criticism leveled against the author as a historical geographer. In any case, a new critical edition, and a thorough study of the autograph material is needed before justice can be done to Evliya Çelebi as a linguist, as a historian, and as a geographer.

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The Place of Tatar among the Turkic Languages

SHIRÔ HATTORI

1. Tatar is extremely different from Chuvash although the two languages are spoken in adjacent areas. A. N. Samoilovich dichotomizes the Turkic languages into the R-languages, which today includes only Chuvash, and the Z-languages, that is, all the other Turkic languages and dialects.[1] Annemarie von Gabain classifies Yakut and Chuvash as remote from all the other Turkic languages,[2] and Nicholas Poppe has coined the term "Chuvash-Turkic languages" to acknowledge and incorporate the distinction.[3] K. H. Menges divides the Turkic languages into six divisions (A-F), comprising twelve groups (I-XII);[4] about the sixth division (F), to which extinct Volga-Bulgarian (XI) and living Chuvash (XII) belong, Menges wrote, "this division did not form part of any genuine Proto-Turkic unit, but represented an intermediary between Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongol."[5] These authors generally assign Tatar and Bashkir to the northwestern or Kipchak group, which includes Karaim, Karachai-Balkar, Kumyk; Nogai, Kazakh, Karakalpak; and Kirghiz. For example, Poppe distinguishes five groups: (1) Yakut (E in Menges), (2) Tuva-Khakas (C and D in Menges), (3) Kipchak (B and C in Menges), (4) Chagatai (A-I in Menges), and (5) Turkmen (the Oghuz group, or A-II in Menges).

2. In my opinion, however, Tatar and Bashkir hold a very peculiar place among the Turkic languages,[6] for the first syllables of (autonomous) words in these two languages have the vowels *i, ü, u*; *e, ö*, ə, *o*, which

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 4 (Leiden and London, 1934).
[2] Annemarie von Gabain, "Charakteristik der Türksprachen," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 5, pt. 1/1: *Turkologie* (Leiden and Cologne, 1963), p. 4.
[3] Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics* (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 33ff.
[4] K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (hereafter *TLP*) (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 59ff.
[5] Menges, *TLP*, p. 61.
[6] I learned Tatar in Manchuria in 1933–1936. Cf. my *The Study of Living Languages and the Turkic Dialects*, Department of Research in the East Asian Peoples, Japan Academy of Sciences, Report No. 3 (Tokyo, 1941), p. 35ff.

correspond, respectively, to *ä* (*e*), *ö*, *o*; *i*, *ü*, *ï*, *u* in the other languages. Shcherbak's table of vowel correspondences in the Turkic languages, including Chuvash,[7] appears below, as Table 1 (p. 385).

3. If we set aside the symbol of reduction, it appears that a peculiar vowel change took place in Tatar and Bashkir:

Proto-Turkic		Tatar, Bashkir
*ä, *ǟ	→	i
*ö, *ȫ	→	ü
*o, *ō	→	u
*i, *ī	→	e
*ü, *ǖ	→	ö
*ï, *ï̄	→	ə
*u, *ū	→	o

In order to reconstruct the process by which this sound change occurred, we must first examine the present-day pronunciation of the living Turkic languages, because it is impossible to imagine a diachronic change such as:

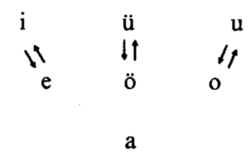


Table 1 shows that Khakas has a reduced *ĭ*, and that Kazakh, Karakalpak, and Nogai have reduced *ĭ*, *ü̆*, *ï̆* and *ŭ*. According to my observation, Tatar *ĕ*, *ö̆*, ə̆, and *ŏ* are short, lax, and more or less central (what Henry Sweet refers to as mixed),[8] which is, I believe, what Shcherbak calls reduced (*redutsirovannye*).

It is apparently a natural tendency of human speech for the high vowels *i*, *ü*, *u* to be shorter than the mid vowels *e*, *ö*, *o*, which are shorter than the

[7] This is an adaptation of the table that appears in A. M. Shcherbak, *Sravnitel'naia fonetika tiurkskikh iazykov* (Leningrad, 1970), p. 157. The symbol [¯] indicates a long vowel, and [˘] indicates a short and reduced vowel; *ä*, *ö*, *i*, *ü* are front vowels, whereas *o*, *ï*, *u* are back vowels. I have reordered the vowels and Shcherbak's alphabetical listing of the languages according to the usual classification (i.e., Chaghatai, Oghuz, Kipchak, etc.), and transliterated the Cyrillic. For Tatar and Bashkir I have used my own transcription system, but have retained Shcherbak's sign of reduction. Shcherbak uses the symbols *ĭ*, *ö̆*, *ï̆*, *ŏ* for Tatar and Bashkir, which I have replaced with *ĕ*, *ö̆*, ə̆, *ŏ*, respectively.

[8] Henry Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics* (Oxford, 1906).

Table 1

	Proto-Turkic	*a	*ā	*ä	*ä̅	*o	*ō	*ö	*ö̅	*ï	*ï̅	*i	*ī	*u	*ū	*ü	*ü̅
	Yakut	a,ï	ā,a	e,i	ie,e	o	uo,o	ö	üö,ö	ï	ï̅,ï	i	ī,i	u,ï	ū,u	ü	ü̅,ü
Tuva-Khakas	Tuva	a‘,a,ï	a,ï	e‘,e	e	o‘,o	o	ö‘,ö	ö	ï‘,ï	ï	i‘,i	i	u‘,u	u	ü‘,ü	ü
	Khakas	a	a	i,e	i,e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	ĭ	ĭ	u	u	ü	ü
	Shor	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
Chaghatai	Uighur	a	a	ä,e	ä,e	o	o	ö	ö	i	i	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Uzbek	a,ɔ	ɔ	e	e	ů	ů	ů	ů	i	i	i	i	u	u	u	u
Oghuz	Turkmen	a	ā,a	e	ä̅,ï	o	ō,o	ö	ö̅,ö	ï	ï̅,ï	i	ī,i	u	ū,u	ü	ü̅,ü
	Azerbaijani	a	a	ä,e	ä,e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Turkish	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ı	ı	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Gagauz	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
Kipchak	Altai	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Kirghiz	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Kazakh	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï̆	ï̆	ĭ	ĭ	ŭ	ŭ	ü̆	ü̆
	Karakalpak	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï̆	ï̆	ĭ	ĭ	ŭ	ŭ	ü̆	ü̆
	Nogai	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï̆	ï̆	ĭ	ĭ	ŭ	ŭ	ü̆	ü̆
	Kumyk	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Balkar	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Karaim	a	a	e	e	o	o	ö	ö	ï	ï	i	i	u	u	ü	ü
	Bashkir	a	a	i	i	u	u	ü	ü	ə̆	ə̆	ĕ	ĕ	ŏ	ŏ	ö̆	ö̆
	Tatar	a	a	i	i	u	u	ü	ü	ə̆	ə̆	ĕ	ĕ	ŏ	ŏ	ö̆	ö̆
	Chuvash	ï,u,a	u	i,ü,a	i,a	ă,u	ă,u	ü,ă(ĕ)	ü,ăva	ă(ĕ)	ă(ĕ)	ĕ(ă)	ĕ	ă(ĕ)	ă(ĕ)	ĕ	ĕ

low vowels *æ, a, ɔ*, provided that they stand in the same phonological (phonemic) positions. Therefore it is highly likely that in the intermediate stages between Proto-Turkic and the later languages, in which the original distinction between long and short vowels was lost, the high vowels **i, *ü, *ï, *u* were short, and that this shortness caused the reduction of the high vowels in several Turkic languages, including Tatar and Bashkir.

On the other hand, in present-day Tatar the high vowels *i, ü, u* (and *ï̆*, orthographically *ый*) are tense and tend to be slightly long, and in certain (especially final) positions, definitely long. In the Mishar dialect of my wife,[9] all the high vowels are tense and, at the same time, long, half-long, or not so short as the mid vowels *e, ö, ə, o*, which are short and tend to be lax. Therefore it is possible to interpret phonologically all of the dialect's high vowels as */ej/(i)*, */ew/(ü)*, */əj/(ï)*, and */əw/(u)*.[10] A synchronical phonological interpretation of this kind might indicate that in Tatar (and Bashkir) a diachronical sound change such as the following took place:[11]

Proto-Turkic								**Tatar, Bashkir**
*ä, *ä̅	→	ɛ	→	ɛĭ	→	eĭ	→	i
*i, *ī	→	i	→	ĭ	→	ĕ	→	ĕ
*ö, *ö̅	→	œ	→	œü̆	→	öü̆	→	ü
*ü, *ü̅	→	ü	→	ü̆	→	ö̆	→	ö̆
*ï, *ï̅	→	ï	→	ï̆	→	ə̆	→	ə̆
*o, *ō	→	ɔ	→	ɔŭ	→	oŭ	→	u
*u, *ū	→	u	→	ŭ	→	ŏ	→	ŏ

[9] My wife's maiden name is Mahiræ Agi in Tatar, Magira Mukhammedshakhovna Ageeva in Russian. She was born in 1912 in the village of Nagur (Podgornyi Shustrui), Ust'rakhmanovskaia volost', Krasno-slobodskii uezd, Penzenskaia guberniia. Her father and grandfather were Mishars of the same village, and her mother, Lætifæ Mansər (Liatifè Xairullovna Mansurova), was a Mishar from the village of Jönæ (Tatarskii iunik), Tambovskaia guberniia, which is about ten kilometers from Nagur. My wife says that the dialects of these two villages are the same. In August 1916, her family left Nagur and moved to Hailar in northern Manchuria.

[10] See my "Phonological Interpretation of Tatar High Vowels," in *Eurasia Nostratica: Festschrift für Professor Karl H. Menges*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1977).

[11] Proto-Turkic **a, *ā* have remained as monophthongs /a/ [or *ä*/æ/] in Tatar and Bashkir.

The difficulty with this hypothesis is that all the Turkic languages (except Chuvash) have the short monophthongs *e* (*ä*), *ö*, *o* (if we exclude the primary long monophthongs *ā̈*, *ī*, *ō̈*, *ō* in Turkmen and the ascending diphthongs *ie*, *üö*, *uo* [← Proto-Turkic **ā̈*, *ō̈* **ō*] in Yakut), and that descending diphthongs such as *eĭ*, *öŭ̈*, *oŭ* do not occur, except in several open syllables, e.g.:

	Tatar	Bashkir	Uzbek	Turkmen	Turkish
"to put on, to wear"	ki-	kej-	kij-	gej-	gij-
"to urinate"	si-	hej-	sij-	sī-	sidik 'urine'
"water"	su	həw	suw	θuw	su
"to drive, to turn out"	ku-	kəw-	kuw-	kow-	kov-
"vapor"	bu	bəw	buγ	būγ	buğu

It is remarkable, however, that Chuvash has *i*, *ü*, *u*, which in some cases correspond to Tatar-Bashkir *i*, *ü*, *u*, respectively, and that Chuvash has the reduced vowels *ĕ*, *ă*, which correspond to the reduced *ĕ*, *ŏ̈*; ə̆, *ŏ* of Tatar-Bashkir.

Since we have examples of ascending diphthongs in Yakut (although they come from primary long vowels), we could posit another hypothesis, namely, that of ascending diphthongization, assuming that descending diphthongization occurred only in cases like those shown above. The process of ascending (and later, descending) diphtongization would be as follows:

ε	→	ĭε	→	iĕ	→	i
i	→	i	→	ĭ	→	ĕ
œ	→	ŭ̈œ	→	üŏ̈	→	ü
ü	→	ü	→	ŭ̈	→	ŏ̈
ɔ	→	ŭɔ	→	uŏ	→	u
u	→	u	→	ŭ	→	ŏ

4. The living Kipchak languages, to which Tatar and Bashkir belong, are classified by Poppe (and Omeljan Pritsak),[12] Menges,[13] and N. A. Baskakov[14] as shown in Table 2 (p. 388).

Table 3 (p. 389) gives a comparison of certain peculiarities in Chuvash, the Kipchak languages (including the extinct Cuman), and Turkish.

[12] Poppe, *Introduction*, p. 35ff.
[13] Menges, *TLP*, p. 60.
[14] N. A. Baskakov et al., *Iazyki narodov SSSR*, vol. 2: *Tiurkskie iazyki* (Moscow, 1966), p. 15ff.

Table 2

	Poppe (Pritsak)		Menges		Baskakov	
Karaim	1	Kipchak	Ponto-Caspian	B. Northwest (or Kipchak)	Kipchak-Oghuz	Kipchak
Karachai-Balkar						
Kumyk						
Tatar	2		Volga-Kama—West-Siberian		Kipchak-Bulgarian	
Bashkir						
Nogai	3		Aralo-Caspian		Kipchak-Nogai	
Kazakh						
Karakalpak						
Kirghiz	4		transitory from the Central-Asiatic			Kirghiz-Kipchak
Altai				C. Oirot		

Table 3

	Chuvash	Tatar	Bashkir	Cuman[15]	Kumyk	Nogai	Kazakh	Kirghiz	Turkish
"nine"	tăxxăr	tugə̆z	tugə̆ð	toguz	toguz	togĭz	togĭz	toguz	dokuz
"one hundred"	śer	jŏz	jŏð	jüz	jüz	jŭz	žŭz	žüz	yüz
"to us"	pire	bězgä	běðgä	bizge	bizge	bĭzge	bĭzge	bizge	bize
"three"	viśśě	ŏč	ŏs	üč	üč	ŭš	ŭš	üč	üç
"this"	ku[16]	bu	bə̆l	bu	bu	bu	bul	bul	bu
"if . . . is"	pulsan	bulsa	bulha	bolsa	busa	bolsa	bolsa	bolso	olsa
"winter"	xěl	kə̆š	kə̆š	kïš	kïš	kĭs	kĭs	kïš	kış
"five"	pillěk	biš	biš	beš	beš	bes	bes	beš	beş
"year, age; young"	śul	jäš	jäš	jaš	jaš	jas	žas	žaš	yaş

15 The Cuman words are cited from Annemarie von Gabain, "Die Sprache des Codex Cumanicus," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (hereafter *PTF*) (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 46–73. The examples for the other languages are taken from various dictionaries published in the USSR.

16 This word resembles ancient Japanese *kö* 'this', modern Japanese *ko-re* 'this', and Korean *kï* 'that'.

It is evident from Table 3 that Tatar and Bashkir are different from Chuvash but akin to the Kipchak languages, and that they are closer to the Kipchak-Oghuz (i.e., Kipchak-Polovtsian or Kipchak-Kuman)[17] subgroup — Kumyk, Karachai-Balkar, etc., including the extinct Cuman — than to the Kipchak-Nogai subgroup — i.e., Kazakh, Karakalpak, and Nogai. Cuman, the language of the *Codex Cumanicus*, in particular, is so similar to Tatar that Annemarie von Gabain calls it "alttatarisch."[18]

5. There existed a Volga-Bulgar country on the territory of the present-day Tatar Autonomous Republic from the seventh century to the fourteenth century A.D. The language of the majority of people there was Turkic, which resembled present-day Chuvash in many respects. We have two kinds of records of this Volga-Bulgarian language: Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī's sporadic descriptions of the eleventh century, and the tomb inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some examples from the latter are shown on Table 4 (p. 392), where three kinds of reconstruction for the Volga-Bulgarian — by J. Benzing,[19] N. Poppe,[20] and myself[21] — are given.

I hypothesize that the Volga-Bulgars who migrated in the seventh century from the south to the Volga-Kama district were a nation related to, but different from, the Chuvash (who were presumably aboriginal there in the seventh century), and that the languages of the two nations were also similar, but distinct. In about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, their vowel systems differed to some degree, and the contemporary Chuvash presumably already had *p*- and *ś*-, corresponding to the Volga-Bulgarian *b*- and *ǰ*- (i.e., *d̂ź* or *ź*), respectively. The two vowel systems were:[22]

[17] *Tiurkskie iazyki*, pp. 194, 213, etc.

[18] von Gabain, "Die Sprache," p. 48.

[19] J. Benzing, "Das Hunnische, Donaubulgarische und Wolgabulgarische," in *PTF*, pp. 685–95.

[20] Poppe, *Introduction*, pp. 37, 58.

[21] Regarding the correspondence of Bulgar-Chuvash *l* with the other Turkic *š*, linguists disagree about which is the older sound. I will posit a third sound in Proto-Turkic, i.e., a voiceless lateral [*l̥], which is probably a combination of the phonemes /*lh/ (or /*hl/?). Compare the following words, all meaning "stone": Chuvash *čul*, Türküt *taš*, Yakut *tās*, Proto-Mongolian **tïl-*, Korean *tol*, Middle Korean *tolh*. The latter Korean word seems to support my hypothesis.

[22] The grounds for this reconstruction are as follows. I think that the Arabic transcription of the Volga-Bulgarian **altï* with the letter *ṭa* and **säkir* with the letter *kaf* shows that this language distinguished between **a* (← Proto-Turkic **a*) and **ä* (← PT **ä*), and that **a* represented with the letter *alif* in **altï* and *ǰal* was a monophthong, without any indication of convergence with **ŭɔ* (← Proto-Turkic **o* and **o*), whereas

Volga-Bulgarian					Chuvash			
i	ü	ï	u		ĭ	ṻ	ï̆	ŭ
ĭɛ	ṻœ	ŭɔ			ĭe	ṻö	ŭo	
	ä	a				a		

That is, in Chuvash *ä had become a, and *a had converged with ŭo.

With the emergence of the Golden Horde in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Volga-Bulgars began to undergo the influence of the "Türk-Tatars" — a nation nearly indistinguishable from the Cumans — and finally accepted their language. However, the Bulgars became a substratum people, and they imitated Türk-Tatar in their own vowel system, which later developed into that of modern Tatar. Thus:

Türk-Tatar		Volga-Bulgarian				Tatar
a	>	a (or ä)	→	a (or ä)	→	a (or ä)
e	>	ĭɛ	→	iĕ	→	i
o	>	ŭɔ	→	uŏ	→	u
ö	>	ṻœ	→	üȍ	→	ü
ï	>	ï	→	ï̆	→	ǝ̆
i	>	i	→	ĭ	→	ĕ
u	>	u	→	ŭ	→	ŏ
ü	>	ü	→	ṻ	→	ȍ

The Chuvash vowels later developed in a similar way, probably because Chuvash and Volga-Bulgarian both had a tendency towards ascending (and, later, descending) diphthongization of mid vowels and reduction of high vowels. However, these vowel changes, especially the reduction of high vowels, probably began earlier in Chuvash than in Volga-Bulgarian, so that Chuvash has confused the four reduced vowels *ĕ*, *ȍ* and ǝ̆, *ŏ* into two, *ĕ* and *ă*.

The Chuvash people may be direct descendants of the Huns who

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the convergence did occur in Chuvash. Compare also Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī's Volga-Bulgarian word *azaχ* 'foot' (Benzing, "Das Hunnische," p. 692), with Chuvash *ura* and Tatar *ajak*. On the other hand, the Arabic transcription of the Volga-Bulgarian **ĵĭɛti*, **bĭɛl*, **ŭɔn*, **kṻœn*, and **tṻœtim* indicates that the initial vowels were not monophthongs, but diphthongs. In Chuvash, however, Proto-Turkic **a*, **ā*, **o*, *ō* converged into *u* in many cases (e.g., *ulttă* 'six', *śul* 'one hundred', and *ura* 'foot'), and **ä*, **ǟ* into *a* (e.g., *sakkăr* 'eight' and *allă* 'fifty').

It must be noted, however, that Modern Chuvash has *e* in addition to *a*, and that the Upper dialect (Virjal) has *o* rather than the *u* of the Lower dialect (Anatri) and the standard language, which indicates that the problem requires much more detailed study.

Table 4

		Volga-Bulgarian								
		Benzing	Poppe	Hattori	Chuvash	Tatar	Turkish	Türkmen	Yakut	Old Turkish
"daughter"	هير	hīr	hïr	hir	xĕr	kə̆z	kız	kï̄z	kï̄s	kïz
"one hundred"	جور	ğür	ǰür	ǰür	śĕr	jŏ̈z	yüz	jüz	sǖs	jüz
"six"	الط	altï		altï	ulttă	altə̆	altı	altï	alta	altï
"year"	جال	ğal	ǰāl	ǰal	śul	jäš	yaş	jāš	sās	jaš
"seven"	جيات	ğiäti		ǰïɛti	śiččĕ	židĕ	yedi	jedi	sette	jẹti
"eight"	سكر	säkir		säkir	sakkăr	sigĕz	sekiz	sekkiz	agïs	sẹkiz
"fifty"	الو	älüv		äliw	allă	illĕ	elli	(elli~eliw*)		(ellik**)
"five"	بيال	biäl	biyäl	bïɛl	pillĕk	biš	beş	bǟš	bies	bẹš
"nine"	طوخر	ṭoχur		tuxïr	tăxxăr	tugə̆z	dokuz	dokkïz	togus	tokuz
"ten"	وان	van		ŭɔn	vună	un	on	ōn	uon	on
"day"	كوان	küän		kü̆œn	kun	kŏ̈n	gün	gün	kün	kün
"the fourth"	تواتم	tüätim		tü̆œtim (twätim?)	tăvattă-mĕš	dürt-	dörd-	dȫrd-	tüört	tört-

* = Karakalpak
** = Uighur

migrated from Central Asia into southern Russia and the Ukraine and gave impetus to the "Great Migrations" of the fourth century, only to disappear from the stage of history in the latter half of the fifth. One reason that they did not accept the Türk-Tatar language is, presumably, the fact that they were a nation separate from the Volga-Bulgars. The difficulty in establishing exact phonemic correspondences between Chuvash and the other Turkic languages is probably attributable to the cross influences of Volga-Bulgarian, Tatar, and other languages, as well as to a possible substratum of Uralic origin.

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A Note on the Custom of *Seterlekü*

WALTHER HEISSIG

The word *seterlekü* (Tib.: *se t'er*) designates the Mongolian religious custom of entwining ribbons of five colors into the manes of domestic animals consecrated to the gods. Such an animal (*seter*) was no longer to be ridden or worked.[1] It is not my intention to discuss here the various aspects of this religious custom, which apparently superseded older bloody offerings. In honoring my friend and colleague on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, I will deal only with some descriptions of the custom found in reading some Mongolian epics.

In the Khalkha epic "Kögsin luu mergen qan, who reached the age of one hundred and fifty-five years," told in 1940 by the Khalkha bard Dendev and noted down by the late B. Rintchen,[2] a short passage relates all the essentials of the custom. Its description is woven into the narration of how the hero Kögsin luu mergen got hold of the three gray horses of the heavenly Hurmusta tngri. Obtaining the horses and consecrating them to the gods was presented by a soothsaying lama as the means by which the childless aged king could beget a son.[3] The epic describes the ceremony thus: "Consecrating [all three horses] to the gods with five-colored silken scarves, Kögsin luu mergen Khan made thirteen incense-offerings purifying them and set them free."[4]

Another more detailed and more subtle description of the *seterlekü* ceremony is given in the epic "Altaj hajlah." This epic, as sung by the bard Damia in the westernmost Ulangom district of the Mongolian Peoples'

[1] J. Cevel, *Mongol Helnij Towč Tajlbar Tol'* (Ulanbator, 1966), p. 507; N. Poppe, *Mongolische Epen*, vol. 2, Asiatische Forschungen, no. 43 (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 193; idem, *Mongolische Epen*, vol. 4, Asiatische Forschungen, no. 48 (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 248–49. Reshidonduk Shiliembu, "On seter," in *Proceedings of the Third Asian Altaistic Conference* (Taipei, 1969), pp. 270–72.

[2] *Folklore Mongol*, bk. 3, Asiatische Forschungen, no. 12 (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 85.

[3] A brief summary is given in my *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1972), pp. 375–77.

[4] Poppe, *Mongolische Epen*, 2: 57.

Republic, was written down and published by B. Cerel.[5] It belongs to the group of Mongolian epics in which the surprising birth of an infant to an old childless couple forms the initiating motif.[6] The same motif occurs in the epics of the Central Asian Turks.[7]

In "Altaj hajlah," the requisite for being granted the much-desired heir and successor is to consecrate thirteen ash-gray horses to *Ataγa tngri*,[8] thirteen bay horses to the Altai Mountains, and thirteen black horses to the Hangai Mountains, as well as a camel to heaven and a pig to earth. This consecration and liberation ceremony is demanded by the thirty-two soothsayers to whom the childless king had sent one of his stewards (*kiya*).[9] To perform the ceremony, the khan sends his horse-steward Agsahal Baabaj:

Aduučijn uugan höwüün
Ag sahal Baabaj irsend
Arwan gurwan höh morijg
Ataa tengert seterlehüücaj
Arwan gurwan šarga morijg
Altaj nutagt seterlehüücaj
Arwan gurwan har morijg
Hangaj nutagt seterlehüücaj gew.

Aduučijn uugan höwüün
Ag sahal Baabaj
Hucardgijn hul halzan azargangdaa mordož
Hödöögöör düüren
Höh buural aduunaas
Arwan gurwan höh mor'
Altajgaar düüren
Altan šarga aduunaas
Arwan gurwan šarga mor'

[5] *Altaj hajlah* (Ulangom, 1964). Š. Gaadamba and D. Cerensodnom, *Mongol Ardyn Aman Zoholyn Deež Bičig*, Studia Folclorica, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Ulanbator, 1967), pp. 209–215; 2nd ed. (Ulanbator, 1978), pp. 231–58.
[6] Š. Kičikov, "O tuul'-uligernom èpose," in *Tipologičeskie i xudožestvennye osobennosti Džangara* (Elista, 1978), pp. 3–6.
[7] B. E. Mutljaeva, "Motiv čudesnogo roždenija geroja v tjurko-mongol'skom èpose," in *Tipologičeskie i xudožestvennye osobennosti Džangara* (Elista, 1978), pp. 51–62.
[8] A god of the Mongol non-lamaistic pantheon having many of the functions of the Eternal Blue Heaven (*Köke möngke tngri*) (W. Heissig, "Ein innermongolisches Gebet zum Ewigen Himmel," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 8 [1974]: 525–61). The Buryats regarded *Ataγa tngri* as a protector of horses (N. Poppe, "Opisanie mongol'skix 'samanskix' rukopisej Instituta vostokovedenija," *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii nauk SSSR* 1 [1932]: 158; W. Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia* (London, 1979); I. A. Manžigeev, *Burjatskie šamanističeskie i došamanističeskie terminy* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 20–21.
[9] Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, 1: 380–81.

Hangajgaăr düüren
Har baraan aduunaas
Arwan gurwan har mor' jalgan salgăž
Altajg arwan guraw ergüülen
Hangajg horin döröw ergüülen
Bolzootyn bor bulhan deer. . . .
Adil züsmijn mor'dyg
Arwan guraw, arwan gurwaar n'
Ataa tenger altaj hangajd n'
Najan najman ewheertej
Nanžin šar hiwee züüž seterleed tawilaa genee. . . .[10]

"After the first-born son of the herdsmen,
Agsahal Baabaj, had
arrived on his reed-colored stallion which had a blaze,
[the khan said:]
'Thou shalt consecrate to *Ataγa tngri*
thirteen ash-gray horses,
Thou shalt consecrate to the Altai-homeland
thirteen light-bay horses,
Thou shalt consecrate to the Hangai-homeland
thirteen black horses!'
The first-born son of the herdsmen,
Agsahal Baabaj,
setting out on his
stallion of the color of reed which had a blaze,
selected thirteen ash-gray horses
from the herd of grayish-blue horses that
filled the wide steppes,
thirteen light-bay horses [he took]
from the herd of dun-yellow horses that
filled the Altai, and
thirteen dark black horses [he took]
from the herd of dark black horses that
filled the Hangai.
Walking thirteen times round the Altai,
walking twenty-four times round the Hangai, he
then high upon the Gray Hill of Agreement. . .[11]
made an Offering after having consecrated
the horses of similar color
thirteen by thirteen
to Ataγa tngri, to Altai and Hangai, set

[10] Gaadamba and Cerensodnom, *Mongol Aradyn Aman Zoholyn Deež Bičig*, 2nd ed., p. 237.
[11] Mongolian epics call the place where a hero meets his enemy to do battle *Bolzootyn bor tolgoj* or *Bolzootyn bor bulhan*, the "Gray Hill of Agreement."

them free, hanging [around their necks]
the fine yellow-silk [strips of] gauze folded eighty-eight times."

The same ceremony was performed for other domestic animals, as is apparent from the following passage of the same epic:

Širüün hjalgasan üstej
Širgesen onigor nüdtej
Dörwön töö urt sojotoj
Gurwan töö zuzaan ööhtej
Üher šig salaa turuutaj
Üleesen güzee šig biėtej
Šawar šoroond haltar bolson
Šarmaldsan šantgar hamartaj
Gazryn hörijg hadartag
Gahaj hemeeh am'tnyg
Gangan mörnij caanaas
Gadad dalajn naanaas olž
Altajg arwan guraw tojruulan
Hangajg horin döröw tojruulan
Bolzootyn bor bulhan deer
Borwior n' suulgan güjceed
Tagdgar sijrees n' bar'ž
Tačir üsnees n' atgaž
Zuzaan hawirgan deer n' öwdöglöž
Zulzagan duugaar n' čišgüülž čarluulž
Najan najman ewheertej
Nanžin šar hiwee züüž seterleed tawilaa. . . .[12]

"With tough bristling mane-hair,
with sunken, narrow eyes,
with tusks four span long,
with three span of soft bellymeat,
with a cloven hoof like a cow and
with a trunk like an abandoned rumen,
with a shrunken, turned-up muzzle
which had become soiled in mud and earth
while ripening the soil of the earth,
this animal known as pig,
yonder [by] the river Ganges and
nearer to the outer Sea, he,
walking thirteen times round the Altai,
walking twenty-four times round the Hangai,
then high upon the Gray Hill of Agreement,

[12] Gaadamba and Cerensodnom, *Mongol Aradyn Aman Zoholyn Deež Bičig,* 2nd ed., p. 238.

seizing at its four short legs,
after it had arrived there sitting on its shanks,
grasping its poor short bristles, and
squatting upon its soft flank,
while it was wailing and squealing like a fledgling, he
made an offering, set it free, hanging [around its neck]
the fine yellow [strips of] gauze, folded eighty-eight times."

The cited passages clearly show that *seterlekü* was an entirely bloodless offering, and that the entwining of colored strips of gauze and scarves was the ceremony's most essential part. The questions that remain, of course, are when and where did the custom originate. One of the earliest works of Mongolian literature, *Činggis-un qoyar ere ǰayal-un tuyuǰi* [The story of the two spotted gray stallions of Činggis Khan],[13] which is usually dated to the late thirteenth century, attributes the invention of the custom to the time of the great emperor Činggis by stating:

Silken strips the auspicious emperor
twisted into the mane of the small gray stallion.
The custom of twisting silken strips [into manes]
originates with the small gray stallion.[14]

This early date, however, lacks any other confirmation.

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[13] Russian translation by B. Sodnom and L. S. Pučkovskij, "Povest' o dvux skakunax Čingis Xana," *Sovremennaja Mongolija* 4 [11] (1935): 75–83; German translation by W. Heissig, *Helden-Höllenfahrts- und Schelmengeschichten der Mongolen* (Zurich, 1962), pp. 27–51.
[14] Mongolian text in C. Damdinsüren, *Mongyol uran ǰokiyal-un degeǰi ǰayun bičig,* Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, vol. 14 (Ulanbator, 1959), p. 68.

Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century

PATRICIA HERLIHY

With the conclusion of the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji in 1774, the Russian Empire under Catherine II succeeded for the first time in obtaining and holding a portion of the Black Sea coast.[1] (Peter the Great had founded Taganrog on the Sea of Azov in 1706 and had built a port there, only to lose the city to the Turks in 1711.) In 1783 the Crimea was annexed; the empire thereby broadened its access to the Black Sea and obtained dominion over the coastline of the Sea of Azov. Finally, through the Treaty of Jassy concluded in 1791 after a victorious war against the Turks, the Russian Empire acquired the Ochakiv region, a glittering prize, for it included the site of what was to become the greatest emporium of the Black Sea — Odessa.

Russia was, however, ill prepared to exploit the commercial opportunities which the acquisition of these southern outlets offered. With virtually no merchant marine, few trained sailors, and even fewer mercantile houses, Russia established a policy of inviting merchants of various nationalities, religious beliefs, and skills to populate the newly founded ports. Almost at once, foreign merchants arrived to explore and exploit the commercial possibilities offered by the new lands and the new waterways. Greek colonists, for example, settled in large numbers in Mariupol' (today Zhdanov); by 1816 there were 11,500 Greeks in or near the city.[2] Coming chiefly from the Crimea, they in dress and language more closely resembled the Tatars than did their compatriots on the Aegean. A French merchant, Antoine de Saint-Joseph, was one of the first to open a firm at Kherson, near the mouth of the Dnieper River.[3] His firm, which included four of his brothers, dealt in wool, hemp, iron, leather, and ship stores. The German merchant Johannes Weber similarly

[1] E. I. Druzhinina, *Kiuchuk-Kainardzhiiskii mir 1774 goda* (Moscow, 1955); idem, *Severnoe prichernomor'e v 1775–1800 gg.* (Moscow, 1959).
[2] G. L. Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie v Rossii* (Moscow, 1970), p. 144.
[3] Antoine Ignace Anthoine (baron de Saint-Joseph), *Essai historique sur le commerce et la navigation de la Mer-Noire* (Paris, 1805).

organized commercial ventures out of Kherson.[4] Mykolaiv, which had been founded ten years after Kherson, in 1788, at the mouth of the Buh River, likewise attracted foreign merchants. However, like many other Euxine ports, it did not achieve major commercial importance until the late nineteenth century. As early as 1802 there were 850 Greek males settled in Taganrog, the most important port on the Sea of Azov.[5]

In the nineteenth century Odessa was the most flourishing of all these ports. Founded in 1794, happily endowed with a deep, sheltered harbor, and ably administered by the Duc de Richelieu (1803–1814), the city grew in close correspondence with the increasing demand for grain from the Russian Empire.[6] This favorable conjuncture — the convenience of the Ukrainian plain to Odessa and the rising demand from foreign markets — attracted strangers in great numbers to the southern city. Greeks, with their valued maritime skills, were among the first to settle in the area. At the end of 1795, the government brought 62 families into Odessa from the Archipelago and other Greek sites.[7] In addition, 27 Greek merchants and 14 others of various trades came into Odessa with state support.[8] Within a year after the founding of the city, Greeks comprised nearly 10 percent of the population (224 out of 2,340).[9] Twenty-five more Greek merchants with their families arrived in the city in 1797.[10] An additional 21 joined them the following year.

By 1795 the Greek community of Odessa was so large that it was possible to organize a special battalion made up of Greeks and Albanians residing in or near the city.[11] Paul I disbanded the unit, but it was recommissioned by Alexander I in 1803. The battalion fought bravely in the war against the Turks from 1806 to 1812. In 1814, when it was again disbanded, the tsar rewarded the Greek soldiers with land in the village of Oleksandrivka near Odessa. Many of these Greeks, however, preferred to rent out their lands while they themselves resided in the city, where some

[4] Johann P. B. Weber, *Die Russen oder Versuch einer Reisebeschreibung nach Russland und durch das Russische Reich in Europa*, ed. by H. Halm (Innsbruck, 1960); Hans Halm, *Oesterreich und Neurussland*, vol. 1: *Donauschiffahrt und -handel nach dem Südosten, 1718–1780* (Wrocław, 1943).

[5] Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 141.

[6] *Odessa, 1794–1894: Izdaniia gorodskogo obshchestvennogo upravleniia k stoletiiu goroda* (Odessa, 1895).

[7] Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 136.

[8] Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 136.

[9] Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 141.

[10] A. Orlov, *Istoricheskii ocherk Odessy s 1794 po 1803 god* (Odessa, 1885), pp. 104–22.

[11] Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, pp. 136–38.

made considerable sums in commerce. Odessa's Greek community soon organized various cultural institutions. As early as 1800, a school founded by the collegiate assessor Vreto was teaching the Greek language as well as the Italian and Russian. Two private Greek schools were accepting pupils by 1811.

We know the names of the ten richest Greek merchants of Odessa in 1817: Theodore Serafino, Alexander Mavros, Dimitrios Inglesi, Alexander Kumbaris, Vasilii Iannopulo, Gregory Marazli, Kir'iakos Papkhadzhis, Il'ia Manesis, Iohannis Ambrosiu, and Dimitrios Paleologos.[12] A contemporary estimated the value of their combined fortunes at 10 million rubles. Interestingly enough, a report written less than a decade later which named the richest merchants in the entire Russian Empire listed four of the same surnames: Serafino, Iannopulo, Marazli, and Paleologos.[13] Although they were not among the empire's wealthiest houses, the Inglesi family was hardly less prominent. Its members appear frequently in the documents between 1803 and 1814. Dimitrios Inglesi was mayor of Odessa from 1818 to 1821.[14] By 1847, the firm was described as representing one of the leading mercantile houses of the empire.[15] In 1820, in connection with the visit to Odessa of the famous Greek patriot Alexander Ipsilanti, the rich Greek merchant Alexander Kumbaris also named the wealthiest families among his compatriots.[16] These were the Inglesi, Marazli, Mavros, and Khristodulo. All these houses were active in the city six years later, and several of them remained prominent for many more decades. At a time when fortunes were made and lost quickly — for much depended on crop failures in Western Europe — this continuity indicates a high degree of stability among the resident Greek merchants of Odessa in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The wealthy Greeks were not without a sense of loyalty to their adopted city. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Duc de Richelieu appealed to the Greeks of Odessa to support the Russian war effort. In 1812, out of a total of 280,000 rubles contributed (the governor himself gave 40,000), the Greeks provided 100,000 to the defense of their new home.[17]

The governmental policy, initially highly favorable to foreign merchants at Odessa, gradually changed over the early decades of the nine-

12 Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 142.
13 *Gosudarstvennaia vneshniaia torgovlia 1826 goda v raznykh ei vidakh* (St. Petersburg, 1827).
14 *Odessa, 1794*–1894, p. 791.
15 *Journal d'Odessa*, 28 January 1847.
16 Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 260.
17 G. L. Arsh, *Tainoe obshchestvo "Philiki Eteriia"* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 46–47.

teenth century. The authorities acknowledged the fact that skilled foreigners served as channels through which golden grain could be turned into golden specie. But they no longer felt compelled to extend unlimited privileges to the foreigners. In 1812, for example, the Duc de Richelieu exempted the Greeks of Kerch and Enikale from military service, but the imperial government repudiated the act.[18] Moreover, the authorities wished to encourage the participation of Russian citizens in this lucrative trade. To that end, an ukase of 1 January 1807 forbade foreign firms from buying grain wholesale for shipment abroad.[19] The law effectively required the foreigners to use citizens of the empire as brokers and agents. Many of these middlemen were local Jews, who knew the current prices, the Russian language, and the local laws and customs. According to an Italian merchant living in the city, the services of an official broker were obligatory in some transactions as early as 1804: "Contracts made in this square to consign merchandise at certain times must be registered by the *makler,* who is a middleman appointed by the government to the job."[20]

Doubtlessly, the government hoped that this measure would persuade many foreigners to adopt Russian citizenship. In December 1845, however, the requirement that Russian subjects serve as middlemen was abrogated,[21] perhaps because the law was too easily evaded. By then, too, cereal exports were mounting rapidly and the government sought to facilitate this profitable enterprise.

In spite of these shifting policies, Greeks continued to immigrate to Odessa in considerable numbers. In 1817 a correspondent for a Greek newspaper published in Vienna waxed eloquent over the town: "How is it possible to leave Odessa, a land where milk and honey flow, where trade flourishes, where the government is mild, where tranquility and freedom are complete, and where the plague does not bother us?"[22]

Many Greeks must have been in agreement with this glowing assessment. In 1822 an Italian merchant wrote that Italian was the language of commerce in Odessa, but Greek was the tongue one heard most often "because of the great number of Greeks who live there."[23] As early as 1817 three Greek insurance companies were established in the city. These com-

[18] Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie,* p. 147.
[19] V. A. Zolotov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia iuzhnoi Rossii v pervoi polovine XIX v.* (Rostov-on-the-Don, 1963), p. 170.
[20] *Notizie di Odessa di Sig. L. C.* (Florence, 1817), p. 13.
[21] Zolotov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia,* pp. 172–73.
[22] Quoted by Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie,* p. 211.
[23] Renato Risaliti, *Studi sui rapporti italo-russi (coi "Ricordi di viaggi" inediti di Luigi Serristori)* (Pisa, 1972), p. 154.

panies, which also served as benevolent aid societies, supported a Greek Commercial School. The school, which opened in November 1817, with great fanfare — Governor-General Langeron, the metropolitan, and all the Greek notables were in attendance — instructed Greek youth not only in commercial subjects, but also in Russian, ancient and modern Greek, religion, natural sciences, humanities, and Italian.[24] It soon enjoyed the reputation of being the second-best school in Odessa, after the Richelieu Lyceum. Supported entirely by the local Greek community, it attracted students from other Greek colonies and from the homeland itself. Greek theater made its debut in Odessa in 1814 and flourished, especially after 1817.[25] All these cultural resources drew more Greek immigrants to the city. In 1824 an English visitor to Odessa remarked that among the city's many foreigners, the Greeks were the most numerous.[26] Even in 1832, the French consul described the national composition of Odessa's merchants as follows:

> There are 40 foreign firms, established by Greeks, Italians, Slavonians, Triestians, Genoese, French, German, English, Swiss and Spanish. These enterprises are all regular and permanent. . . . The Greeks are the most numerous and the richest. The greatest fortunes are from 800,000 to one million rubles. Of these there are only three. There are some others from 300,000 to 400,000 rubles, most of them are from 50,000 to 100,000 rubles and the majority [are] with even less capital.[27]

The consul, François Sauron, noted that in addition to the 40 permanent firms, there were about 100 foreign firms with representatives in Odessa. The parent companies that maintained these agents were located in Constantinople, Malta, Trieste, Livorno, Genoa, Marseilles, Barcelona, and so forth. Of all the companies trading in cereals, only two were in a strict sense "Russian." These were the houses of Steiglitz from St. Petersburg and of Demidov. These two companies were, however, "powerful," according to Sauron. About two-thirds of the commercial firms were Greek. The remaining houses were for the most part Italian, with headquarters in Genoa, Livorno, or Trieste. French companies numbered only four or five, and English, German, Swiss, and Spanish enterprises were still fewer.

In 1834, at the government's behest, a German expert wrote a report on

24 Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 212.
25 Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 303.
26 John Moore, *A Journey from London to Odessa with Notices of New Russia, etc.* (Paris, 1833), p. 149.
27 Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris (hereafter AMAE), Mémoires et Documents, Russie, vol. 44, fol. 24.

the commerce of the province of *Novorossiia* which confirmed Sauron's observations:

Foreign trade is almost exclusively in the hands of persons of foreign origin, the greater part of whom are Greeks and Italians. The merchants of Russian origin are comparatively few in number, and are chiefly employed in the sale of the different manufactures of the country, such as cordage, glass and iron and copper articles. The purchases of the produce of the country in the interior are commonly made by the indigenous Jews, who are very numerous in Odessa. It is to the foreigners, as we have observed before, that the town owes its present flourishing condition. By their industry and capital they have laid open the resources of the country. . . .[28]

The presence of the foreign traders obviously stimulated — or, rather, sustained — Odessa's commerce. But the government still pressured them to become Russian citizens. In 1858, for example, the government determined that foreign merchants could belong only to the first of Odessa's three guilds.[29] Annual membership dues were 1,000 rubles, then the equivalent of $827.06 or 400 francs. Few could afford, or were willing to pay, that exorbitant amount. Many foreign merchants assumed Russian citizenship, which allowed them to enroll either in the second guild, at an annual fee of 401 rubles, 97 kopecks, or the third, which required an annual payment of only 116 rubles. French merchants, in particular, were vociferous in objecting to the stipulation that only Russian citizens could remain enrolled in the second or third guilds. Some 47 French merchants signed a cranky protest. They were allowed to retain their former status for one year without changing nationality, but no new Frenchmen would be allowed to join the second or third guilds without assuming Russian citizenship.

How was one to become a Russian subject? Nothing could be simpler, according to the English consul at Odessa, James Yeames.[30] A formal declaration of intent, made before the appropriate authorities, could make anyone a citizen; the procedures were accomplished in the course of a few hours. Yeames cited the example of the Ralli and Scaramanga families of Taganrog and Odessa, who were obviously Greeks but "who

[28] Julius de Hagemeister, *Report on the Commerce of the Ports of New Russia, Moldavia, and Wallachia Made to the Russian Government in 1835* (London, 1836), p. 74.

[29] For the various French consular reports discussing the regulations and the reactions of the French merchant community to them, see AMAE, Odessa, vol. 8, 20 January 1856, fols. 1–5; 5 February 1858, fols. 10–20; 27 April 1858, fol. 50; 25 July 1858, fols. 70–75.

[30] Public Records Office, London (hereafter PRO), Foreign Office (hereafter FO) 257, 13 March 1850.

are inscribed in the guild as Russian subjects." Clearly, the government was ambivalent in its attitudes and policies toward the foreigners. It recognized that they brought valued capital, entrepreneurial spirit, and commercial expertise to Odessa. Yet it feared that these strangers would skim the cream, as it were, off the booming export trade and carry off the profits to distant lands. The government therefore wanted a commitment from the foreigners to the city and the empire, but it did not intend to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs. The merchants of the first guild, who were willing to pay for the privilege, were largely left undisturbed.

The policy of encouraging the foreign merchants to become Russian nationals enjoyed a partial, if superficial, success. In 1844 a prominent historian and scholar, A. O. Skal'kovs'kyi, published a pamphlet entitled *The Commercial Population of Odessa.*[31] In it he sought to refute the common charge of "so-called patriots" that foreigners dominated Odessa's trade. In a strict sense, he argued, only about one-sixth of the commercial houses in Odessa belonged to foreign nationals. The rest were "Russian," in that their owners had assumed Russian citizenship. Table 1 reproduces the statistics he assembled.

Table 1

Russian Citizens and Foreigners (*Gosti*) in Odessa's Guilds

Year	Firms	Russian	Foreign
1837	765	598	167
1838	765	602	163
1839	738	589	139
1840	693	578	115
1841	719	582	127
1842	702	584	118
1843	704	589	115
1844	700	588	112

Source: A. O. Skal'kovs'kyi's *Population commerciale d'Odessa* (Odessa, 1845).

Skal'kovs'kyi rejoiced to see the diminishing number of foreign firms, and he clearly believed that the foreigners who had adopted Russian nationality were sincere in the gesture.

The exact role of foreign merchants in Odessa's commercial develop-

[31] Only the French translation was available to me: *Population commerciale d'Odessa* (Odessa, 1845).

ment during the nineteenth century has been a vexed question among both contemporaries and later historians. In 1858 the French consul observed that the natives greatly feared that foreigners were carrying off the national wealth. The concern, he believed, was totally unfounded, for "foreigners alone have made Odessa what it is."[32] Soviet historians have interpreted the role of foreign capital at Odessa variously. Zolotov, for example, condemned the foreigners of Odessa for spending tens of millions of rubles abroad.[33] E. I. Druzhinina, on the other hand, gives them a somewhat more positive assessment: "The diverse national composition of the merchants guaranteed the success of trade relations of Russia with various countries. All of this contributed to the primitive accumulation of capital in Russia."[34]

How well did the foreign merchants integrate into the society of the region, and how much did they contribute to its growth? The Greek community holds our special attention here, and many families within it would merit close study. Among them would be the Avierino, the first family from Chios to establish a firm in Taganrog (1803); the Marazli, who were among the earliest arrivals in Odessa and remained actively involved in its affairs even while vigorously supporting the movement for Greek independence; the Mavrogordato, present in Odessa from at least as early as 1798; the Negroponte of Taganrog; the Petrocochino, prominent not only in Odessa and Taganrog but also in Rostov-on-the-Don; and the Scaramanga, great merchants in grain whose reputation as fair dealers lingered on in the region, even among peasants, even after their departure.[35] But the two leading Greek families whom we shall examine here are the Ralli and the Rodocanachi. To be sure, their private records are not extant, as far as I know. Still, through newspapers, almanacs, government reports, consular letters, travel accounts, university records, genealogical tables, and city directories, it is possible to reconstruct the remarkable activities and achievements of these two great Hellenic houses.

[32] AMAE, Odessa, vol. 8, 25 July 1858, fols. 87–89.

[33] Zolotov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia,* p. 155.

[34] E. I. Druzhinina, *Iuzhnaia Ukraina 1800–1825 gg.* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 360–61.

[35] The genealogies of most of these houses have been reconstructed in the remarkable work by Philip P. Argenti, *Libro d'Oro de la noblesse de Chio,* 2 vols. (London, 1955). On the abilities of the Greeks as merchants, see the incisive comments of David S. Landes, *Bankers and Pashas: International Finance and Economic Imperialism in Egypt* (New York, 1969), pp. 24–27.

THE RALLI FAMILY

In 1847, according to the list of Odessa's commercial houses prepared that year, the fifth largest in the city belonged to the Greek merchant John Ralli. (Another Ralli, John Christopher, appears on the same list, but his relationship to John is obscure, as is his subsequent career.)[36] John Ralli was indubitably a substantial trader. The value of the goods he imported into Odessa in 1846 amounted to 506,717 rubles; the value of all imports into the city during the same year was 7,745,567 rubles. He exported commodities worth 1,089,176 rubles, out of a total of 22,787,589 rubles for the entire city. The turnover in his affairs exceeded 1.5 million rubles — about 5.2 percent of the entire overseas trade of the city in 1846.

Who was John Ralli? We know a fair amount about him, partly because he served as consul for the United States in Odessa from 1832 until his death in 1859.[37] He was not, however, a United States citizen, although he was familiar enough with American overseas trade. In 1854, when the United States Department of State inquired into the background of its consul, Ralli explained that he was "a Russian subject, born on the Island of Scio [Chios] in the Archipelago, and was by birth of Greek origin."[38] According to other, more detailed sources, John (or Zannis, his Greek name) Ralli was born in Chios on 3 November 1785. His father, Stephen, had been born in Chios in 1755; doubtless he, too, had been a merchant, for he died in Marseilles in 1827. John married an Italian girl, Lucia, who had been born in Pisa in 1797. They were married in Odessa, but we do not know the year. Their only child, Stephen, was born in London in 1821. As a young man John was clearly accustomed to moving frequently!

He was also the oldest surviving son within a large family, and he had close relatives all along the Mediterranean and beyond. His sister Ploumos died in Marseilles, as did his brother August. Another brother, Pandia, was a Greek consul in London, where he and two other brothers eventually died. An American traveler noted that John had several brothers — in England, Trieste, and the Greek Islands.[39] All were mer-

[36] *Journal d'Odessa,* 28 January 1847.
[37] National Archives of the United States (hereafter NA), Dispatches from the United States Consuls in Odessa, 31 May 1831 and ff.
[38] NA, Odessa, Consular Report, 29 October 1854.
[39] John Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Greece Turkey, Russia, and Poland,* 2 vols. (New York, 1838), 1: 260.

chants. In his reports to Washington, John frequently asked for permission to take leave in order to go abroad on business. Together with four younger brothers, he founded in London in 1818 a firm called Ralli and Petrocochino; after a subsequent reorganization, it was renamed simply Ralli Brothers. This company existed continuously until 1961.[40] At various times it maintained branches in the Danubian Provinces, Persia, the East Indies, and America, besides the Russian Empire. The vast network recently elicited this comment from S. H. Chapman:

> In their migration westward the more successful Greek houses spawned new branches, and tracing these reveals the pattern of extension of their interests. Ralli Brothers, the Chian family in the vanguard of the migration, opened branches at Odessa, Marseilles, London and Manchester (1828), and were soon exporting cotton twist to Germany as well as the Levant. In 1865, at the summit of their mercantile achievement, the Rallis were operating through interlocked partnerships in fifteen centres, spread across Europe and the Middle East.[41]

The English branch of the family achieved numerous distinctions. John's nephew Pandely became a member of the British Parliament.[42] In 1912 the British government conferred the hereditary title of baronet upon the then head of the firm, Lucas Eustratius Ralli, who died in 1931. His son and his nephew served in the British army during the Boer War — one died of typhoid fever, the other survived to fight in World War I and was decorated with the Military Cross.

Other members of the family earned honors from other governments. John's first cousin, Ambrose Ralli of Trieste, received the hereditary title of baron from the Austrian emperor. His father, Stephen, was a great merchant and banker active in Smyrna and Constantinople. Another member of the family, Panajoti, was engaged in the thriving grain import business at Livorno during the French revolutionary wars. There in 1847 the Ralli firm was still listed as "Greek."[43] It was reckoned among the *fidate,* or those enterprises not required to pay their taxes in advance, in recognition of their faith and substance.

In 1838, an American visitor to Odessa wrote that Ralli had left his native island as a boy and had visited every European port as a merchant before settling permanently in Odessa in about 1830.[44] In fact, John left

[40] Chr. Moulake, *Oikos Adelphon Ralli* (Athens, 1964), p. 9.
[41] S. D. Chapman, "The International Houses: The Continental Contribution to British Commerce, 1800–1860," *Journal of European Economic History* 6 (1977): 38.
[42] Argenti, *Libro d'Oro,* 2: 103.
[43] Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter ASF), Ministero delle Finanze, Capi Rotti, no. 20. Report from G. Cantini to G. Baldasseroni, 7 July 1848.
[44] Stephens, *Incidents,* 1: 260.

London in 1827.[45] It is very likely that the death of his father at Marseilles in the same year called him, as the eldest son, back to the Mediterranean, the center of the family's far-flung commercial interests. While his younger brothers and close relatives were receiving hereditary titles in London and Trieste, John built up business in the booming city of Odessa. Already in 1826, before his own permanent settlement there, the Ralli Company in Odessa was importing and exporting goods valued at 290,524 rubles. In 1827, exports declined to 149,342 rubles. However, as we have seen, under John's immediate supervision the company was trading more than 1.5 million rubles' worth of commodities, chiefly cereals, by 1846.

From 1832 John Ralli represented the United States government at Odessa. He was appointed upon the recommendation of an American diplomat, Charles Rhind, who had negotiated a treaty between his country and the Porte and who had employed Ralli as an agent, apparently without ever having made his personal acquaintance. Rhind described the candidate to the Department of State as being talented and "rich and respectable."[46] An American traveler who met Ralli in 1835 praised the courtesy with which the consul treated him and his partners.[47] They were allegedly the first Americans the American consul had ever met. In spite of the time he spent in England, Ralli still spoke English with difficulty. Shortly afterwards, John Stephens, an American world traveler and adventurer who later became president of the Panama Railroad Company, also met Ralli. He described the consul as follows:

> Mr. Ralli is rich and respected, being vice-president of the commercial board, and very proud of the honour of the American consulate, as it gives him a position among the dignitaries of the place, enables him to wear a uniform and sword on public occasion, and yields him other privileges which are gratifying, at least, if not intrinsically valuable.[48]

Ralli fulfilled the duties of consul with a high degree of competence, as his long tenure suggests. His dispatches to Washington were always well informed and written in correct English. He alerted the government to commercial opportunities for American ships in the Black Sea, and he stressed the profits to be made by shipping colonial products directly to the empire. In making his assessments Ralli had the advantage of information coming in from his offices in Rostov, Taganrog, and other Azov

45 Moulake, *Oikos,* p. 10.
46 NA, Odessa, Consular Report, 30 May 1831.
47 H. Wickoff, *Reminiscences of an Idler* (New York, 1880), p. 234.
48 Stephens, *Incidents,* 1: 260.

cities, as well as from his numerous connections in the West. One example of his good commercial sense was his advice to the United States to increase its grain shipments to Europe during the Crimean War, so as to take advantage of the prohibition against cereal export which the Russian government had recently imposed: "The present circumstances may be advantageously profited by the United States, from whence great quantity of bread stuffs may be exported to Europe."[49]

In 1857 the American government tried to prohibit its consuls abroad from engaging in private commercial ventures. Ralli appealed the decision to President Buchanan and described his own career: "I have been a merchant for a great number of years. . . . I have not only a commercial house at Odessa, and branch houses in other parts of Russia, but likewise houses in England, France, Turkey, Persia and also the East Indies."[50] To retain his consular post, Ralli was willing to renounce his stipend, but he would not end his commercial career. His son Stephen was likewise willing to serve as consul for the honor alone, he wrote. Ralli also reminded the president of his father's friendship for him when they had been together at the court of St. James. His petition was favorably received, but John died soon after, in 1859, while abroad in Paris. His widow went to Paris to live, but died in Livorno in 1873, in the country of her birth. John's only son, Stephen, remained in Odessa and served as vice-consul from 1854 until his father's death.[51] He then became deputy consul until the arrival of Timothy Smith of Vermont, the first native American to occupy the post of American consul in Odessa.

Stephen continued the family's traditional involvement in the cereal trade, and also built up a substantial landed endowment. Like his father, he was a Russian citizen and took active part in civic affairs. In 1863 he was appointed a member of a commission to study proposed reforms of the city government,[52] and he was also named to the city council. After the Crimean War, when he was regarded as one of the richest landowners in the Russian Empire, Stephen's wealth and services won him new titles, including honorary justice of the peace and actual counselor of state. The story spread that he kept large sums of gold and silver in his house and was constantly preoccupied with matters of security.[53]

[49] NA, Odessa, Consular Report, 1 March 1854.
[50] NA, Odessa, Consular Report, 20 February 1857.
[51] NA, Odessa, Consular Report, 5 December 1856.
[52] *Odessa, 1794–1894*, p. 88.
[53] Personal interview with his great-niece, Marfa Viktorovna Tsomakion, Odessa, September 1974.

In 1850, Stephen married a woman born in Odessa to a Greek family.[54] The twin sons born to them the following year were given the names Peter and Paul. Daughters followed in rapid succession — one in 1852, and four more before 1872. All the children were born in Odessa. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth, eventually married Prince Alexander Lobanov-Rostovskii. The alliance indicates how closely the family had become connected with the Russian social establishment. Peter Ralli became a captain in the Imperial Guards, while Paul retained close ties with his native city.

Much gossip circulated about the family. According to a newspaper report dated 7 May 1885, the Rallis had recently erected a large, expensive, and ornate building. With ill-concealed cynicism, the reporter demanded to know whether the millionaires had built it for the unfortunate, the sick, or the elderly. In truth, it was designed to house dogs — a "dogs' kingdom (*sabach'e tsarstvo*)," he called it. According to the Soviet historian who uncovered this bit of scandal, the Ralli dogs were so ferocious that they chewed to death some of the family's own servants; allegedly, their bodies were found floating on the Black Sea.[55] Whether or not these tales deserve credence, the Rallis had clearly become rich enough to excite jealousy and resentment on the part of their fellow townsmen. Since Paul appears in the city directory of 1910 as the president of the Odessa Society for the Protection of Animals, it is more than likely that the Rallis were simply devoted to raising pedigree dogs.[56]

The twin sons were educated in Odessa. At age 26 they received law degrees from the imperial university which had been established in *Novorossiia.* They are listed as Orthodox hereditary honorary citizens of the city.[57] Peter then left Odessa to take up his career in the Imperial Guards. He married in St. Petersburg in 1889; there are no recorded offspring. Death overtook him in Pau, France, in 1896. His father, Stephen, survived him until 1901. His widow, Peter's mother, left Odessa and died in Cannes, France, in 1903.[58]

The surviving twin, Paul, assumed the leadership of the clan in Odessa. In addition to his work for the protection of animals, he served as presi-

[54] Argenti, *Libro d'Oro,* 2: 147.

[55] V. Zagoruiko, *Po stranitsam istorii Odessy i Odesshchiny,* 2 vols. (Odessa, 1957–60), 2: 104–105.

[56] *Adres'-kalendar' Odesskogo gradnochal'stva na 1910 god* (Odessa, 1910), p. 336.

[57] A. A. Markevich, *Dvadtsatipiatiletie Imperatorskogo Novorossiiskogo universiteta* (Odessa, 1890), p. xxxvii.

[58] Argenti, *Libro d'Oro,* 2: 147.

dent of the Odessa Discount Bank.[59] In 1974 the niece of Paul Ralli, Marfa Viktorovna Tsomakion, graciously granted me an interview in Odessa. In her recollections, Paul was not as dedicated to the pursuit of commerce as his forefathers had been. Rather, he invested his money in land, notably in a huge estate south of Kiev. He was also the owner of a sugar refinery. His wife, Catherine Tymchenko, who was born in Odessa in 1861, encouraged him to undertake various philanthropies. He maintained a well-staffed hospital on his estate and sent ailing servants off for seaside cures. Once, he discovered that a young peasant was endowed with a fine voice and paid for his musical training; the protégé eventually became a leading singer on the Moscow stage. His sugar refinery was said to have been the first in the vicinity to initiate an eight-hour working day.

Paul Ralli undertook many trips to Western Europe, often in the company of his niece Marfa. His own daughter, Madeleine, born in 1896 at his estate, Suprumov, in Podolia, died in Bavaria in 1921 at the age of only 25. As he had no sons, Paul Ralli was the last male of his line in Odessa; he died in St. Petersburg in 1911. Of his five sisters, Helen, born in 1852, lived the longest; she died in Odessa in 1923.[60]

THE RODOCANACHI FAMILY

Hardly less extended in their commercial interests was the Rodocanachi family, who also came from the island of Chios. One of the first bases for their commercial operations was Livorno. One Michael Rodocanachi was a prominent trader in that Italian port in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[61] He may be identified with a Michael who was born at Chios in 1775 and married at Livorno in 1835 at the age of 60. This was his only known marriage, but probably not his first, for his bride was herself 47 years of age. In any event, the fortunes of the house prospered at Livorno. The wars of the French revolution and the Napoleonic era opened significant trading opportunities. Many Italian firms entered upon bad days during the French occupation of Tuscany, but the Greeks, politically uninvolved, reaped substantial profits.

In 1815, the Rodocanachis were listed among the privileged foreign firms of Livorno, who did not have to pay taxes in advance.[62] Michael had

[59] *Adres'-kalendar'*, p. 196.
[60] Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, 2: 151.
[61] For information on the Rodocanachi family in Livorno, see M. Baruchello, *Livorno e il suo porto: Origini, caratteristiche e vicende dei traffici livornesi* (Livorno, 1932), pp. 380–381 and 563.
[62] ASF, Ministero delle Finanze, Capi Rotti, no. 20, 7 July 1848.

no known children, but his death in 1843 did not leave the house leaderless. Direction of the family firm in Livorno fell to George, son of Paul Rodocanachi, who had been born at Chios in 1795. He was one of nine children and the oldest surviving son (an elder brother, Peter, had been hanged by the Turks at Chios in 1822). His younger brothers and close relatives established themselves at the principal Mediterranean ports. Theodore settled in Odessa. Another brother took up residence at Syra, and a nephew, Paul, at Marseilles.

This tight family network linked the large trading marts of the Mediterranean. All the Rodocanachis enjoyed nearly spectacular success. Paul, for example, at one time served as head of the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles. In 1851, he petitioned the Grand Duchy of Tuscany for appointment as its consul-general in the French port, although it is unclear whether he was a Tuscan citizen. At any event, we have this contemporary Tuscan assessment of his talents: "M. Paul Rodocannachi is very much esteemed here. His firm holds the first position among the Greek houses of Marseilles. His political opinions are those of the conservative party, his intelligence and aptitude for commercial affairs lead us to declare that he would be a good choice."[63]

In Odessa, Paul's uncle Theodore had likewise proved himself to be a shrewd and sensible merchant. He arrived in Odessa at age 15 (in 1812), when the city itself was only 18 years old. By the time he was 21, he was directing a firm under his own name. He was among the first to recognize the opportunities in carrying grain from southern Ukraine to Western Europe. With brothers and nephews at the chief Mediterranean ports, he had informed sources of commercial intelligence and reliable agents. As S. D. Chapman recently noted:

> The supra-nationalist outlook of religious and ethnic minorities gave them distinct advantages. Intimate local knowledge was the best defence against commercial and political threats, and the family network transmitted intelligence most readily and was quickest to respond to it. And while each family maintained a rivalry with others in the "tribe," there was sufficient understanding between them for members to insulate each other against crises and to act collectively to improve or maintain their national image.[64]

By 1826 Theodore Rodocanachi was one of the leading merchants of Odessa, doing transactions totaling 465,082 rubles. In the following year, his turnover jumped dramatically, to 1,144,296 rubles.[65] By 1847 his firm

[63] ASF, Affari Esteri, Protocollo 435.34, 12 January 1851.
[64] "International Houses," p. 46.
[65] *Gosudarstvennaia vneshniaia torgovlia* for the years 1826 and 1827.

was the largest in the entire city. He imported goods to the value of 659,402 rubles and exported commodities valued at 2,771,548 rubles. The total value of goods traded, nearly 3.5 million rubles, was larger by a million than that of his closest competitor.[66] This one firm accounted for some 10 percent of Odessa's overseas commerce. Not surprisingly, Theodore's name appears among the members of the first guild in 1861.[67]

According to the local newspapers, Theodore was the proprietor of several ships. One purchased in 1849 was loyally called the *Niccolo Primo,* and another, which made frequent calls at the port of Odessa, was suitably named the *Rodocanachi.*[68] In 1832 Theodore applied for the post of Tuscan consular agent in Odessa. At that time he wrote that he had become a citizen of the Russian Empire.[69]

Another Theodore (a second cousin) settled in St. Petersburg, and he, too, petitioned to become the Tuscan consul in the imperial capital. On 11 August 1851, Grand Duke Leopold II of Tuscany confirmed his appointment. Theodore's petition stated that he was born in Livorno (we know that the year was 1825).[70] He was still a Tuscan subject as late as 1849, but at some point in his career, he also acquired British citizenship. This was a source of embarrassment to him during the Crimean War, since he was now a resident of the Russian Empire. Clearly, national allegiances weighed lightly on the Rodocanachis. This Theodore Rodocanachi of St. Petersburg became a very rich man. His palace, one of the most beautiful in the capital, was a gathering place for the elite of the city. Theodore died in Baden in Germany in 1889 without heirs. His wife, Catherine Mavrogordata, born and married in Odessa, died in Paris in 1923; her will left to the land of her Greek ancestors all the splendid *objets d'art* she and her husband had avidly collected.[71]

One of the sons of Theodore Rodocanachi of Odessa, named Pericles, also gained recognition in the highest social circles of St. Petersburg. Philip Argenti claimed that he was the first person of Greek ancestry to be made a member of the hereditary Russian nobility. The emperor elevated him to this singular honor in recognition "of the great and rapid development of his house of commerce."[72] While the distinction was unquestion-

66 *Journal d'Odessa,* 28 January 1847.

67 *Gosudarstvennaia vneshniaia torgovlia* for the year 1861.

68 *Giornale del Commercio, delle Arti e delle Manifatture con Varietà ed Avvisi Diversi,* 30 May 1838, and subsequent issues for ship arrivals and departures.

69 ASF, Affari Esteri, Protocollo 266, no. 22, 25 May 1832.

70 Argenti, *Libro d'Oro,* 2: 180.

71 Argenti, *Libro d'Oro,* 1: 106.

72 Argenti, *Libro d'Oro,* 1: 106.

able, Pericles Rodocanachi may not have been the first Greek to achieve it: according to Gregory Arsh, Ioannis Varvakis had been made a hereditary noble by Alexander I.[73]

Gossip surrounded the rich Rodocanachis, as it did the Rallis. A contemporary account said that Pericles had a reputation as a ladies' man. At the opera house, he was prone to circulate, with a monocle in his eye, from loge to loge, peering at one lady after another. Because of his extreme myopia, he so closely scrutinized the faces of the women that he reputedly aroused the anger of more than one husband.[74] However, doubtless in recognition of his exalted status, none of the offended spouses dared challenge him openly. Pericles, born in Odessa in 1841, died in Paris in 1899 without heirs; his noble title expired with him. He had been Theodore's only son. Of Theodore's two daughters, we know only the issue of the youngest, Ariane, born in Odessa in 1842. She married Nicolas Mavrogordato, member of another prominent Greek mercantile family. Ariane died in Vienna in 1900; Nicolas had died in Odessa in 1893. Their three children, two sons and a daughter — all born in Odessa — bore, of course, the name of their father, Mavrogordato. The Rodocanachi commercial house continued to do business in Odessa as late as 1894. However, no member of the family is mentioned in the directory of the city for the year 1910.

A citation in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* for 24 April 1844 salutes the importance of the Rallis and the Rodocanachis in the commerce of Odessa during the mid-nineteenth century. "The house of Ralli," it reads, "holds the first place, both in exports and in imports taken together, and in exports taken separately; for imports alone, the Rodocanachis [are the leaders]."[75]

CONSIDERATIONS

The success of the Greek firms and families at Odessa had several roots. As early arrivals in a new city, they were able to establish their businesses before rivals could. They took advantage of the capital and connections that brothers, relatives, and compatriots extended to them in the major ports of the Mediterranean and beyond. The Greek firms were competitive with one another, but they also frequently shared commercial intelli-

[73] *Eteristskoe dvizhenie*, p. 143, fn. 34.

[74] A. de Ribas, *Staraia Odessa: Istoricheskii ocherki i vospominaniia* (Odessa, 1913), p. 105.

[75] *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*, 24 April 1844.

gence and resources. They formed, as an English traveler to Odessa observed in 1824, a moral family: "The Greeks are very intelligent and artful; they have agents of their own country in all parts to which they trade; they form, as it were, one large family and manage to lay their neighbors under contribution."[76]

This moral solidarity became especially apparent and powerful in periods of crisis. In 1848, for example, a year of financial panic, the English consul at Odessa remarked that the Greeks, who dominated the import trade, disposed of abundant cash and hence were not severely affected by the commercial downturn: "The Greek houses, whose branch establishments have of late been remarkable in most of the great towns of Europe, and whose character and solidity had become a matter of inquiry and of jealous attention, have in particular borne the late trial in a way much to add their credit and power."[77]

During a subsequent financial crisis in 1857, the French consul explained why Odessa suffered so little: "To begin with, the largest companies in Odessa are Greek firms, and it is known to what degree of prudence and skill Greek traders conduct their operations. Linked with each other at all points of the globe, they help each other, supporting each other so that it is rare to see them in difficulties."[78]

Clearly, in diversity and geographic dispersal there was strength. The commercial disruption caused by the Crimean War offers a good example of the benefits which dispersion could provide. The wartime embargo against the export of grain out of Odessa hurt the business of Theodore Rodocanachi. But the embargo proved a windfall to his brother George in Livorno. George developed an alternate source of grain in the Danubian ports of Galatz and Braila, and he sold it in Western Europe at the inflated prices that the Russian embargo had engendered.[79] One man's woe was another man's profit, but both men were members of the same family enterprise.

The Greeks across the diaspora assiduously cultivated family solidarity and cohesiveness. They shared information on prices, established a network of credit and debt clearances, and trained and tested younger members of the clans as suitable business partners. Finally, they contracted marriages which added ties of sentiment to ties of cash. Social cohesion was advanced by the fact that the Greeks in foreign cities very often lived

[76] Moore, *A Journey from London*, pp. 154–55.
[77] PRO, FO 65 355, 28 February 1848.
[78] AMAE, Odessa, vol. 7, 15 December 1857.
[79] ASF, Affari Esteri, Protocollo 485.85, 10 May 1853; 28 April 1855.

together in compact neighborhoods. In Odessa they settled on the side streets jutting off from the main artery, the Deribaskovskaia. Even the affluent who could have afforded more spacious quarters preferred to reside among their poorer compatriots. Some scholars have seen in this sense of ethnic solidarity, first noticeable among the Greeks of the diaspora, a source of the national fervor that ignited and sustained the movement for Greek independence.[80]

In Odessa as elsewhere Greeks faced a difficult dilemma. Should they assimilate into the larger society, at the cost of losing their valuable connections with their co-nationals abroad? Or should they retain their Greek identity, and thus visit upon themselves the resentments and disabilities which are the usual deserts of outsiders? Some Greeks chose assimilation, partial or total. Dmitri Inglesi rose to become mayor of Odessa from 1818 to 1821, as we have seen. Many members of the prominent families — Ralli, Sevastopulo, Mavrogordato, and others — became honorary citizens of their cities; conferral of the dignity indicated long years of community service in some productive profession. Some few, such as Paul Ralli, became full members of the Russian aristocracy. On the other hand, many others clung to their Greek identity and never looked upon Odessa as their permanent home.

Indeed, the very presence of Greek merchants at Odessa begins to wane from the middle nineteenth century. For example, the number of Greeks attending the University of Novorossiia was surprisingly low. Of the 1835 students who graduated from the university between the years 1868 and 1890, only fourteen have evident Greek surnames.[81] And the old, familiar names are few among them. Vladimir and Egor Dimo, for example, members of the merchant class, received law degrees in 1871 and 1873, respectively. In 1826, Sotiri Dimo was a leading merchant of the city, doing commerce valued at 346,961 rubles.[82] The Ralli twins, Peter and Paul, were likewise the recipients of law degrees, as we have seen. Matthew Sevastopulo, who became a high state official, was also a graduate of the

[80] Arsh, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie,* pp. 148–49. Deno J. Geanakoplos, "The Diaspora Greeks: The Genesis of Modern Greek National Consciousness," in *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821–1830): Continuity and Change,* Institute for Balkan Studies, no. 156 (Thessaloniki, 1976), pp. 59–77. On the other hand, V. A. Iakovlev claims that the Greeks of Odessa did not keep apart from the Russian population of the city: "the Greeks were not greatly alienated (*otchuzhdalis'*) from the Russian population and always responded enthusiastically to the demands of their new fatherland." See his essay "Koe chto ob inoplemennikakh v istorii g. Odessy," in *Iz proshlogo Odessy: Sbornik statei,* ed. by L. M. de-Ribas (Odessa, 1894), pp. 377–78.

[81] Markevich, *Dvadtsatipiatiletie,* pp. xiii–lxxix.

[82] *Gosudarsvennaia vneshniaia torgovlia* for the year 1826.

University of Novorossiia. A Dmitri Inglesi appears among the graduates; his ancestors had come to Odessa in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and one Dmitri Inglesi had been an early mayor. In 1847 an Inglesi was listed as a leading merchant of the city, with a trade turnover of 93,410 rubles. Several members of the family are mentioned in the city directory for 1910 as officials in banks and credit societies.[83]

The paucity of Greeks at the university reflects their small numbers in the city as a whole. In 1897, according to the first All-Russian census, native speakers of Greek constituted only 1.3 percent of the population;[84] they had comprised 1.6 percent only five years earlier. The sex ratio among them was very disbalanced: 58.6 women for every 100 males. Most Greeks in Odessa were newly arrived males in search of jobs who were unmarried or who had left their families at home. The older wave of Greek immigrants had either assimilated and disappeared, or had left the city.

The directory for the year 1910, which lists the notables of the city, offers further evidence of the declining Greek presence. The directory gives some 2,523 names, with indications of social class and offices held in government, military service, teaching, business, and so forth. Only 69 residents are identified as merchants, whereas 48 are honorary citizens, a category which traditionally included successful businessmen of foreign origin. Of these 117 names (only 5 percent of the city's notables), we recognize only three: Marie Sevastopulo, the patroness of orphanages; Paul Ralli, the president of the Odessa Discount Bank and protector of dogs; and Peter Ambrosevich Mavrogordato, president of the Imperial Society for the Study of History and Antiquities. Evidently, very few Greeks remained among Odessa's elite.

Where had the Greeks gone? According to a contemporary observer who wrote in 1863, Greek merchants were leaving the city and Jews were taking their places in commerce.[85] Wilhelm Hamm, who visited Odessa in the early 1860s, noted that the Greeks once held the major share in the commerce of wheat, wool, tallow, skins, and linseed. Now, however, he observed that "the Greeks were in great decline."[86] University lists, consu-

[83] *Journal d'Odessa*, 28 January 1847. *Adres'-kalendar'*, pp. 195 and 199.

[84] *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 g.*, 80 vols. in 24 (St. Petersburg, 1899–1905), vol. 47: *Gorod Odessa*, pp. vi–vii.

[85] PRO, FO 65 647, 4 March 1863. The British consul, Grenville-Murray, reported to London that the Jews were then "pushing the Greeks altogether aside, and they have become the first bankers and merchants of South Russia."

[86] *Südöstliche Steppen und Städte* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1862), p. 103. See also V. A. Iakovlev: "[In both export and import] they held first place up to the 50's, but at

lar reports, and city directories all indicate that Jews were entering large-scale commerce in unprecedented numbers. They had always been, to be sure, numerous among the small brokers and traders, but overseas commerce was now falling into their hands more and more. In 1913 an American from Toledo, Ohio, commented on their commercial prominence: "The business of Odessa is largely in the hands of the Jews, and prosperous Jews or their families may be seen at all times on the street. . . . The Russians all dislike them in Odessa, it seems, but no doubt this hatred is partly the result of envy."[87]

The Jews were superbly suited to take up the slack left by the departure of the Greeks. They had much the same cohesiveness, family connections, and invaluable experience in intermediate business roles. They were, on the whole, content with slimmer margins of profit than the Greeks.

The Greek mercantile houses, on the other hand, favored more risky and speculative ventures.[88] While the grain trade increased in absolute volume during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the entry of the Americans on the international grain market whittled down the profits to be expected from the export of the empire's wheat. The Greeks were ready for more profitable, if riskier, enterprises. Textiles, not grain, attracted them in the late nineteenth century. Ralli Brothers established branches in Calcutta (1851), Bombay (1861), and New York (1871). Its trade in India and America was primarily in cotton. In 1866, in a major reorganization, the firm gave up its business in the Russian Empire altogether; it fell to a company known as Scaramanga and Associates.[89] According to the firm's historian, success came to Ralli Brothers because the partners had always observed the dictum engraved on the family coat of arms: "Walk the straight path."[90] Perhaps more truly, the key to success for all the Greek merchants lay in taking a circuitous path around the Mediter-

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the present time in this business they have gone back to a second level, leaving their place to the Jews." *Iz proshlogo Odessy*, p. 376.

87 Nevin O. Winter, *The Russian Empire of To-Day and Yesterday* (London, 1914), p. 136. A few years previously, another American journalist noted that while Jews of Odessa represented one-third of the population, "they control the banking, the manufacturing, the export trade, the milling, the wholesale and retail mercantile and commercial enterprises." William E. Curtain, *Around the Black Sea* (New York, 1911), pp. 329–30.

88 Chapman, "International Houses," p. 39.

89 Moulake, *Oikos*, p. 13. According to Iakovlev, the peasants retained in his own day (the 1890s) happy memories of the fair treatment they received in doing business with this Greek firm. *Iz proshlogo Odessy*, p. 376.

90 Moulake, *Oikos*, p. 17.

ranean and well beyond its shores, in perpetual search of remunerative ventures.

In the early nineteenth century, the enterprise of Greek merchants gave a powerful boost to the export of Ukrainian wheat. Pioneers in the trade along the many ports of the Black Sea coast, they contributed in a special way to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the area's largest port, Odessa. Odessa, in turn, offered a hospitable environment for the Greek community. Some of its members integrated themselves smoothly into the city's life. But others, as their easy shift of national allegiances would lead us to expect, left the site when commercial opportunities beckoned elsewhere.

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Turksprachige Lehnwörter im Dialekt der Donec'ker (Asow-) Griechen in der Ukraine

OLEXA HORBATSCH

Der 'rumäische' (urmäische) Dialekt der Asowgriechen (heute im Donec'k-Gebiet) in der Ukrainischen SSR ist trotz den intensiveren Forschungen der 1930er Jahre und der nachstalinistischen Zeit in den Fachkreisen wenig bekannt. Bis dahin war nur eine der asowgriechischen Mundarten aus den Aufzeichnungen des Odessaer Slavisten V. I. Grigorovič[1] und deren Übersetzung vom deutschen Konsul in Odessa, dem Turkologen O. Blau,[2] bekannt gewesen. Die dialektologischen Expeditionen der Leningrader Linguisten der 1920er Jahre brachten aufschlußreiche Gesamtdarstellungen von M. V. Sergievskij[3] und I. I. Sokolov[4] der Siedlungsgeschichte (so bei Sokolov) und der sprachlichen Merkmale der einzelnen asowgriech. Dialektgruppen (bei Sergievskij); das gesammelte dialektologische Material ist vermutlich verloren gegangen. Von neuem begann die Erforschung dieser Mundarten durch die Expeditionen der Kiewer Universität nach dem 2. Weltkrieg, wobei deren Teilresultate in

[1] V. Grigorovič, *Zapiska antikvara o poezdke ego na Kalku i Kalmius, v Korsunskuju zemlju i na južnye poberež'ja Dnepra i Dnestra,* Odessa 1874 — brachte 137 asowgriechische Wörter, die von M. V. Sergievskij[3] (S. 545–47, 585) dem Mundartentyp von M. Janysol' zugeordnet wurden.

[2] O. Blau, "Über die griechisch-türkische Mischbevölkerung von Mariupol," in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Bd. 28, S. 576–83, Berlin 1874.

[3] M. V. Sergievskij, "Mariupol'skie grečeskie govory. Opyt kratkoj xarakteristiki," in: *Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR, Otdelenie obščestvennyx nauk,* Moskva 1934, S. 533–87.

[4] I. I. Sokolov, "O jazyke grekov Mariupol'skogo i Stalinskogo okrugov. Predvaritel'nyj očerk," in: *Jazyk i literatura,* Bd. 6, S. 49–67, Leningrad 1930 (weiterhin als JiL 6 abgekürzt); I. I. Sokolov, "Mariupol'skie greki, 1. Mariupol'skie greki do poselenija ix na Ukraine (XV–XVIII vv.)," in: *Trudy Instituta slavjanovedenija AN SSSR,* Bd. I, S. 297–317, Moskva 1932 (weiterhin als Tr abgekürzt).

den Veröffentlichungen der Kiewer Gräzisten A. Bilec'kyj[5] und T. Černyšova[6] zu finden sind.

Die in den 1920er Jahren geförderte Entwicklung eigener asowgriechischer Schriftsprache und eigenes Kulturlebens (Lokalpresse, Theater u.ä.) wurde in den 1930er Jahren jäh unterbrochen. Die vorsichtigen Versuche der eigenständigen Wiedergeburt (in einem engeren Rahmen) begannen erst in den 1960er Jahren: eine im Westen unzugängliche Lokalpresse,[7] eine Gedichtssammlung[8] sowie Übersetzungen aus T. Ševčenko.[9]

Die Materialien von T. Černyšova (einschließlich ihres Aufsatzes über die turksprachigen Lehnwörter in der gesellschaftlichen Begriffssphäre[10] — aber ohne Berücksichtigung — der Mundart von Velyka Novosilka)

[5] A. A. Bilec'kyj (in russ. Aufsätzen: Beleckij), "Dijeslivna systema hovoriv sil Kremenivka (Čerdakly) ta Kujbyševo (Malyj Janisol'), in: *Visnyk Kyjivs'koho deržavnoho universytetu* (weiterhin als KDU bzw. KGU abgekürzt), *Serija filolohiji ta žurnalistyky*, Bd. II, 2, S. 125–27, Kyjiv 1959; "Glagoly suščestvovanija i stanovlenija v novogrečeskom jazyke," in: *Slavica*, Bd. 6, S. 31–34, Debrecen 1966; "Grečeskie dialekty jugo-vostoka Ukrainy i problema ix jazyka i pis'mennosti," in: *Balkanskaja filologija, Učenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, Nr. 343, S. 7–8, Leningrad 1970; "Rezul'taty dvujazyčija v govorax rumejskogo jazyka na Ukraine (tjurkizmy rumejskogo jazyka)," in: *Materialy konferencii. Aktual'nye voprosy sovremennogo jazykoznanija i lingvističeskoe nasledie E. D. Polivanova*, S. 120–22, Samarkand 1971 (mir unzugänglich geblieben); "Stanovlenie novogrečeskix glagol'nyx paradigm (nastojaščee i prošedšee dlitel'noe vremja iz"javitel'nogo naklonenija dejstvitel'nogo zaloga)," in: *Balkanskoe jazykoznanie*, Institut slavjanovedenija i balkanistiki AN SSSR, S. 64–80, Moskva 1973.

[6] T. M. Černyšova (in russ. Aufsätzen: T. N. Černyševa), "Itogi dialektologičeskoj èkspedicii Filologičeskogo fakul'teta KGU v Pervomajskij rajon Stalinskoj oblasti USSR," in: *Naukova sesija KDU, Tezy dopovidej*, Kyjiv 1954; "Novohrec'ka hovirka sil Prymors'koho ta Jalty Peršotravnevoho rajonu Stalins'koji oblasti," in: *Naukovyj ščoričnyk KDU za 1956 r.*, Kyjiv 1957; "Ètimologičeskie nabljudenija v oblasti urzufjaltinskogo govora novogrečeskogo jazyka," *a.a.O.*, Kyjiv 1957; "Mestoimenija v urzuf-jaltinskom govore novogrečeskogo jazyka," in: *Visnyk KDU*, Nr. I, 2, Kyjiv 1958; *Novogrečeskij govor sel Primorskogo (Urzufa) i Jalty, Pervomajskogo rajona, Stalinskoj oblasti (Istoričeskij očerk i morfologija glagola)*, Kiev 1958; "Pidsumky dialektolohičnoji èkspedyciji 1958 r. do sil Kremen'ovka ta Kujbyševo Volodars'koho rajonu Stalins'koji oblasti," in: *Naukovyj ščoričnyk KDU za 1958 r.*, Kyjiv 1959; "Grečeskij glossarij F. A. Charchataja," in: *Visnyk KDU*, Nr. 2, Kyjiv 1959; "Fonetičeskij obzor urzuf-jaltinskogo govora novogrečeskogo jazyka (sistema glasnyx)," in: *Sbornik Filologičeskogo fakul'teta KGU*, Nr. 14, Kiev 1960; "Pro hrec'kyj fol'klor na Ukrajini," in: *Narodna tvorčist' ta etnohrafija*, Kyjiv 1960, Nr. 4; "'Beššalchim' (Iz fol'klornyx materialov)," in: *Visnyk KDU*, Nr. 2, Kyjiv 1961.

[7] Νέος Δρόμος in Ždanov-Marijupil'.

[8] *Lenin žyve. Poeziji. Oryhinal'ni tvory hrec'kyx poetiv Ukrajiny ta jix pereklady na ukrajins'ku movu*, Kyjiv 1973.

[9] T. Černyšova, "Ševčenko movoju hrekiv na Ukrajini," in: *Zbirnyk prac' 21-oji ta 22-oji Naukovyx ševčenkivs'kyx konferencij*, S. 254–62, Kyjiv 1976.

[10] T. M. Černyšova, "Tjurks'ki elementy v social'nij sferi leksyky hrec'kyx hovirok Doneččyny," in: *Movoznavstvo*, Nr. 4, S. 51–55, Kyjiv, 1975.

sowie meine eigenen Aufzeichnungen der am wenigsten bekannten Mundart von Velykyj Janysol'/Velyka Novosilka (als Antworten auf meinen Fragebogen von Frau Rajisa Moroz, geb. Lefterova in den Jahren 1973–79 gesammelt) bilden das lexikale Quellenmaterial für die vorliegende Untersuchung. Zusammenhängende Texte aus V. Novosilka wurden von mir veröffentlicht.[11]

Die Ansiedlung der Asowgriechen wurde in den Jahren 1778–81 aus ihrer Südkrimer Heimat in ihr heutiges Gebiet von russischen Behörden organisiert. Ihre Vorfahren waren im Laufe einer 2000jährigen Geschichte seit dem 7.–6. Jahrhundert vor Chr. aus Nordostgriechenland, Westanatolien, Bysanz und vom Nordpontikum auf die Krimhalbinsel gekommen. In der Krim hatten sie sprachliche Kontakte mit iranischen, gotischen, turksprachigen und slavischen Stämmen sowie mit den italienisch-genuesischen Handelsemporien aufgenommen. In der neuen nordasowischen Heimat kamen sie nur mit Ukrainern und Russen in Berührung. Diese Kontakte kommen im Wortschatz der heutigen Asowgriechen zum Ausdruck (z.B. *cavúr,* osset. *dzabyr* 'Pflug', *krindíča* 'Ohrringe', got. *hringr* 'Ringe', *grínzi,* slav. *gręzь* 'Dreck', *kan róka* 'spinnen', ital. *roca* 'Spinnrocken', *čol* 'Steppe, Feld', osman. *çöl* 'Steppe', *xalačíča* 'Gebäck', ukr. *kaláč* 'Weißbrot', *klúńa,* ukr. *klúńa* 'Scheune', *kapítá* 'Geld', russ. *kop'éjka* 'Kopeke, Groschen' u.ä.)

Die aus der Krim im 18. Jh. umgesiedelte griechische Bevölkerung war z.T. griechisch- ('ellinophon'), z.T. aber bereits tatarischsprachig ('tatarophon'). In der neuen Heimat behielten die Umsiedler ihre alten Ortsnamen; fast alle tatarischen Oikonyma wurden jedoch nach 1945 auf administrativem Weg umbenannt.[12] Die ellinophonen Dörfer waren laut I. I. Sokolov (JiL 6, S. 55–57): Čermakly = Zamožne (aus Čermalyk, Ajlanma, Šelen = Hromivka, Kapsixor = Mors'ke), Sartana = Prymors'ke (aus Sartana = Oleksijivka), Čerdakly = Kremenivka (aus Čerdakly, Karakoba und Bajsu), Malyj und Novyj Janysol' (aus Jenisala = Krasnoselivka, Jenikoj, Džemrek = Kyzilivka und Ujšun), Velyka Karakuba = Rozdol'ne sowie Bugas = Maksymivka und Nova Karakuba = Krasna Poljana (aus Argyn = Karakoba-Balky), Kostjantynopil' (aus Kučuk-Uzen' = Maloričens'ke, Kuru-Uzen' = Sonjašnohirs'ke, Ulu-Uzen' = Heneral's'ke, Demerdžili-Funa und Alušta), Velykyj Janysol' = Velyka Novosilka

[11] O. Horbatsch, "Die Donec'-griechischen Volkslieder aus Velyka Novosilka in der Ukraine," in: *Folia Neohellenica,* Bd. 3, Bochum-Amsterdam (im Druck).

[12] *Ukrajins'ka RSR: Administratyvno-terytorial'nyj podil,* Kyjiv 1947; *Spravočnik administrativno-territorial'nogo delenija Krymskoj oblasti na 15 ijunja 1960 goda,* Symferopil' 1960.

(aus Salt-Jenisala), Urzuf = Prymors'ke (aus Gurzuf und Kizil'taš = Krasnokamenka), Jalta (aus Jalta, Bijuk-Lambat = Malyj Majak, Kučuk-Lambat = Kyparysne, Nikita, Magarač, Marsanda und Antka = Čexove), Styla (aus Stila = Lisnykove).[13] Eine spätere griechische Ansiedlung ist das Dorf Anadolka, das 1826 von griechischen Flüchtlingen aus Nordwestanatolien gegründet wurde; ihre Mundart unterscheidet sich wesentlich von den restlichen asowgriechischen Mundarten, die alle als ein nordostgriechischer Dialekt anzusehen sind.[14]

M. V. Sergievskij (S. 534–35) unterscheidet — ähnlich wie I. I. Sokolov (JiL 6, S. 63–64) und D. Spiridonov[15] — innerhalb der ellinophonen Asowgriechen 5 Mundartengruppen, die sich durch den Reduktionsgrad der unbetonten *e/i* und *o/u* Vokale sowie durch den Übergang *sk-i, e* in *sč-i, e* untereinander abheben. Die Mundart der größten Siedlung Sartana-Prymors'ke bei Marijupil' = Ždanov bildete in den 1920er Jahren die Grundlage einer eigenen asowgriechischen Schriftsprache, die im weiteren bei den einzelnen Autoren lokale heimatdörfliche bzw. Ausdrücke der neugriechischen Schriftsprache (vor allem der Dimotiki) aufnahm.

T. Černyšova hat in ihrer Untersuchung der turksprachigen Lehnwörter 36 Entlehnungen in diesem Bereich festgestellt und somit die These M. V. Sergievskijs (S. 586–87) widerlegt, daß die Turzismen entweder von den tatarophonen Griechen in der neuen Donec'ker Heimat oder 'in den letzten Jahrhunderten' vor der Umsiedlung noch in der Krim übernommen wurden. Černyšovas (S. 55) Meinung nach spiegeln diese Turzismen noch die sozialen Verhältnisse der Krim wieder, wobei dem Zeugnis dieser Lehnwörter nach solche gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen

[13] Die tatarophonen Dörfer waren: Umakly (aus Ubakly-Hlybokyj Jar bei Baxčysaraj), Manguš-Peršotravneve (aus Manguš-Partyzans'ke), Beševo-Starobeševe (aus Bešev und Jenisala-Čajkivs'ke bei Symferopil' und aus Šurju), Velykyj Janysol'-Velyka Novosilka/Ortsteil Aján/ (aus Bijasala-Rodnykiv und aus Kačikal'jen), Staryj Krym (aus Inkerman, Čerkeskermen-Kripke, Marmora, Albat-Kujbyševe und Laka), Novyj Kermenčyk (aus Ulusala), Staryj Kermenčyk (aus Kermenčik), Bohatyr (aus Bogatyr), Karan'-Granitne und Novyj Karan' (aus Karan'-Flots'ke), Kamara (aus Kamara-Komary), Laspa-Stara Laspa (aus Laspi und Alsu).

Über den krimtürkischen Dialekt der Griechen von Stara Mlynivka (Staryj Kermenčyk) vgl. den Aufsatz von F. I. Ohlux und O. M. Harkaveć: "Osoblyvosti fonetyky i morfolohiji odnijeji z urums'kyx hovirok," in: *Movoznavstvo*, Nr. 1, S. 50–56, Kyjiv 1980.

[14] Über die neugriech. Dialekte s. M. A. Τριανταφυλλίδη: Νεοελληνική γραμματική, α΄ τόμος, 'Αθῆνα 1938, S. 233–308; Μεγάλη 'Ελληνική 'Εγκυκλοπαιδεία, τ. X, S 99–103, 'Αθήναι 1926–34, 2. Ausgabe.

[15] D. Spiridonov, "Istoryčnyj interes vyvčennja hovirok marijupil's'kyx hrekiv," in: *Sxidnyj svit*, Xarkiv 1930, Nr. 12(3), S. 171–81, — mir unzugänglich geblieben.

türkischer Herkunft sind; so weisen z.B. die Namen für männliche Familienangehörige bereits auch turksprachige Lexeme auf. Noch deutlicher würde dies die Analyse weiterer turksprachiger Lehnwörter bestätigen (z.B. *čol* 'Steppe, Feld', *sahanáx* 'Platzregen' u.a. — aus dem Bereich der Gelände- und meteorologischen Bezeichnungen).

Unsere Liste der turksprachigen Entlehnungen umfaßt über 420 Ausdrücke (das ist etwa ein Drittel aller aufgezeichneten Wörter),[16] wobei sich die meisten Turzismen auf Eigenschaften (ca. 20%), Gesellschaft (über 16%), Hilfswörter (ca. 9%), Gelände, Meteorologie, Zeit, Haus und Hof, Landwirtschaft, Garten- und Obstbau, Körper, Medizin, Hygiene sowie auf Familie und Verwandtschaft (je 5–7%), auf Tier- und Pflanzenwelt, Viehzucht, Handel, Kleidung, Speisen und Getränke sowie Berufe (je 2–3%) beziehen.

Die Adaptation der turksprachigen Phoneme durch das Krimgriechische bietet interessante Besonderheiten sowohl im Bereich des Vokalismus als auch des Konsonantismus. Die turksprachigen Phoneme *ö, ü, y* wurden den griechischen Phonemen *u* und *i* bzw. *a* angeglichen: *kubúk* aus *köpük* 'Schaum', *kupúr* aus *köpür* 'Brücke', *gumúš* 'Rubel' aus *gümüš* 'Silber', *kuréš* aus *güreš* 'Kampf', *dujná* aus *dünya* 'Welt', *čalgú* 'Sense' aus *čalgy* 'Sichel', *čarúx* 'Opanke' aus *čaryk* 'Bauernschuhzeug', *xalýč* 'Säbel' aus *kylyč*.

Eine für das Asowgriechische typische verengt-erhöhte Aussprache der unbetonten Vokale *e, o* als *i, u* ist in *pindžiré* aus *pendžere* 'Fenster' oder in *suxúr* 'Maulwurf' aus *sokur* 'blind' anzutreffen.

Der betonte breite Vokal *ä* wurde mal als *e* (*tek* 'nur, bloß' aus p.-osm.-kar. *tek* 'ds.; ein einzelener') mal als *a* (*taká* 'Ziege' aus osm.-krm. *täkä, teke* 'Ziegenbock') wiedergegeben. Dabei konnte es sich auch um unterschiedliche türkische Idiome handeln, denen die betreffenden Ausdrücke entlehnt wurden.

[16] Unser Material stammt hauptsächlich aus der Mundart von Velyka Novosilka. Es mag sein, daß die hohe Anzahl von Turzismen in dieser Mundart damit zusammenhängt, daß der Ortsteil Aján von tatarophonen Griechen bewohnt ist. Die meisten Dorfbewohner kannten entweder Griechisch oder Tatarisch, es gab aber auch viele, welche die beiden Sprachen beherrschten. Frau R. Moroz teilte mir brieflich am 7.II.1974 mit: "Meine Mutter kannte die beiden Sprachen und mit der Großmutter unterhielt sie sich in den beiden Idiomen. Mein Vater kannte nur Griechisch. Daher kannten wir Kinder nur den griechischen Dialekt. Wenn meine Mutter und die Großmutter etwas vor uns Kindern verheimlichen wollten, unterhielten sie sich auf Tatarisch, von dem ich nur einige Ausdrücke kenne, die in unseren griechischen Dialekt eingedrungen waren. In meinem Heimatdorf gibt es seit den 1930er Jahren keine gebildeten Griechen der älteren Generation mehr."

Gegenüber dem Krimosmanischen[17] stand der gebende turksprachige Dialekt, aus dem die meisten asowgriechischen Turzismen entlehnt sind, dem West-, Übergangs- und Zentraldialekt nahe (am wenigsten jedoch dem Ostdialekt von Tuvak und Uskut), was den Übergang $q > x$ anbetrifft (z.B. *xamíš*, osm. *kamış* 'Schilfrohr'; viel seltener war hier der $b > m$ Übergang vertreten, vgl. *mijíxa*, osm. *bıyık* 'Schnurrbart'). Selten lassen sich die nogai-krimtatarischen Einflüsse bei der Vertretung von *j-* (allgemein als *j-*: *jemíš*, osm. *yemiş* 'Obst', *jetmíš*, osm. *yetmiş* '70') als *dž-* (*džuláf*, osm. *yulaf* 'Hafer') feststellen.[18]

In einer Reihe von Fällen, wo ein turksprachiges Wort ins Neugriechische übernommen wurde, kennt das Krimgriechische (und somit das Asowgriechische) eine eigene Entlehnung oder mindestens eine neue eigene Adaptation, die der turksprachigen Lehnquelle in bezug auf ihre Phonetik oder Semantik näher steht: z.B. osm. *sokak* 'Straße, Gasse', ngr. τό σοκάκι 'ds.', asowgr. *suxáx* 'ds.', osm. *taife* 'Menschengruppe, Mannschaft', ngr. ὁ ταϊφᾶς 'Gruppe, Bande', asowgr. *tajfá* 'Familie'.

Auch manches neugriechische Lehnwort des Osmanischen[19] hat im Asowgriechischen eine phonetische Angleichung an die turksprachige Form erlebt (z.B. ἡ πατσαβοῦρα 'Wischlappen', osm. *paçavra* 'Lappen', asowgr. *pačavúra* 'ds.'). Ähnliche hybride phonetische Formen als Folge der turksprachigen Beeinflußung des Asowgriechischen kann man bei *zindanós* 'lebendig', ngr. ζωντανός 'ds.' (p.-osm. *zinde* 'ds., munter, rüstig') feststellen.

Es kommen auch phraseologische asowgriechisch-turksprachige Kombinationen vor: z.B. (*j*)*éna zamán* 'plötzlich' (nach *bir zaman*(*lar*) 'einst, früher'), *éna šej* 'etwas' (nach *bir şey* 'ds.'), *ugéjk-kor* 'Stieftochter' (nach *ögäi kyz* 'ds.').

Oftmals kommt es vor, daß das entlehnte Wort nur eine (aber dann eine spezielle) Bedeutung seiner turksprachigen Lehnquelle (gegenüber seiner dortigen Mehrdeutigkeit) übernommen hat: z.B. *bulmá* 'Zimmer', osm. *bölme* 'Trennwand, Abteilung (im Inneren eines Zimmers)', *čalév* 'mähen', osm.-krm. *čalmak* 'abhauen, abmähen, schlachten'.

Manches Lehnwort hat die ursprüngliche Bedeutung nur in einem

[17] G. Doerfer, "Das Krimosmanische," in: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, Wiesbaden 1959, S. 272 und ff.

[18] G. Doerfer, "Das Krimtatarische," in: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, Wiesbaden 1959, S. 379–80.

[19] G. Meyer, "Türkische Studien, I.: Die griechischen und romanischen Bestandteile im Wortschatz des Osmanisch-Türkischen," in: *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Bd. 128, 1, Wien 1894 (im weiteren als *Meyer* zitiert).

Phraseologismus beibehalten, dessen eigentlicher Sinn vergessen wurde: z.B. *adžidér* 'böser Mensch' (aus.p.-osm. *acder* 'Schlange'), aber im Phraseologismus *tos kan δulíja amán adždér* 'er arbeitet wie ein Pferd' (ursprünglich 'wie ein Drache', — denke man an das ukr. Märchenmotiv von einem Drachen, der vor einem Pflug eingespannt, Erdwälle, d.h. 'Drachenwälle' südlich von Kiew aufschüttet).

Im Falle der meisten turksprachigen Lehnwörter kann man aufgrund des Vergleiches mit dem Wörterbuch von V. V. Radlov[20] feststellen, daß das Krimgriechische aus dem Krimosmanischen entlehnte und somit im Asowgriechischen eine Übereinstimmung mit dessen Lexemen, ihrer Form und Semantik besteht. Es gibt jedoch eine Reihe von Turzismen, die eher im Altaischen, Džagataischen, Kasan'-Tatarischen, Kasachischen, Uigurischen oder im Karaimischen[21] von Luc'k und Troki ihre Parallelen haben: z.B. *xapár/xabár* 'Nachricht' (kar. *xabar,* osm. *haber* 'ds.'), *taramá* 'Schlucht' (alt. *taram* 'Flußdelta', osm. *tarama* 'Schraffieren'), *tajáx* 'Stock' (kom., kas., kar. *tajak* 'ds., Stab', osm. *toyağa, -aka, toyka* 'Knüttel'), *urkaníz* 'anbinden' (zu krm.-kar. *örkän* 'langes Seil'), *kut'uvdžýs* 'Hirte' (kar. *kütüw* 'Weide', *kütäüci* 'Hirte'). Auch dieser Umstand würde dafür sprechen, daß solche Turzismen noch vor der Umsiedlung der genannten Karaimengruppen aus der Krim ins Krimgriechische entlehnt wurden. Hier ist jedoch eine Spezialuntersuchung notwendig.

Das Problem der wortbildungsmäßigen Eingliederung der Turzismen ins Krimgriechische bzw. Asowgriechische erfordert ebenfalls eine besondere Abhandlung. Hier sei nur gesagt, daß vor allem die Verba mit den Suffixen -*(dr)ajíz(u)* bzw. -*(š)ev(u)* und weniger deutlich Adjektive mit dem Suffix -δικος eine solche Integration betreffs ihrer Wortbildung durchgeführt haben.

20 V. V. Radlov, *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij,* I–IV, St. Petersburg 1893–1911, Fotonachdruck Moskva 1964 (weiterhin als R. abgekürzt). Diesem Wörterbuch sind auch die Abkürzungen der Namen für einzelne Türkenidiome entnommen (alt. — altaisch, baschk. — baschkirisch, džag. — džagataisch, kar. — karaimisch, kas. — kasańtatarisch, kirg. — kasachisch, kom. — komanisch ["Codex Cumanicus," A.D. 1303], krm. — krimosmanisch, sag. — sagaisch, tel. — teleutisch, uig. — alt-uigurisch, aber vor allem die karachanidische Sprache des "Qutadğu Bilig," A.D. 1069). Das osmanische Wortmaterial wurde den Wörterbüchern: *Redhouse Yeni-Türkçe-İngilizçe sözlük,* İstanbul 1968[2] (weiterhin als *Redhouse* zitiert) sowie F. Heuser-Şevket: *Türkçe-Almanca lûgat,* İstanbul 1942[2], entnommen.

21 Über die Bedeutung dieser früheren Namen der Turkidiomen vgl. N. A. Baskakov, *Tjurkskie jazyki,* Moskva 1950; *Vvedenie v izučenie tjurkskix jazykov,* Izd. 2-oe, Moskva 1969.

adžajýp//*adžép* 'interessant' (*a-p, pu en tos*? 'i-t, wo kann er sein?') aus ar.-osm. *adžajip-džarajip* 'wunderbar, sonderbar, Erstaunen erregend' (R. I, 516).

adžél 'Tod' aus ar.-osm. *âcal/ecel* 'Todesstunde', krm. *adžäl* 'ds.' (R. I, 517).

adžidér 'böser Mensch, Bösewicht' (*tos kan δulíja amán a-r* 'er arbeitet wie ein Pferd, unermüdet') aus p.-osm. *acder(ha)* 'Schlange' (ursprünglich 'wie ein Drache' in der obigen Redensart).

agúr 'schrecklich' (*a-r áθraps* 'ein schrecklicher Mensch'), 'unreif, grün' aus krm.-osm. *agyr* 'schwer(fällig), langsam, wichtig, würdevoll, ernst' (R. I, 157).

ağačáka 'Schwager, der jüngere Bruder des Gemahls der Ehefrau' aus osm., kom. *ağača* 'Väterchen, Onkel', krm. 'älterer Bruder' (R. I, 150).

ağáka 'Schwager, der ältere Bruder des Gemahls der Ehefrau' (vgl. *ağa* 'älterer Bruder, Onkel' osm., kom., R. I, 143) mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-ka*; in Stila *aká* 'Schwager, Bruder der Ehefrau', Černyšova (S. 53).

ajağýr 'Hengst' aus osm.-krm. *aigyr* (R. I, 15).

ajaxtáš 'Freund' aus osm. *ayaktaş* 'Partner, Gefährte' (R. I, 208).

ajáz 'Frost' aus osm. *ayaz* 'strenger Nachtfrost' (R. I, 215).

ajván 'Tier, Bestie' aus ar.-osm. *hayvan* 'Tier, Vieh' (R. II, 1741).

alabúta 'Melde; Fuchsschwanz', kas. *alabuta*, kom. *alabota* 'Gänsefuß' (R. I, 367).

aldajíz 'betrügen, lügen' aus osm. *alda(t)mak* 'betrügen' (R. I, 416, 412–13).

aldanév 's. irren' zu osm.-krm. *aldanmak* 's. betrügen lassen' (R. I, 414).

amán 'sofort' zu p.-ar. *ämän* 'sogleich' (R. I, 949), woraus osm. *aman* 'Hilfe! ach, endlich'; zu der Bedeutung 'wie' (*tos kan δulíja amán adžidér*) vgl. p.-baschkir. *ämän* 'als wenn' (R. I, 950).

ambár 'Scheune' aus p.-osm., krm., kom. *anbar, ambar* 'Speicher' (R. I, 243, 652).

anabáš 'junges Schaf vor Lämmern' zu osm. *ana* 'Mutter' (R. I, 226) und *baš* 'Kopf' (R. IV, 1546–51).

anadžák/*andžáx* 'Axt, Beil' aus osm. *nacak* 'ds.'

apxaná 'Toilette, Abort' aus p.-türk. *apxana* 'Abtritt' (R. I, 614).

aratév 's. bemühen jn. zu befriedigen' zu osm.-krm. *aratmak* 'suchen lassen, wünschen, ausfragen, nachforschen' (R. I, 258).

araxí 'Schnaps' aus ar.-osm. *araki* 'ds.' (vgl. R. I, 250).

armút 'Birne, Birnbaum' aus osm.-krm. *armut* 'ds.' (R. I, 341).

arpá 'Gerste' aus osm.-krm. *arpa* 'ds.' (R. I, 333).

artáx 'bereits, schon' (*artáx son*! 'es ist genug!') zu osm. *artık* 'endlich, zuletzt, schon' (R. I, 310–11).

artrajíz 'vergrößern' zu osm.-krm. *artırmak* 'vermehren, erhöhen, verstärken, erweitern, hinzufügen' (R. I, 313, 317).

aŕján 'Art Speise' zu osm. *ayran* 'Joghurt mit Wasser vermengt' (R. I, 25: *airan* 'Getränk aus gegorener Kuhmilch').

aslý 'Wahrheit', *ásliten* 'absichtlich' zu ar.-osm. *aslî* 'ursprünglich, eigentlich', *asıl* 'Wurzel, Grundlage, Ursprung, Grundwerk, Quelle' (vgl. R. I, 547).

(*aspúr ti*) *čatúr* 'sehr-sehr weiß' zu osm. *çatır-çatır* lautmalend für knackende und krachende Geräusche (R. III, 1898 'heftig, brüsk, ungezähmt').

atxanajíz 'ertragen, erleben' vielleicht zu kas. *atkalamak* 'oft schießen, mit Jagd seine Zeit zubringen' (R. I, 465)?

avláj-vin 's. heranschleichen' zu osm. *avlamak* 'jagen, fangen' (R. I, 641) und ngr. βγαίνω 'gehen' im zweiten Teil.

axaldárs 'vernünftig' zu ar.-osm. *akyldy* 'verständig, klug' (R. I, 106) und *akıl* 'Vernunft, Verstand'.

axmáxs 'dumm' zu ar.-osm. *ahmak* 'ds., beschränkt, stupid' (vgl. R. I, 140).

badžanáx 'Schwager, Gemahl der Schwester der Ehefrau' aus osm. *bacanak* 'Schwager' (vgl. R. IV, 1523 *badžanak, -ax, -ynak* 'Schwager' (Männer zweier Schwestern)').

baltá 'Axt, Beil' aus osm. *balta* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1501).

bamlév 'ohnmächtig werden' zu osm. *banlamak* '(laut) aufschreien; krähen; johlen'?

balá 'Kind' aus osm.-krm. *bala* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1491).

barabár 'zusammen' aus p.-osm.-krm. *beraber* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1478, 1594).

barištrév 'verdingen (als Knecht)' zu osm. *baryštyrmak* 'Frieden stiften, versöhnen' (R. IV, 1481) bzw. *baryšmak* 'Frieden schließen, s. versöhnen, s. einigen' (R. IV, 1480).

baróx 'nun ja' zu osm. *var yok* 'kaum, sehr wenig' bzw. *bir var bir yok* 'unsicher, eben was es noch war, jetzt ist es nicht mehr' (vgl. R. IV, 1472–74).

basamáx 'Treppe(nsprosse)' aus osm. *basamak* '(Treppen) Stufe' (R. IV, 1528).

basmá 'Stoff' aus osm. *basma* '(gedruckter) Kattun' (R. IV, 1540).

bašsýzs 'unverschämt; Strolch' zu osm. *başsız* 'kopflos' (R. IV, 1560).

batxáx 'Sumpf' zu kirg.-kas. *batkak* 'ds., sumpfig' (R. IV, 1515).

baxčá 'Obstgarten' aus p.-osm. *bahçe* 'ds.' (vgl. R. IV, 1445).

baxírs 'Kupfer' aus osm. *bakır* 'ds.' (vgl. R. IV, 1439).

bazár 'Stadt; Markt' aus p.-osm. *bazar* 'Markt' (R. IV, 1542).

bedavá 'umsonst' aus p.-osm. *bedava* 'ds.'

berit'ét '(gute) Ernte' aus ar.-osm. *bereket* 'Segen, Fruchtbarkeit, reichliches Vorhandensein' (R. IV, 1595).

bét'im/bélt'im 'vielleicht' aus osm.-krm. *belkin* (R. IV, 1612: *bälki*) 'ds.'

bíča 'ältere Schwester' vgl. kar. *bičä* 'Frau; Königin' (R. IV, 1781).

bičán 'Heu' vgl. kar. *bičän*, alt. *pičän* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1781, 1348).

bikačá 'Schwägerin, Schwester des Gemahls, Schwester der Ehefrau' vgl. kas. *bikäč* 'Mädchen, Braut', kirg. *bikäš* 'ältere Schwester des Mannes, ehrende Anrede' (R. IV, 1739–40).

bikitrajíz 'festigen, vervollkommnen, aufhalten, festhalten' zu osm. *bitirmek* 'beenden, vervollkommnen' (R. IV, 1776).

bilný 'auffallend, bedeutend' zu osm. *bilän* 'der Unterrichtete' (R. IV, 1759–60).

bil'á 'Kummer, Ungenehmlichkeit' aus ar.-osm. *belâ* 'Unglück' (R. IV, 1608).

bil'drajíz 'verraten' aus osm.-krm. *bildirmek* 'wissen lassen, benachrichtigen' (R. IV, 1771).

bil'ézu 'wählen' vielleicht zu osm.-krm. *bilmek* 'wissen, kennen, verstehen, können' (R. IV, 1759)?

birdén 'zugleich' aus osm. *birden* 'auf einmal, plötzlich, sofort' (R. IV, 1747: *birdän birä* 'ds.').

bitér 'schlimmer' aus p.-osm. *bätär* 'schlechter' (R. IV, 1618).

bitév 'abschließen, beenden' aus osm.-krm. *bitmek* 'enden' (R. IV, 1773–74).

bitrajíz 'beenden' aus osm. *bitirmek* 'ds., vollenden'.

bitymá 'Ende' aus osm. *bitme, bitim* 'ds.' (vgl. R. IV, 1778).

boğút 'Unterkinn' zu osm.-kirg. *bogak* 'Geschwulst im Halse; Kropf' (R. IV, 1648, 1646).

boj 'Wuchs, Taille' aus osm.-krm. *boy* 'Höhe, Größe, Statur; Wuchs, Umfang' (R. IV, 1639).

boj/bujúx 'Fluß' vielleicht zu kas. *böjö* 'Damm, Sperre' (R. IV, 1718) bzw. zu osm. *büyük* 'groß' (etwa 'großer Bach')? vgl. noch *tumbujúx* 'ds.'

buğá 'Stier' aus osm. *boğa* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1804).

bujá 'Farbe' aus osm.-krm. *boya* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1657).

bujatrajíz 'färben' zu osm.-krm. *boyatırmak* 'färben lassen' (R. IV, 1657).

bujdáxs 'Junggeselle' vgl. kirg. *boidak* 'ds., ein junges männliches Schaf' (R. IV, 1644), vgl. auch ukr. *bajdykuváty* 'Zeit vertreiben'.

bulmá 'Zimmer' aus osm. *bölme* 'Trennwand, Abteil' (R. IV, 1703–4: *bölmä* 'Abteilung (im Inneren eines Zimmers); Vorhang, Barriere, Scheidewand').

bul'év '(ver)teilen' aus osm. *bölmek* 'teilen' (R. IV, 1699–1700).

burán 'Orkan' aus osm. *burağan* 'heftiger Sturm, Wirbelwind, Wind mit Schnee und Regen' (R. IV, 1818).

buráv 'zersägen' zu osm.-krm. *burmak* 'drehen, winden' (R. IV, 1816).

burčáx 'Hagel' zu osm. *burçak* 'Platterbse, Wicke' (R. IV, 1832).

čačá 'ältere Schwester' vgl. sagat. *čača* 'ds., Tante, Stiefmutter' (R. III, 1906).

čak 'sogar' aus osm. *çak* 'gerade, genau' (R. III, 1833).

čalév 'mähen' aus osm.-krm. *čalmak* 'abhauen, abmähen, schlachten' (R. III, 1875).

čalgú 'Sense' zu alt. *čalgy* 'Sense, Sichel' (R. III, 1886).

čaná 'Schlitten' vgl. kas. *čana* 'ds.' (R. III, 1855).

čangál 'Vorrichtung aus vier Haken zum Herausziehen eines im Brunnen versunkenen Eimers' aus p.-osm. *çengel* 'Haken' (R. III, 1963: *čängäl*).

čapík 'geschickt' aus osm. *çabuk* 'schnell, rasch' (R. III, 1921, 1933).

čará 'Rat, Geschicklichkeit' aus p.-osm. *çare* 'Mittel, Ausweg, Hilfe' (R. III, 1861: *čara* 'Mittel').

čarúx 'Opanke' aus osm.-krm. *čaryk* 'das grobe Schuhzeug der Bauern, Lederstücke, die man um die Füße bindet; Hemmschuh' (R. III, 1863).

čatál 'Zweig; Haargestrüpp' zu osm. *çatal* 'Gabel' (R. III, 1896).

čaxajmán 'Sahne' zu osm.-krm. *kaymak* 'ds.' (R. II, 48).

čekíč 'kleiner Hammer' aus osm. *çekiç* 'Hammer' (R. III, 1952: *čäkič*).
čičák 'Blume' aus osm. *çiçek* 'ds.' (R. III, 2144).
čičakíz 'blühen' vgl. osm. *çiçekle(n)mek* 'ds.' (R. III, 2145).
čirčír 'Art Speise' vgl. osm. *çipçiğ* 'ganz roh (Speise)', *čiğ* 'roh, unreif' (R. III, 2113).
čix 'Tau' aus osm. *çiğ/çiy* 'ds.' (R. III, 2053: *čyk* 'feucht; Tau').
čol 'Feld, Steppe' aus osm.-krm. *čöl* 'unbewohntes Land, Steppe, Wüste' (R. III, 2043).
čoláxs 'linker' aus osm.-krm. *čolak* 'einarmig, armlos, Krüppel, Lahmer; Geizhals' und *solak* 'linkshändig' (R. III, 2023, IV, 550).
čópa/džópa 'Tasche' vgl. osm.-krm. *džäp* 'ds.' und ngr. ἡ τσέπη 'ds.'
čox 'sehr' aus osm.-krm. *čok* 'viel, zuviel' (R. III, 2004).
čubánus 'Hirte' aus osm.-krm. *čoban* 'ds.' und ngr. ὁ τσοπάνης 'ds.' (R. III, 2030).
č(u)fút(y)s 'Jude' aus krm. *džufut*, osm. *cühud* 'ds.' (R. IV, 174).
čuğún 'eiserner Kochtopf', *čuğunýc* 'kleiner Kochtopf' vgl. kar., krm. *čojun* 'gußeiserner Topf' (R. III, 2017, 2071).
čukandúr 'rote Rübe' aus p.-osm. *çukundur* 'Runkelrübe'.
čumí 'Feldweg' vgl. p.-osm. *čämän* 'Wiese, Rasen; Foenum Graecum', osm.-krm. *čimän* 'Kraut, Rasen', krm. *čimänlik* 'ein mit Gras bewachsener Platz' (R. III, 2001, 2158–59).
čurtán 'Hecht' vgl. kas.-alt. *čurtan, čorton* 'ds.', osm. 'Aal' (R. III, 2174, 2021).
čuxúr 'Loch', *čkur* 'Graben' aus osm.-krm. *čukur* 'ds., Grube, Vertiefung, Höhle, Minengang; vertieft, ausgehöhlt' (R. III, 2167).
čuzatrajíz 'auseinanderziehen' vgl. osm.-krm. *čözmek* 'auflösen, aufbinden' (R. III, 2045), osm. *çözdürmek* 'lösen lassen (Knoten); aufknöpfen lassen' und ukr. *čustrýty* 'Schurwolle grempeln'?
da 'noch' aus osm.-krm. *daha* 'noch, wieder, auch' (R. III, 1615).
dağalév 'verstreuen' aus osm.-krm. *dağytmak* 'zerstreuen, umherstreuen, ausschütten, zerteilen', bzw. osm. *dağylmak* 'zerstreut, lose, zerzaust, geteilt sein' (R. III, 1613).
dağatrajíz 'zerstreuen' aus osm.-krm. *dağytmak* 'ds.'
dagdaníz 'schütteln' vgl. osm. *dandinlamak* 'schaukeln (ein Kind)' (R. III, 1625) bzw. *dağytmak* 'zerstreuen, ausschütten'.
dajanév 'aushalten' aus osm.-krm. *dajanmak* 's. stützen, s. stemmen, feststehen, ausharren' (R. III, 1618).
dají 'Onkel' aus osm. *dayı* 'ds.; Beschützer' (vgl. R. III, 1620).
dam 'Geschmack' aus ar.-osm. *ta'm* '(angenehmer) Geschmack' (R. III, 992).
damk 'feucht' vgl. osm. *dammak, damlamak* 'tröpfeln' (R. III, 1649, 1652).
daré 'Trommel' aus ar.-osm. *daire* 'Tamburin'.
davúl 'Trommel' aus osm. *davyl* 'ds.' (R. III, 1646).
davúš 'Stimme' vgl. osm. *tavuş* 'Echo, Widerhall' (R. III, 776, 986–98).
dogmúš 'verwandt' vgl. osm. *dogmak* 'geboren werden' (R. III, 1705).

doksán '90' aus osm. *doksan* 'ds.' (R. III, 1705).

dugméns 'geschlagen' zu osm.-krm. *dövmek/döğmek* 'schlagen, prügeln' (R. III, 1731, 1741).

dugúš 'Krieg' aus osm. *dövüş* 'Handgreiflichwerden; Kampf' (R. III, 1741).

dujná 'Welt' aus ar.-osm. *dünya* 'Welt (all), Erde, alle Menschen, Weltgeschehen', kar. *dunja* 'Welt; Leute' (R. III, 1786, 1804).

duláp 'Schrank' aus osm.-krm. *dolap* 'alles was sich dreht; Wandschrank zum Drehen, Kommode' (R. III, 1718–19).

dunév 's. lossagen, s. überlegen' aus osm.-krm. *dönmek* 's. umdrehen, s. verwandeln, sein Wort zurückziehen, von seinem Entschluß abgehen' (R. III, 1783).

dut'já 'Maulbeerbaum' aus osm.-krm. *dut* 'Maulbeere' (R. III, 1792).

dušmán 'Feind' aus p.-osm.-krm. *düşman, dušman* 'ds.' (R. III, 1795).

duvaddáx 'Rebhuhn' vgl. kirg. *duadak* 'Trappe' (R. III, 1783, 990).

duvlév 'toben' aus osm.-krm. *dövmek, dögmek* 'schlagen, prügeln, dreschen' (R. III, 1728, 1731, 1741).

dyl'bóvja 'Zügel'/*til'bóv* 'Leitzügel' vgl. kas. *dilbägä* 'Fahrleine', osm. *çılbır* 'Leitzügel' (R. III, 1770).

dźirdán 'Kinn' aus p.-osm. *gerdan, -den* 'Kehlpartie, Doppelkinn' (R. II, 1558–59).

džadú 'Hexe' aus krm.-osm.-p. *džadu* 'ds.' (R. IV, 47).

džajév 'breite aus, lege auseinander; weide Rinder' zu kirg. *džai-* 'ausbreiten, auseinanderlegen; das Vieh auf die Weide führen' (R. IV, 3).

džajúv 'Bettdecke' vgl. kirg. *džai namaz* 'Gebetteppich' und *džajalyk* 'eine Decke, die man dem Kinde unterlegt, wenn man es auf den Arm nimmt' (R. IV, 2, 19).

džambázys 'tapfer' aus p.-osm. *cengbaz* 'kämpferisch; Krieger, Held' bzw. ar.-osm. *cambar* 'kühn, mutig' (bei R. IV, 64 *džambaz* 'Wiederverkäufer; Schurke; Seiltänzer').

džanavár 'Wolf' aus p.-osm. *canavar* 'wildes reißendes Tier' (R. IV, 22).

džánem 'Hölle' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *cehennem* 'ds.' (R. IV, 68).

džangarís 'grün; blau' vgl. p.-osm. *jengâr, zengâr* 'Grünspan', kas. *zängär* 'blau, azurfarben' (R. IV, 886).

džap 'Berg' vgl. ar.-osm. *cebel* 'ds., Hügel' und osset. *c'upp, c'opp* 'Gipfel' (vgl. V. I. Abaev: *Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, Bd. I, S. 337–38, Moskva-Leningrad 1958; B. B. Bigulaev und andere: *Osetinsko-russkij slovar'*, Ordžonikidze 1970[3]).

džigár 'Leber' aus p.-osm.-krm. *ciger* 'ds.' (R. IV, 136).

džuláf 'Hafer' vgl. osm. *yulaf* 'ds.' (R. III, 555; in Sartana: *ilóp* 'ds.').

džunév 's. bewegen' vgl. kirg. *džönölmek* 's. auf den Weg machen, abreisen', osm. *jönülmek* 'abfahren, aufbrechen, wohin gehen' (R. IV, 102; III, 448).

džumaját 'Gemeinde, Gesellschaft' aus krm.-tat. *cumayat,* ar.-osm. *cemiyet* 'Gesellschaft, Verein' (vgl. R. IV, 91).

d'ugún 'Hochzeit' aus osm.-krm. *düğün* 'Hochzeitsfest' (R. III, 1802).

ed'ír 'wenn' aus p.-osm. *eğer* 'ds.' (R. I, 696).

em — em 'je — desto' vgl. p.-osm. *hem — hem* 'sowohl — als auch' (R. II, 1793).

émbra '(Lebens)Kraft' aus ar.-osm. *ömr, ömür* 'Leben(sfreude)' (R. I, 1314).

fajdalýk 'nützlich' aus ar.-osm. *faideli, faydalı* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1907).

fidán 'Sproß' aus gr.-osm. *fidan* 'Sprößling, Setzling' (spätgr. ἡ φυτανή 'Pflanze', Meyer, S. 30; R. IV, 1946).

fit'irsýz 'dumm' aus ar.-osm. *fikirsiz* 'gedankenlos, unüberlegt' (R. IV, 1940).

gal'á-gal'á 'langsam' (*ti purévi θ g.-g.* 'sie geht ohne Eile herum') aus osm. *güle-güle* 'lachend' (R. II, 1640).

garíp(s) 'arm' aus ar.-osm. *garip, -ib* 'eigentümlich, sonderbar, fremd, arm, bedauernswert' (R. II, 1546); davon weiterhin: *gariplýja* 'Armut, Elend', *gariplajév* 'arm werden'.

gugún, gugónd'a 'Schlehdornbeeren' aus osm. *göğen* 'blau, violett; Schlehdorn' zu *gök* 'blau; Himmel' (R. II, 1587).

gugurčýna 'Taube' aus osm. *güvercin* 'ds.' (R. II, 1633, 1613).

gul'al'án 'Sonnenblume' vgl. ngr. ἡλίανθος 'ds.' und osm. *gül* 'Rose' bzw. *güneşli* 'sonnig'?

gumúš 'Rubel' aus osm. *gümüş* 'Silber; Geld, klingende Münze' (R. II, 1654, 1615, 1528).

guzén 'Iltis' vgl. krm. *güčän* 'ds.' (R. II, 1645).

ič 'nicht, kein bißchen' aus p.-osm.-krm. *hiç* 'nichts, in keiner Weise' (R. II, 1805, 1790); daraus weiterhin: *íčpa* 'niemals', vgl. ngr. ποτέ 'je', οὐδέποτε 'nie'.

il'bét/el'bét 'natürlich, nun ja' aus ar.-osm. *elbet(te)* 'gewiß, natürlich, unbedingt' (R. I, 831).

ingá/jigá 'Schwägerin, Ehefrau des älteren Bruders' aus osm. *yenge* 'Schwägerin, Frau des Bruders', Tel. *änä-kä* 'Großmutter; Mütterchen' (Anrede; R. I, 731).

irgíža 'Krokus' vgl. Tel. *yrgai* 'eine Baumart (Geißblatt)' (R. I, 1371; 1467 'ein Strauch', 1468).

irišév 'toben (Kinder)' aus osm. *güreşmek* 'ringen' (R. II, 1638).

irištrajíz 'necken, herausfordern' aus osm. *güreştirmek* 'ringen lassen' (R. II, 1638).

isáp 'Rechnung; Grund(lage); Bedarf' aus ar.-osm. *hesap* 'Rechnen, Rechenkunst, Rechnung, Konto' (R. II, 1801).

ja 'doch' aus osm. *ya* 'ds.' (Verstärkungspartikel; vgl. R. III, 2).

jagá 'Uferrand' vgl. osm., kas. *yaka* 'Kragen; Rand, Ufer', krm. *jaga* 'Kragen' (R. III, 25, 39).

jagalév 'abgehen', vgl. alt. *jagalamak, jakkalamak* 'einen Kragen annähen; beim Kragen packen; am Ufer, an der Grenze entlang gehen' (R. III, 40, 26).

jalčý(s) 'Diener, Knecht', vgl. kas., kar. *jalčy* 'Tagelöhner, Knecht; Magd' (R. III, 185) zu *jal* 'Lohn, Miete' (R. III, 185).

jalčýx, jalčylýx 'Dienst' zu *jal* 'Lohn, Miete' und *jalčy* 'Knecht'.

jaldajíz 'schwimmen' aus krm. *jaldamak* 'ds.', vgl. džag. *jalda-* 'bei der Mähne

packen (das Pferd beim Überqueren eines Flusses)' (R. III, 183); Černyšovas Ableitung von einem *yolda yüzmek* 'den Weg ziehen' überzeugt aus semantischen und wortbildungsmäßigen Gründen (das verbale Suffix *-ajízu!*) nicht.

jamanlájizma 'Verleumdung' vgl. kas. *jamanlamak* 'schlecht machen, übel reden, verleumden, anklagen', osm. *yaman* 'schlimm, böse' (R. III, 302).

janašá 'nahe' zu alt., krm. *janaš* 'dicht, neben jm. befindlich', osm. *yan* 'Seite' (R. III, 83).

janašév 's. nähern, herankommen' zu osm.-krm. *janašmak* 's. jm. nähern' (R. III, 83).

(j)ánda 'als' zu osm. *andak* 'so, ein solcher; plötzlich' (R. I, 239) und ngr. ἄν 'wenn'?

jangidén 'wieder' zu osm. *yeniden* 'ds., von neuem, noch einmal' (R. III, 329).

jar 'Schlucht' zu osm., kas. *jar* 'steiles Ufer, steiler Abhang; Untiefe, Schlucht' (R. III, 99) und ukr. *jar* 'Schlucht'.

jará 'Wunde' aus osm.-krm. *yara* 'ds., Verletzung' (R. III, 104).

jaralajíz 'verwunden' zu osm., kas. *yaralamak* 'ds.' (R. III, 110).

jaramáz 'Räuber, Rowdy' aus osm. *yaramaz* 'ungezogen; Taugenichts, Lümmel' (R. III, 119).

jardým/jerdím 'Hilfe' aus osm. *yardım* 'ds., Beistand, Unterstützung' (R. III, 146).

jaš(k) 'jung', *jáš(i)s* 'Jüngling' aus osm.-krm. *jaš* 'frisch, grün, saftig, feucht; jung an Jahren' (R. III, 240), wovon weiterhin:

jašlár 'Jugend' (als Plural zu *yaş* 'jung').

jašlýx 'Jugendalter' zu kom. *jašlyk* 'Jugend(jahre)', osm. 'Feuchtigkeit, Regenszeit' (R. III, 250).

jaxtáš 'Freund' vgl. kas. *jaktaš* 'der von einer Seite her ist, Landsmann' (R. III, 33).

ječsín 'Hölle' vgl. alt., kom. *jäk* 'der böse Geist, Teufel; verhaßt, widerwärtig; böse, schwach' und tel. *jäksinü̆* 'Widerwille, Abscheu' (R. III, 316, 320).

jemíša/imíša 'Obst' aus osm.-krm. *yemiş* 'ds.' (R. III, 392).

jetmíš '70' aus osm. *yetmiş* 'ds.' (R. III, 368).

(j)izná 'Schwager, Gemahl der älteren Schwester' vgl. uig. *jäsnä* 'Mann der älteren Schwester' (R. III, 377).

jox 'nein' aus osm.-krm. *yok* 'ds., es gibt nicht' (R. III, 397).

jóxsa(n) 'ob' aus osm. *yoksa* 'etwa, wohl, gar; wenn nicht, sonst; oder aber' (R. III, 407).

jurúx 'Bewußtsein, Verstand' vgl. uig. *joruk* 'Reise, Ritt, Weg', krm. 'Sitte' und osm. *yürek* 'Herz, Beherztheit, Mut' (R. III, 423, 600).

juvášys 'nachgiebig, ruhig' vgl. džag., kas., kar. *juvaš* 'gemütlich, zahm, leise, friedfertig, langsam', osm. *yavaş* 'ds.' (R. III, 572).

kačá 'abgekürzt aus *bikačá* 'Schwägerin, Schwester des Gemahls' (s. dort).

kubúk 'Schaum' vgl. kar., alt. kirg., *köbük*, osm. *köpük* 'ds.' (R. II, 1317, 1311).

kuč 'schwer' (adv.), vgl. osm. *güç* 'schwierig' (R. II, 1644–45).

kučarajíz 'umsiedeln, auswandern', vgl. kar., alt. *köčmek* 'nomadisieren, fortziehen', džag. *köčär* 'Nomade' (R. II, 1287, 1289).

kulúk 'Welpe, junges Hündchen' vgl. džag. *külük* 'ein großer Hund' und ngr. τό σκυλί, -άκι 'Hund'.

kupúr 'Brücke', vgl. kas. *küpir,* osm. *köprü* 'ds.' (R. II, 1515, 1313).

kuréš 'Kampf' vgl. Tel. *küräš,* osm. *güreş* 'ds., Ringen, Ringkampf' (R. II, 1453, 1637).

kušé 'Straßenecke' p.-osm. *köšäbašy* 'ds.', *köšä* 'Winkel' (R. II, 1304).

kután 'Hinterer' vgl. džag. *kötän* 'ds.; Stuhl, Schemel' (R. II, 1276).

kutév 's. erinnern, gedenken' vgl. alt., krm., kar. *kütmek* 'behüten, bewahren, hüten, auf die Weide führen, etw. sorgsam tun' (R. II, 1480).

kutí 'Topf' vgl. osm.-krm. *kutu* 'Büchse', woraus ngr. τό κουτί 'Schachtel, Dose' (R. II, 992).

kuturú 'umsonst' vgl. osm. *götürü* 'Pauschalsumme, in Bausch und Bogen bezahlte Summe; Hochzeitsgeschenk', woraus ngr. κουτουροῦ 'auf gut Glück' (R. II, 1602).

kut'uvdžýs 'Hirte' vgl. kar. *kütüw* 'Weide', *kütäüci* 'Hirte' zu alt., kom., kar. *kütmek* 'behüten; hüten, (Vieh) auf die Weide führen' (R. II, 1480–85).

laf 'Wort' aus p.-osm. *lâf* 'ds., Plauderei, Aufschneiderei' (R. III, 780).

laxardí 'Gespräch' aus osm.-krm. *lakyrdy* 'Unterhaltung, Reden, leeres Gerede', *lakyrmak* 'sprechen' (R. III, 728), woraus weiterhin:

laxardév 'reden, s. unterhalten'.

lizárja 'rote Rübe', vgl. osm. *lastaria* 'Art große Runkelrübe oder Kohlrabi' aus ngr. τό βλαστάρι 'Stengel des Kohls' (Meyer, S. 32).

lulá 'Tabakspfeife' aus p.-osm. *lüle* 'ds., Pfeifenkopf, Brunnenröhre' (R. III, 762), woraus ngr. ὁ λουλάς 'Pfeifenkopf'.

l'adž 'Arznei' aus a.-osm. *ilâç* 'Medikament' (R. I, 1475).

maaná 'Ursache' aus a.-osm.-krm. *maani, ma'nâ* 'Bedeutung, Sinn; äußerer Ausdruck; Beweggrund; Wahrheit; Traum' (R. IV, 2000).

ma! 'da hast du! nimm!' vgl. osm. *ma!* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1985) und ukr. *na!* 'ds.'

majmú 'Affe' aus ar.-osm. *maymun* 'ds.', woraus ngr. ἡ μαϊμοῦ 'ds.' (R. IV, 1992).

mal 'Rinder' aus ar.-osm.-krm. kar. *mal* 'Habe, Gut, Geld; Vermögen; Vieh' (R. IV, 2035).

mamúč 'Käfer' vielleicht aus osm. *mayis böceği* 'Maikäfer'?

mantár 'Pilz' vgl. osm. *mantar* 'ds.' (R. IV, 2021) aus gr. τό μανιτάρι 'ds.' (Meyer, S. 32).

masál 'Märchen, Fabel, Anekdote' aus ar.-osm. *masal* 'ds., Erzählung, Schwank' (R. IV, 2052).

masatlév 'wetzen (Sense) zu ar.-osm. *masat,* ar. *mišḥad* 'Wetzstahl' (über ein **masatlamak*?).

mastráf 'Ausgaben, Unkosten' aus ar.-osm. *masraf* 'ds.' (R. IV, 2054).

masxúl 'Erzeugnis', *maxsúl'a* 'Ernte' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *mahsul* 'Produkt, Ernte, Eingeerntetes' (R. IV, 2005).

mašaláx! 'oh, Gott!' aus. ar.-osm. *maşallah* 'großartig! bei Gott' = 'was Gott will'.

maxalá 'Ortsteil' aus ar.-osm. *mahalle* 'Stadt-, Wohnviertel; Dorf', woraus ngr. ὁ μαχαλᾶς '(Stadt) Viertel' (R. IV, 2004).

maxtajíz 'loben', *maxtanév* 'prahlen' aus ar.-osm. *methetmek* 'loben' (krm. *mädhi idmäk* 'ds.', R. IV, 2104), bzw. ar.-osm. *temeddüh etmek* 'prahlen'.

mijíxa 'Schnurrbart' aus krm.-kas. *myjyk* (osm. *bıyık*) 'ds.' (R. IV, 2139).

mirát 'Erkältung' vgl. ar.-osm.-krm. *maraz* 'Krankheit; Übel' (R. IV, 2026) (osm. *märät* 'groß, schrecklich, furchtbar', R. IV, 2092).

misafír 'Gast' aus ar.-osm. *misafir*/*musafir* (R. IV, 2203) 'ds.', woraus ngr. ὁ μουσαφίρης 'ds.'

mijúš 'Ecke' vgl. kar. *müvüš, müvüz* 'Winkel; Horn' (R. IV, 2230, 2220–21).

monk 'schweigsame, träge Frau' vgl. osm. *mank* 'dumm, schwachsinnig' und *mankafa* 'einen großen Kopf habend; verdutzt, erstaunt, dumm' (R. IV, 2020).

muratérk 'arbeitsam, fleißig' aus ar.-osm. *hamarat* 'ds.'

mušáj 'Quecke' vgl. krm., džag. *mašak, masak* 'Pfeilspitze; Ähren' (R. IV, 2059)?

muškúls 'traurig, kummervoll' aus ar.-osm. *müşkül* 'schwer, schwierig' (R. IV, 2227, 2210) und weiterhin:

muškulév 'verfinstern, düster werden' (vgl. osm. *muškillänmäk* 'schwierig/schwer sein', R. IV, 2210).

naját 'Hausflur' aus ar.-osm. *ajat* 'Leben; kleiner Hof' (R. I, 214) mit einem *n*- aus dem Akk. Sg. des bestimmten Artikels τον?

naráč 'Kiefer' vgl. kas. *narat* 'Fichte' (R. III, 648) und osm. *ağaç* 'Baum'.

nišandrajíz 'versprechen, Hoffnung machen' aus p.-osm. *nišan ätmäk* 's. verloben', *nišan värmäk* 'ein Zeichen geben' (R. III, 701).

nohút 'Kichererbse' aus p.-osm. *nohut* 'ds., Cicer arietinum' (R. III, 694).

oslávus 'Russe' (in Stila) aus osm. *Islav* 'Slave'.

pa 'und, auch' vgl. p.-osm. *ba* 'mit'.

pacá 'ältere Schwester' vgl. krm. *badž* 'ds.', džag. *badža* 'ds., Tante' (R. IV, 1521).

pačaríz 'stören' vgl. p.-osm. *paçarız* 'verwickelt, schwierig; kreuzweise' (R. IV, 1183).

pačavúra 'Lappen' aus osm., džag. *pačavra* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1184), was aus ngr. ἡ πατσαβοῦρα 'Wischlappen'.

papúč 'alte abgetragene Halbschuhe' aus p.-osm.-krm. *papuč, pabuç* 'Schuh' (R. IV, 1209), woraus ngr. τό παπούτσι 'ds.'

perdé 'Vorhang' aus p.-osm.-krm. *perde* 'ds., Schleier' (R. IV, 1237).

peš 'Kleidungsschoß' aus p.-osm.-krm. *peş, piş* 'Rand eines Kleidungsstücks' (R. IV, 1256, krm. *päš* 'der vordere Teil, vorn').

pilín 'Wermutkraut' aus osm. *pälin* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1245, nach V. Machek: *Česká a*

slovenská jména rostlin, Praha 1954, S. 427–50, slavischer Herkunft: aus *polynь* 'ds.').

piléš 'Kücken' aus slav.-osm. *piliç* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1340, džag. jedoch auch *bilič* 'Vogeljunges', R. IV, 1766).

pindžeré, -džiré 'Fenster' aus p.-osm. *pencere* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1223).

pušpulíz 'flüstern' vgl. osm. *püskürmek* 'mit dem Munde spritzen; lachen; mit dem Munde ein zischendes Geräusch hervorbringen, welches die Verachtung bezeugt' und osm. *püskülländirmäk* 'Hindernisse bereiten, Klatschereien verbreiten, übertriebene Nachrichten verbreiten' (R. IV, 1411).

putáx 'Zweig' aus osm.-krm. *budak, putak* 'Ast, Zweig, Schößling' (R. IV, 1858, 1380).

rabetlýθ 'ehrlich' aus ar.-osm. *rütbätli* 'ein hohen Beamten zukommender Titel' (zu *rütpä* 'Rang, Würde'), vgl. noch kas. *rağbätli* 'wünschenswert', krm. *rağbät* 'Wunsch, Eifer, Geneigtheit, Unterstützung' (R. III, 724–25, 709–710).

rassýzk 'schamlos' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *ārsyz* 'ds., ohne Selbstgefühl, unverschämt, gleichgültig, sorglos' zu *ār* 'Schande, Scham; Selbstgefühl' (R. I, 327, 244).

ratlýx 'Ruhe' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *rahatlyk* 'ds.' (R. III, 710–11).

saatná 'frühzeitig, sofort' aus ar.-osm. *saatine* 'zur rechten Zeit, pünktlich' (Redhouse) zu osm.-krm. *sa'at* 'Stunde, Zeit' (R. IV, 218, 283).

sabadžís 'Ackersmann' aus krm., kas. *sabandžy* 'Ackerbauer, -arbeiter' (zu *saban* 'Pflug; Ackerfeld; Sommergetreide; Stroh', R. IV, 414–15).

sağanáx 'Platzregen' aus osm.-džag. *sağanak* 'ds.; ein plötzlich auftretendes Unglück, ein unvorgesehener Schaden' (R. IV, 262).

sağýrs 'taub' aus osm. *sağyr* 'ds., bis zum Rande gefüllt, verschlossen' (R. IV, 267).

sajév 'achten, jn. schätzen' aus osm.-krm. *saymak* 'ds., zahlen, Rechnung tragen', *sajy* 'Zahl, Rechnung, Achtung' (R. IV, 290).

sajgalíδkus 'wohlwollend' zu ar.-osm. *säxabätli* 'freigiebig', *sahabet, seh-* 'Unterstützung, Schutzherrschaft' (R. IV, 447) bzw. zu p.-osm. *sajä* 'Schatten; Protektion' (R. IV, 290).

sat 'Stunde, Uhr' aus ar.-osm. *sa'at* 'ds.; Zeit' (R. IV, 218).

savút 'Küchengeschirr' vgl. kas.-džag. *sa(v)ut* 'Gefäß, Geschirr' (R. IV, 237).

saxnév, saxindrajíz 's. hüten; Geld aufbewahren, sparen', *saxniftá* 'vorsichtig, behutsam' (adv.) zu osm.-krm. *sakynmak* 'gedenken; s. hüten, s. enthalten; behüten (für sich); fliehen, vermeiden' (R. IV, 248).

saz 'Morast' vgl. p.-osm. *saz* 'Schilf(dickicht)', kirg. *sas* 'Morast' (R. IV, 397, 394).

seksén '80' aus osm.-krm. *seksen* 'ds.' (R. IV, 444).

sifté 'anfangs, zuerst' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *siftah, istiftah* 'das erste Geschäft, das ein Kaufmann am Tage macht; zum ersten Mal' (R. IV, 733).

siğirčíx/sağarčíx 'Sperling, Spatz' aus osm.-krm. *serčä* 'Sperling' und osm. *sygyrdžyk* 'Star' (R. IV, 470, 619).

sil'é 'Korb' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *selle* 'flächlicher Weidenkorb' (R. IV, 478, *sälä* 'Korb').

sirdašév 'plaudern, s. unterhalten' zu osm.-krm. *sırdaş* 'Eingeweihter, Vertrauter' (R. IV, 649).

soj 'Sippe; Verwandter', *sója* 'Verwandte' aus osm.-krm. *soy* 'Familie, Stamm, Geschlecht, Rasse' (R. IV, 512), woraus ngr. τό σόϊ 'ds.'

sul'úk 'Blutegel' aus osm. *sülük* 'ds.' (R. IV, 832).

sundúk 'Truhe, Kiste' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *sanduk, sandık* 'ds., Kasten' (R. IV, 306, 308), woraus ngr. τό σεντούκι 'Truhe'.

surát 'Bild' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *surat* 'ds., Gesicht, Portrait' bzw. *suret* 'Form, Gestalt' (R. IV, 766–77).

surbadáš/surbadžís 'Hauswirt', *surbadžáva* 'Hauswirtin' aus osm. *čorbadžy* 'Suppenkoch; Dorfältester (der den Anreisenden Suppe vorzusetzen hat); höfliche Anrede an wohlhabende Christen in der Türkei' zu osm.-krm. *čorba* 'Suppe, Brühe' (R. IV, 2021–22).

suxáx 'Straße' aus osm.-krm. *sokak* 'ds., Gasse' (R. IV, 520), woraus ngr. τό σοκάκι 'ds.'

suxúr 'Maulwurf' aus osm.-krm. *sokur* 'ds.; blind' (R. IV, 521).

šaplaméja 'Ohrfeige' zu osm. *şaplama* 'Klatschen der Hand bei der Ohrfeige', džag. *šaplak, šapa* 'Ohrfeige' (R. IV, 982, 984).

šašév 'verdutzt, bestürzt sein' zu osm.-kas. *şaşmak* 'ds.' (R. IV, 974).

šat 'Zeuge' krm. *šāt* aus ar.-osm. *šähagät, şâhit* 'Zeugnis, Zeuge' (R. IV, 968).

šaxá 'Scherz' aus osm.-krm. *šaka* 'ds., Spaß, Spott' (R. IV, 931).

šaxalajíz 'scherzen' aus osm. *šakalamak* 'scherzen, verspotten' bzw. *şakalaşmak* 'miteinander scherzen, spaßen' (R. IV, 931–32).

šaxirlév 'säuseln, knistern' vgl. osm.-kirg. *şakırdamak* 'klatschen, prasseln (Regen), klirren, rasseln, klappern (Hufe)' (R. IV, 932–33).

ščúrba 'Fleischbrühe' aus p.-osm.-krm. *čorba/şorba* 'Suppe, Brühe' (R. III, 2021).

šej 'Sache; Gerät; Zeug' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *şey* 'Sache, Ding' (R. IV, 994); éna-*šej* 'etwas' (ngr. ἕνας 'ein' nach dem osm. *bir şey* 'etwas'); kana-*šéj* 'irgendetwas' (ngr. κάτι νά εἶναι 'was (auch) sein soll' im ersten Teil?).

šen(k)s 'fröhlich, lustig' aus p.-osm.-krm. *şen* 'ds., heiter, munter' (R. IV, 1003: *šän*).

šijér 'Stadt' aus p.-osm. *şehir, šähär* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1001).

šinglýx 'Fröhlichkeit' aus p.-osm. *şen(g)lik* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1004: *šänlik* 'ds., Freudigkeit, Freude, öffentliches Fest mit Illumination und Feuerwerk').

šišák 'Flasche' aus p.-osm.-krm. *šišä* 'ds., Glas, Flakon' (R. IV, 1083).

šulmén(s)/šurmén 'naß' vgl. kas. *šylamak* 'naß machen', p.-osm. *širä* 'Frucht-, Weinsaft, Reiswasser' (R. IV, 1055, 1071) und ngr. χύνω, χέω 'Wasser (ein)gießen'?

šyšl'ajíz 'fressen' vgl. osm. *şişlemek* '(auf)spießen', krm., kar. *šišlik* 'Spießbraten' (R. IV, 1086).

tabán 'Ferse' aus osm.-krm. *taban* 'Fußsohle' (R. III, 963).

tabút 'Sarg' aus ar.-osm. *tabut, -byt* 'ds., Kasten' (R. III, 979).

taj 'Fohlen' aus osm.-krm.-kas. *tay* 'ds.' (R. III, 765).

tajáx 'Stock' vgl. kom., kas., kar. *tajak* 'ds., Stab' (R. III, 816), osm. *toyağa, -aka, toyka* 'Knüttel'.

tajfá 'Familie' aus p.-osm. *taife* 'Menschengruppe, Mannschaft' (R. III, 772), woraus ngr. ὁ ταϊφάς 'Gruppe, Bande'.

taká 'Ziege' aus osm.-krm. *teke* 'Ziegenbock' (R. III, 1016: *täkä*).

taléja 'Weide' vgl. alt., kirg., kar. *tal* 'Weide' (R. III, 875).

taliké 'Kutsche' aus osm. *talyka* 'ein kleiner gedeckter Wagen für ein Pferd' (R. III, 886), — nach Poppe aus mong. *telege(n)* 'Wagen, Kutsche' (M. Fasmer, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka,* IV, Moskva 1973, S. 37–38).

tamúr 'Wurzel' vgl. kar., džag., uig. *tamur* 'ds.' (R. III, 1002).

tapsišév 's. unterhalten, plaudern' vgl. osm. *tapışmak* 's. begegnen' (Redhouse), sag. *tapsamak* 'lärmen, ein Geräusch um sich geben, sagen, sprechen, schreien' (R. III, 957).

taptajíz 'dengeln' vgl. kar., alt., kas., kom. *taptamak* 'stampfen; zusammenpressen, eine Sense dengeln (kas.); schmieden' (R. III, 955).

taramá 'Schlucht' vgl. alt. *taram* 'Sehne; die Verzweigung des Flusses bei der Mündung, Delta' (R. III, 845).

tartmá 'Wegerich' vgl. kas. *tartma* 'Schachtel, Kiste; Schublade' (?)

tatáris 'Tatare' vgl. osm.-kas. *tatar* 'ds.' (R. III, 901).

taxtá 'Brett' aus p.-osm.-kar. *tahta* 'ds., Bohle' (R. III, 802).

tazó 'frisch' aus p.-osm.-krm. *taze* 'ds.' (R. III, 927).

ték(a) 'nur, bloß' aus p.-osm.-kar. *tek* 'ein einzelner; bloß, nur' (R. III, 1015).

tekarán 'ein wenig' aus krm. *täkäran* 'ds.' (R. III, 1017).

tekmíl/tikmíl 'gänzlich' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *tekmil* 'ganz, sämtlich' (R. III, 1027).

temízk/tymýzku 'sauber' aus p.-osm.-krm. *temiz* 'ds.' (R. III, 1134: *tämiz* 'rein, fleckenlos, poliert; tugendhaft, von gutem Rufe').

timinedžýs 'Geigenspieler' aus p.-osm. *kämänčädži* 'Kementschespieler' (zu *kämänčä* 'kleine 3saitige Geige') (R. II, 1206).

timizlajíz 'reinigen, putzen' aus osm. *temizlemek* 'ds.' (R. III, 1135).

tinčlajíz 'still werden' aus osm. *dincelmek* 'frisch, kräftig, ruhig werden' (R. III, 1363; džag. *tinč* 'ruhig, friedlich', III, 1363).

tinčlíx 'Stille' aus osm. *dinçlik* 'Kraft, Rüstigkeit; Frieden, Ruhe' (R. III, 1363 džag. *tinčlik* 'Ruhe').

tirizý/tyrazíja 'Waage' aus ar.-osm. *terâzî* 'ds.' (R. III, 1060–1064).

tisk'ín 'heftig, schroff' aus osm.-krm. *keskin* 'scharf, streng, heftig' (R. II, 1166: *käskin*).

tolúx 'unflätig, Teufels- (von Kindern)' vgl. uig., kom., kas. *tamuk* 'Hölle' (R. III, 1002, osttürk. *tumūx,* M. Rjasjanen: *Materialy po istoričeskoj fonetike tjurkskix jazykov,* Moskva 1950, S. 71) und osm. *toyluk* 'Unerfahrenheit' (?)

tos-tumán 'Streit' vgl. osm.-krm.-kar. *toz duman* 'ein aus der Ferne sichtbares Schwarzes; Staub- und Nebelwolke' (R. III, 1212: *toz* 'Staub', *duman* 'Rauch, Staubwolke, Nebel').

tufak 'Gewehr' aus p.-osm.-krm. *tüfek* 'ds.' (R. III, 1599: *tüfäk*), woraus ngr. τό τουφέκι 'ds., Flinte'.

tujáx 'Huf' vgl. kirg. *tujak*, osm. *toynak* 'ds.' (R. III, 1435).

t(u)lup-zurná 'Dudelsack' vgl. krm., alt. *tulup* 'Lederbeutel ohne Naht, der aus einem Tierfell verfertigt ist', osm. *dulum* 'ds.' (R. III, 1469) und p.-osm. *zurna* 'ein der Klarinette ähnliches Musikinstrument' (R. IV, 919).

tumán 'Nebel' vgl. džag., alt., kirg., kar. *tuman* 'ds., Finsternis', osm. *duman* 'Rauch, Qualm, Dunst; Dampf' (R. III, 1518).

tumbujúx 'Fluß' vielleicht aus einem Gewässernamen **putám* = ngr. τό ποτάμι 'Fluß' und osm.-krm. *büyük* 'groß' oder zu osm. *tumbalak* 'eine runde Sache, die herabrollt' (R. III, 1527) mit einer ursprünglichen Bedeutung *'Geröll (im Flußbett)'?

tupalajíz 'hinken' aus osm. *topallamak* 'ds.' (R. III, 1223).

tupáls 'hinkend' aus osm.-krm. *topal* 'ds., lahm, mit verrenktem Fuß' (R. III, 1222).

turmašév 'hochkletten, heraushüpfen' aus osm.-kas. *tyrmašmak* 's. mit den Nageln festhalten, heraufklettern' (R. III, 1332).

turná 'Kranich' vgl. alt., kom. osm. *turna* 'ds.' (R. III, 1459).

tutún 'Tabak' aus osm.-krm. *tütün* 'Rauch, -tabak' (R. III, 1572).

tut'án 'Laden' aus ar.-osm. *dükkân* 'ds., Bude' (R. III, 1800).

tut'andzýs 'Ladeninhaber, -verkäufer' aus ar.-osm. *dükkâncı* 'Ladeninhaber' (R. III, 1801).

tuvardžís/tovarčís 'Hirte' vgl. osm. *davar* 'Schafe oder Ziegen', uig. *tavar* 'Ware, Habe' (R. III, 985).

tuxlú 'ljähriges Schaf' aus osm. *toklu* 'Lamm im 1. Jahr' (R. III, 1153).

tuxtuníz 'schlagen, klopfen' aus osm.-krm. *döğ-, döv-mek* 'schlagen, prügeln' (R. III, 1731, 1742).

tyrtýr 'Raupe' aus osm. *tyrtyl* 'ds.' (R. III, 1328).

t'isá '(Tabaks)Beutel' aus p.-osm.-krm. *kese* 'ds.' (R. II, 1159).

t'izát'a (Pl.) 'getrockener Kuhmist zu Verheizung' aus osm.-krm. *tezek* 'ds.' (R. III, 1103).

ubá 'Haufen, Hügel' vgl. kirg., sag. *obá* 'ds., Grabhügel, Kurgan(stein)', osm.-krm. 'Filzjurten der Nomaden, Nomadenfamilie, die in diesen Jurten lebt, Nomaden; Hütte aus Stein oder Erde, wo die Hirten die Produkte ihrer Herden sammeln' (R. I, 1157), woraus osset. *obau, -aj* 'Hügel, Grabhügel' (V. I. Abaev: *Istoriko-Ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, Bd. II, Leningrad 1973, S. 223–24, aus mong. *oboğa* 'ds., Stein(haufen) über einem Grab').

udúnč 'Darlehen' aus osm.-krm. *ödündž* 'Schuld, Geliehenes' (R. I, 1282).

udžáx 'Schornstein' aus osm.-krm. *odžak* 'Rauchfang, Kamin, Ofen, Herd, Feuerstelle' (R. I, 1136).

ugéjk-kor 'Stieftochter' vgl. osm.-krm. *ögäi*, osm. *üvey-* 'Stief-' (R. I, 1807), alt. *ȫi-kyz* 'Stieftochter' (R. I, 1173) und ngr. ἡ κορή 'Mädchen'; *ugéjk-mána* 'Stiefmutter', vgl. alt. *ȫi ana* 'ds.' (R. I, 1173) und ngr. ἡ μάνα 'Mutter'; *ugéjk-táta* Stiefvater', vgl. alt. *ȫi ada/aba* 'ds.' und ukr. *táto*, kinderspr. *táta* 'Vater'.

ugrajíz 's. abquälen' aus. osm.-kr. *oğrašmak* 's. begegnen; ein Gefecht eingehen, kämpfen, s. abmühen' (R. I, 1020).

umázk 'faul, träge' vgl. osm. *onmaz adam* 'Taugenichts, ein Mensch, der nicht zu bessern ist' zu *onmak* 'gesund, besser werden' (R. I, 1042).

urkaníz 'anbinden mit einer Schnur' vgl. krm.-kar. *örkän* 'langes Seil' (R. I, 1227).

urtáx 'Freund' (Stila), vgl. krm.-kar. *ortak* 'gemeinsam, gemeinschaftlich', osm. 'Teilhaber, Kompagnon, Teilnehmer' (R. I, 1067).

urús, urúsys (V. Novosilka) 'Russe' vgl. osm. *Urus, Orus* 'ds.' (R. I, 1663).

ut'ú 'Bügeleisen' aus osm. *ütü* 'ds.' (R. I, 1865).

vaj! 'oh!' (Schmerz) vgl. kom.-osm. *vai!* Ausruf der Furcht oder des Staunens (R. IV, 1953).

vakt 'Zeit' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *vakyt* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1953–54).

vaxt 'Glück' aus p.-osm. *baht* 'ds., Schicksal' (R. IV, 1463).

vaxcyzlýx 'Unglück' aus p.-osm. *bahtsızlık* 'ds., unglückliches Schicksal' (R. IV, 1464).

vaxcyzs(ku) 'unglücklich' aus p.-osm. *baxtsyz* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1464).

vaxtlýδk(o)s 'glücklich' vgl. p.-osm. *baxtly* 'ds.' (R. IV, 1464).

vazd'ečév 'absagen, Absage erteilen' vgl. osm.-krm. *vaz gäčmäk* 'aufgeben, ablassen' (R. IV, 1964; osm. *vazgeçmek* 'verzichten').

viliját 'Heimat' aus ar.-osm. *vilajät* 'Land, Gouvernement' (R. IV, 1979).

visiját 'Vermächtnis' aus ar.-osm. *vasijät* 'ds., Rat' (R. IV, 1963).

xabár/xapár 'Nachricht' vgl. ar.-osm. *xabär* 'ds.', krm. *xabar* 'ds., Botschaft, Gerücht' (R. II, 1693).

xabaríz 's. verständigen' vgl. ar.-osm. *haberle(ş)mek* 'ds.' (R. II, 1694).

xabetlýθ 'schuldig' vgl. ar.-osm. *kabahat* 'Schuld, Vergehen, Übertretung', *kabahatlı* 'schuldig', woraus:

xabatlajíz 'schuldig sein' (R. II, 439).

xadrajíz 'suchen' vgl. osm. *hatırlamak* 's. erinnern, ins Gedächtnis rufen' (R. II, 1682).

xajá 'Stein' vgl. kom., osm.-krm. *kaja* 'Felsen' (R. II, 88), woraus:

xajaδítku 'steinern'.

xa(j)nagá/xańagá 'Schwager, älterer Bruder der Ehefrau' aus krm.-kar. *kain ağa* 'Schwager (Bruder des Mannes und der Frau)' (R. II, 12).

xajýx 'Kahn' vgl. osm.-krm. *kajyk* 'Boot' (R. II, 93).

xal 'Möglichkeit, Zustand' (*ğo t'ex to na-t kam* 'ich habe keine Möglichkeit dies zu tun') aus ar.-krm.-osm. *hal* 'ds.' (R. II, 1753).

xalvá 'Helwa, im Zucker angeschwitztes Mehl' aus ar.-osm. *helva* (R. II, 1789, 1759: *hälva, halva*).

xalýč 'Säbel' alt., kas., osm.-krm. *kylyč* 'ds., Schwert' (R. II, 776).

xambúrs 'buckelig' aus krm.-osm. *kambur* 'ds.; Buckel' (R. II, 497), woraus ngr. καμπούρης 'bucklig'.

xamgáx 'Gipskraut, Büschelkraut, Gypsophila paniculata; Kuhseifenkraut, Saponaria vaccaria' vgl. Taranči-Ma. *kamğak* 'Salsula opositifolia' (R. II, 490).

xamíš 'Schilfrohr' vgl. kom., alt., osm.-krm. *kamyš* 'Schilf, Rohr, Arundo' (R. II, 487).

xanát 'Flügel' vgl. osm., kar. *kanat* 'ds., Flossen des Fisches' (R. II, 111).

xapáx 'Kochtopfdeckel' aus krm.-osm. *xapak* 'Deckel' (R. II, 405, 1693).

xará 'Kummer' osm. *kara* (krm. *xara*) 'schwarz, finster, von übler Vorbedeutung, unglücklich', *kara sävda* 'Melancholie' (R. II, 132, 137, 1667).

xaranlýk 'Dunkelheit, Finsternis' osm. *karanlyk* 'ds.' (R. II, 156).

xardáš 'Freund' osm. *kar(yn)daš* 'ds.; Bruder und Schwester', krm. *xardaš/k-* 'ds.' (R. II, 202, 1671), woraus: *xardašýc* 'Liebchen; jüngerer Bruder, jüngere Schwester'.

xarpúz 'Wassermelone' aus osm. *karpuz*, krm. auch *xarpuz* 'ds.' (R. II, 212, 1673), woraus ngr. τό καρπούζι 'ds.'

xaršú 'neben; gegenüber' aus osm.-krm. *karšy* (krm. auch *xaršy*) 'gegenüberliegend, eigensinnig; gegenüber, entgegen' (R. II, 208, 1673).

xasivét, -vít 'Kummer, Unglück' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *kasâvet* 'Widrigkeit, Kummer, Betrübnis, Schmerz, Sorge' (R. II, 349).

xasivetlajíz 's. kümmern, besorgt sein' aus ar.-osm. *kasavetlenmek* 'Kummer haben, in Sorgen sein, s. Sorgen machen' (R. II, 350).

xasivetlí/-lyds/-lýδk 'traurig, kummervoll, bekümmert' vgl. ar.-osm. *kasavätli* 'ds.' (R. II, 350).

xasxáč 'Krebs' aus osm. *kıskaç* 'Drahtzange; Krebsschere', kas. *kyskyč* 'ds.; Krebs' (R. II, 810–11).

xašlý 'Taufpate' vgl. osm.-kas. *kašly* 'Augenbrauen habend; mit einem (Edel) Stein verziert' und uig. *kašlyk* 'ds., wichtig; Wichtigkeit' (R. II, 397).

xavrajíz 'rösten, braten' vgl. osm.-krm. *kavurmak* 'ds., dünsten' (R. II, 470).

xavtán 'Kleidung, Kleider' aus p.-osm. *kaftan* 'langer Mantel, Kaftan' (R. II, 461).

xavún 'Honigmelone' aus osm.-krm. *kavun* 'Zuckermelone' (R. II, 57, 470, 517), woraus ngr. τό καβούνι 'ds.'

xavurmá 'Braten' aus osm.-krm. *kavurma* 'gedünstet, geröstet, gebraten; gedünstetes Fleisch' (krm. auch *xavur*) (R. II, 469, 471, 1696).

xazán 'Kessel' aus osm.-krm. *kazan* (krm. auch *xazan*) 'ds.' (R. II, 367, 1689), woraus ngr. τό καζάνι 'ds.'

xazánč 'Gehalt, Lohn' aus osm.-krm. *kazandž* 'Vorteil, Gewinn, Erwerb' (R. II, 370).

xazanév 'verdienen', *xazanmená* 'verdient' aus osm.-krm. *kazanmak* 'verdienen, erwerben, erlangen, gewinnen, Vorteil haben' (R. II, 369, 1689; krm. auch *xaz-*), woraus ngr. καζαντίζω 'gute Geschäfte machen'.

xazgančúk 'geizig', vgl. Tel. *kyskančyk* 'ds.' (R. II, 809; osm. *kyskanč* 'eifersüchtig, neidisch').

xazganmá 'Geiz, Knauserigkeit' zu osm. *kıskanmak* 'eifersüchtig sein, nicht gönnen, beneiden' (vgl. R. II, 808, 831).

xazírka 'bereit' aus ar.-osm. *hazır* 'fertig' (R. II, 1770).

xazmit'árs 'Arbeiter' aus p.-osm. *hizmetkâr* 'Diener, Knecht'.

xazná 'Schatz' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *hazine, xazna* 'ds., Schatzkammer, Kasse' (R. II, 1689).

xoš 'Fischerei' vgl. krm. *koš/xoš* 'Hütte', džag. 'eine Menge in der Steppe stehende Jurten, Lager, Heer; eine Gesellschaft, Anzahl Jurten (von Dienern/ Ackerknechten bewohnt), die vom Aule getrennt in der Steppe stehen; eine nur zeitweise bewohnte Jurte, ein kleines Filzzelt, in dem die Ackerknechte außerhalb des Auls wohnen oder das während einer Reise gebraucht wird' (R. II, 635, 1710).

xučxár 'Hammel' aus kar., osm. *kočkar* 'Widder' (R. II, 617).

xudá 'Vater des Bräutigams/der Braut' vgl. kar. *kody* 'der Herr', uig. *kuda* 'Freund, Genosse; Freiwerber, Brautwerber, Gevatter' (R. II, 612, 998).

xujú 'Brunnen' vgl. osm.-krm., kar. *kuju* (krm. auch *xuju*) 'ds.; Mine; Art Gefängnis, "Loch"' (R. II, 1732, 904).

xuldajíz 's. bewegen, s. rühren', vgl. osm. *kymylda(n)mak,* krm. *xybyrdamak* 'ds., s. regen' (R. II, 1725, 853).

xum 'Sand' aus osm.-krm. *kum* 'ds.; bewegte Welle oder Brandung des Meeres' (R. II, 1043).

xumšú(s) 'Nachbar' aus osm. *komšu* 'ds.' (R. II, 672) und weiterhin: *xumšáva/ xunšáva* 'Nachbarin' und: *xunáš* 'Freund', vgl. osm.-krm. *konak* 'Gast, Besuch' und *konuşmak* 's. unterhalten' (R. II, 536).

xunušév 's. vergnügen, s. unterhalten' vgl. krm.-osm. *konušmak/xo-* 'nachbarlich leben, zusammenleben, gute Nachbarschaft halten; in Freundschaft leben' (R. II, 542, 1702).

xuralajíz 'erretten' vgl. osm. *korumak,* Tel. *korūlamak* 'geschützen, verteidigen; schonen, protegieren' und osm.-krm. *kurtarmak* 'befreien, erretten' (R. II, 555, 560, 947).

xurgáx 'Dürre' vgl. osm. *kurak* 'trocken, wasserarm' und *kuraklyk* 'Trockenheit, Dürre' (R. II, 921–22).

xuvát 'Stärke' aus ar.-osm. *kuvvet* 'ds., Kraft, Macht, Gewalt' (R. II, 1041–42: kas.-kar. *kuwat,* osm. *kuvät*).

xuvatlýθ 'stark, kräftig' aus ar.-osm. *kuvvetli* 'ds.' (R. II, 1042).

xyrlajíz 'vernichten' vgl. kar., osm.-krm. *kyrmak* 'abkratzen; (Kleider) abtragen; zerbrechen, zerschlagen; zerreißen; vernichten, töten, abschlachten' (R. II, 734).

xysmét 'Glück' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *kysmät* 'Schicksal, Fatum' (R. II, 817).

zabúns 'krank' aus p.-osm. *zabun* 'schwach' (R. IV, 878).

zajíf 'blind' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *zajyf* 'schwach, kraftlos, hilflos, schlecht; ein mißgestalteter Mensch, Krüppel' (R. IV, 866).

zamán 'Zeit' aus ar.-osm.-krm. *zaman* 'ds., Zeitpunkt' (R. IV, 880) und weiterhin: *(j)éna zamán* 'plötzlich, auf einmal', vgl. osm. *bir zaman(lar)* 'einst, früher' (ngr. ἕνας 'ein').

zan 'Feld, Acker' vgl. kas., krm. *zan* 'Grenze; ein Ackermaß 800 Faden Länge und 12,5 Faden Breite' (R. IV, 867).

zangú 'Steigbügel' aus osm. *üzängi* 'ds.' (R. I, 1890).

zar/zer 'wohl' aus ar.-osm. *zâhir* 'ds.; offenbar, offenkundig' (*öyle zâhir* 'es muß wohl sein').

zavalý 'unglücklich' aus ar.-osm. *zavally* 'ds., Unglück bringend' zu krm. *zawal* 'Elend, Not' (R. IV, 879).

zengýnk 'reich, vermögend' aus p.-osm.-krm. *zängin* 'ds.' (R. IV, 888).

zijafét 'Geschenk' aus ar.-osm. *zijafät* 'Bewirtung, Gastmahl, Gelage, Gastfreundschaft' (R. IV, 911).

zijér pikrá 'Gift' aus p.-osm.-krm. *zähär* 'ds.' (R. IV, 884) und ngr. πικρός 'bitter'.

zindanós 'lebendig' aus p.-osm. *zindä* 'ds., gesund, stark' (R. IV, 913) und ngr. ζωντανός 'lebendig'.

zingil'ajíz 'reich werden' aus p.-osm. *zänginlänmäk* 'ds., s. bereichern' (R. IV, 888).

zorjá 'kaum, mit Gewalt, mit Mühe', *zórl'en* 'mit Mühe', vgl. p.-osm.-krm. *zor* 'Gewalt, Zwang' (R. IV, 898) und *zor ile* 'mit Gewalt, mit Mühe'.

zunuzáǧ 'lange' vgl. osm. *uzun uzadiya* 'ds., der Länge nach (ausstrecken)' bzw. *uzak* 'lang, spät, weit (entfernt)' (R. I, 1757–58).

zurlajíz 'zwingen' aus osm. *zorlamak* 'ds., Gewalt anwenden' (R. IV, 900).

žuruldév 'plätschern' vgl. osm. *šyryl-šyryl akty* 'es floß murmelnd', bzw. *šaryldamak* 'rieseln, lärmen (von Frauen gesagt)' (R. IV, 1052, 953).

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The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I

HALIL INALCIK

The history of the Crimean Khanate revolved around the tribal ruling elite. Their constant maneuvering to maintain power in the khanate and control over its policies is the central theme in Crimean history. Beginning with the establishment of Ottoman suzerainty in the northern Black Sea area in the 1470s, both sides attempted to use this new element in the ensuing power struggles to their own advantage, while the Ottoman government skillfully manipulated the rivals to further its own policies. The khanate of Sahib Giray (Ṣāḥib Girāy),* as described in Remmāl Khōdja's *Tārīkh-i Ṣāhib Girāy Khān,*[1] vividly demonstrates this emerging pattern of internal struggle. At the outset, Sahib Giray, khan from 1532 to 1551, achieved a strong centralized rule on the model of the Ottoman sultans. Afterwards, the tribal elite, held in check and deeply resentful of

* This article follows the transliteration system used by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* second edition.

1 Özalp Gökbilgin, "Quelques sources manuscrites sur l'époque de Sahib Giray Ier, Khan de Crimée (1532–1551) à Istanbul, Paris, et Leningrad," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 11 (1970): 462–69, describes two manuscripts of Remmāl's *History of Sahib Giray,* one in the Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), Supplément turc no. 164, the second in the library of Leningrad University, Oriental manuscripts no. 488. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz informed me that there are two more manuscripts in Leningrad which we have not yet had the opportunity to use. Remmāl indicates that he completed the work at the end of *Radjab* in the Hidjra year 960/13 June–12 July 1553. A critical edition based on all extant manuscripts is a first priority for systematic use of this source, since even a superficial comparison of the two manuscripts of Paris and Leningrad reveals important omissions and the ottomanizing of Tatar words (the latter occurs in the Paris manuscript). Remmāl's work was used by 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh,* ed. by Necib Asim (Istanbul, 1343 H./1924), pp. 100–111; and S. Meḥmed Riḍā, *Al-Sab' al-Sayyār fī akhbār al-Mulūk al-Tatar,* ed. by A. K. Kazim Beg (Kazan, 1832), pp. 91–94. V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Otomanskoj porty do načala XVIII veka,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1887), pp. 412–22, made use of Remmāl, especially for the Ottoman influence on the khanate. Ö. Gökbilgin published the text, *Tārīḫ-i Ṣāhib Girāy Hān* (Ankara, 1973), on the basis of the Paris (hereafter P) and Leningrad (hereafter L) manuscripts.

the khan's despotic power, profited from a split between the Ottoman government and the khan, and eliminated the despotic khan to re-establish their own hegemony in the state in 1551. The Crimean crisis of 1551, on the other hand, was a turning point in the history of Eastern Europe, since Muscovy, benefiting from the paralysis of the Crimean forces, made a decisive move to annex the Khanate of Kazan in 1552.

Written by an intimate of Sahib Giray, the *Tārīkh-i Ṣāhib Girāy* is a work of unusual value for comprehending the internal structure and power politics in the Crimean Khanate in this crucial period of its history. It provides us a firsthand, detailed account of the fatal struggle between Sahib Giray, the khan who tried to transform a typical steppe khanate into a centralist autocratic state on the model of the Ottoman Empire, and the Crimean tribal aristocracy, which struggled to maintain the tribal "feudal" state structure of the khanate according to "the *Töre* or *Yasa* of Genghis Khan."

The author, known to the Crimeans as Remmāl (meaning astrologer, geomancer), was Ḳāysūnī-zāde Meḥmed Nidāī,[2] a well-known Ottoman polymath. He wrote the history upon the request of the khan's daughter Nūr-Sulṭān Khānī after the khan's tragic death in 1551. Remmāl had joined the service of Sahib Giray in 1532 when the latter was leaving Istanbul to assume his appointment as khan. He became a personal physician, astrologer, and intimate of Sahib Giray. The khan consulted him in all important decisions (P, 58a). He also confided in him about financial matters such as the collection of taxes and the granting of contributions to the Crimean ulema (L, 6a). Remmāl's closeness to Sahib Giray allowed him to provide information about the khan's opinions and to describe the background to his decisions. His observations and detailed accounts of life and institutions in the Crimea add a special importance and interest to his work. He meticulously incorporated local terminology in his descriptions. Although he wrote the work as an apology for the actions of his beloved lord, Remmāl skillfully disguised critical remarks between the lines. All these facts make *Tārīkh-i Ṣāhib Girāy* a reliable account of Sahib Giray's reign.[3]

[2] Remmāl is described as Sahib Giray's physician. Upon the death of Sahib Giray, he entered the service of Sultan Selim II and wrote several medical books for him (see F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu,* 2 vols. [Istanbul, 1961], index: Nidai). Remmāl Khōdja or Ḳaysūnī-zāde Meḥmed Nidāī died in A.H. 966/A.D. 1568/69. For the family of physicians of Ḳaysūnī-zāde, see M. Tahir, *'Oṣmanlı Mu'ellifleri,* vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1342 H.), pp. 239, 249; and M. Süreyya, *Sidjill-i 'Oṣmānī,* vol. 4 (Istanbul, 1893), pp. 107, 312.

[3] Ö. Gökbilgin, *1532–1577 Yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığının Siyasi Durumu* (Ankara, 1973), deals with the political history of Sahib Giray's reign. I cannot agree with

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CRIMEAN TRIBAL ARISTOCRACY

The peace treaty concluded between Meḥmed Giray I (1514–1523) and the king of Poland-Lithuania[4] lists the Crimean aristocracy in the following hierarchical order: the khan himself, his eldest son Bahadur Giray Sultan, the other sons of the khan, sultans with a commanding position, *oghlan*s (other members of the royal family), *beg*s (heads of the four principal tribes), *mirza*s (sons of *beg*s), all *nöker*s (or *nökör,* meaning retainer) serving the khan in the court and elsewhere. Remmāl's account gives the same hierarchy: the khan, his sons, the four begs called *ḳaraču,* and the *ički begleri* (*beg*s attached to the khan's service).[5] Like other Mongol khanates, the Crimean Khanate rested on the support of the four royal tribes called the *ḳaraču* or *ḳarači.* Forming a kind of tribal confederation under the *bash-ḳaraču* (chief ḳaraču) of the leading clan, the Shirins, the four clans acted as the main military force in the khanate and directed state policies in their own collective interests. This organization, inherited from the steppe empires (for the Crimean aristocracy, from "the *Yasa* of Genghis Khan") and revered as sacred and immutable in character, was considered the foundation of the khanate. In Remmāl (L, 15), the order of precedence of the ḳaraču clans is given as the Shirins, the Barıns, the Arghıns, the Ḳıpčaḳs, and the Manghıts.[6] As we shall see, in

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him on several points of chronology and interpretation. Our divergences are shown in this paper.

[4] Published by V. V. Zernov and H. Feyḍhān, *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva* (St. Petersburg, 1864), doc. 1, pp. 3–5, dated 9 Radjab 926/15 June 1520. The oath on the treaty was sworn collectively: "Ant sharṭ itärmüz."

[5] On the basis of the reports by the Muscovite envoys to the Crimea, V. E. Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj i ego vassaly," *Učenye zapiski Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 61 (1940):38–39, points out that the ruling elite in the Crimean Khanate consisted, in hierarchical order, of the sons of the reigning khan, the *sayyid*s, or the descendants of the Prophet who were leaders of the ulema, *oghlan*s, or relatives of the khan, the *beg*s, or leaders of the principal tribes, and the *ički begleri,* or begs and servants in the service of the khan. For an original description of the ruling class in the khanate, see 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh,* especially pp. 193–207. Written in A.H. 1161, this compilation made use of native sources such as Ötemish Ḥādjdji, *Tārīkh-i Dost Sulṭān* (see Z. V. Togan, *Tarihte Usul* [Istanbul, 1969], p. 224), as well as *Tārīkh-i Ṣāḥib Girāy.* 'Abd al-Ghaffār was himself a member of the ruling class and served under the Shirins. This important work has not attracted the attention of modern scholars. The most recent work on the history of the khanate, A. Bennigsen, P. N. Boratav, D. Desaive, and C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapi* (Paris and The Hague, 1978), does not even include it in the bibliography. A new edition of this important source on the Crimea is needed, since that by N. Asim is very unsatisfactory.

[6] Riḍā, *Al-Sab' al-Sayyār,* pp. 92–93, gives the four ḳaraču as the Shirin, the Barın, the Arghın, and the Ḳıpčaḳ. S. von Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia,* vol. 2, trans. by

the first half of the sixteenth century there was an intense struggle for precedence and power among the tribal aristocracy in the khanate.

Traditionally, the number of forces put into the field by the Shirins was given as 20,000. However, in 1543, during the second Circassian campaign, when only a select group of the tribal forces was present, the Shirins numbered only 5,000, the Arghıns and Ḳıpčaḳs 3,000, and the Manghıts 2,000 — that is, 10,000 altogether (L, 80–81). I believe this was the actual nucleus of the Crimean tribal aristocracy's army.[7]

The ḳaraču commanded the main body of tribal forces in the khanate and were its principal policy makers. Their leaders, the ḳaraču-begs, were present at state council meetings (*körünish* or *körünüsh*) to discuss and decide important matters with the khan.[8] To protest the khan's policy on a particular issue, a beg abstained from taking part in such meetings. The khan was rendered totally powerless when the ḳaraču-begs collectively abandoned him, in protest taking their forces to a sacred place called the *Ḳayalar-Altı*, where the *tamgha*s, or seals of the clans in the Crimea, were imprinted on the rock. The allegiance and support of the ḳaraču-begs was of crucial importance to the khan in remaining on the throne and enforcing his authority in the realm. As we shall see, in 1551 Sahib Giray was totally incapable of putting up any resistance when these begs changed their allegiance to Devlet (Dawlat) Giray.

The observation that the khan himself was elected by the tribal elite

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R. H. Major (London, 1852), p. 81, gives the same names: "Schirni, Barni, Gargni, and Tziptzan"; also see Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," pp. 28–34, for the Manghıts.

7 Cf. L. J. D. Collins, "The Military Organization and Tactics of the Crimean Tatars, 16th–17th Centuries," in *War, Technology, and Society in the Middle East*, ed. by V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp (London, 1975), p. 260.

8 In 1744 'Abd al-Ghaffār (*'Umdat al-Tawārīkh*, p. 193) made the following observation: "Let it be known that the meeting of the state council and all the important state affairs in the Crimean Khanate is placed absolutely in the hands of the four *beg*s who are as pillars of the state. It is a law not to undertake any important matter without their vote and consent. The first of these four *beg*s is the beg of the Shirins, the second that of Manṣūr-oghlu, the third that of the Barin, the fourth that of the Sidjivut. They are called in Tatar language the four *Ḳaračı*s." Ḥusayn (Hüseyin) Hezārfen, "Talkhīs al-Bayān fī Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i 'Os̱mān" (manuscript, Bibliothèque nationale [Paris], no. 40, fol. 106b), written in 1699, gave the order as the Shirin, the Arın (Arghın), the Barın, or Sidjivut, and the Mankıt. He added the note that the khan gives his daughters in marriage only to these begs or to their sons. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, translated into Turkish by Ahmet Temir, *Moğolların Gizli Tarihi* (Ankara, 1948), p. 8, *kharaču* meant "commoners" or "those outside the royal household." The phrase *ḥaraču bo'ol* (ibid., p. 129) apparently corresponds to the Turkish-Ottoman expression *khāṣṣ nöker*, or comrade attached to the person of the leader (for *nöker* or *nökör*, see below). For the sacred number four with the Turks and Mongols, see Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul, 1970), pp. 108, 114; idem, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1939), excursus nos. 94 and 100a.

reflects only the factual situation.[9] In the Turkish and Mongol states of the Eurasian steppes, the supreme authority invested in the imperial house (*Altan-Urugh,* of heavenly birth)[10] or in a particular khan from this house was always conceived as being derived from divine will, and no human arrangement could alter it.[11] However, in reality, the *ulugh*-beg or ḳaraču-beg, in agreement with other leaders of the tribal confederation, determined who became khan. It appears that even under Ottoman suzerainty, the Crimean tribal confederation tried to continue this practice. A confidential letter sent to Saadet (Saʿādet) Giray in Istanbul[12] just before the elimination of Meḥmed Giray I illustrates how a new khan was actually chosen by the clan leaders. In it, the leader of the tribal aristocracy, who was apparently Bakhtiyār Beg of the Shirins, assured Saadet Giray that the principal begs, mirzas, and oghlans agreed to have him as their khan and "they all are united for this purpose and took an oath to die for his cause."

United by the common interests of a predominantly pastoralist-tribal society, the four "ruling" tribes of the Crimea acted as a corporate group before the khan, who in turn represented the state framework superimposed upon the tribal organization. The struggle between the khan and the leader of the tribal aristocracy is a recurrent theme in the Eurasian pastoralist nomadic society from earliest times. The particular nature of this socio-political formation is defined in various ways, including "feudal" (Vladimircov) and "corporate" (Krader), referring to the precarious nature of the superimposed state structure which resulted from the preponderant position of the tribal aristocracy.[13] In this article I try to show

9 Martin Bronievski, *Russia seu Moscovia itemque Tartaria* (Leiden, 1630); Turkish translation by Kemal Ortaylı, *Kırım* (Ankara, 1970), p. 42. Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," p. 39. For the election of a *kan* by the Ḳazaḳ clans, see W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien Lose Blätter aus meinem Tagebuche,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893), trans. by A. Temir, *Sibirya'dan,* vol. 1 (Ankara, 1954), p. 527.

10 See O. Pritsak, "Die sogenannte Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 26, nos. 3/4 (1954):217–20; Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān,* excursus nos. 99a and 100a.

11 See H. Inalcik, "Osmanlılarda Saltanat Verâseti Usûlü ve Türk Hakimiyet Telâkkisile Ilgisi," *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Derigisi* 14:69–94. Aghısh Beg wrote to Vassilii III that since God predestined that Meḥmed Giray be khan, four Ḳarači made him khan (in Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed Giraj," p. 39).

12 Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée,* pp. 106–110; compare this letter with that of Eminek Mirza, ibid., doc. E 669/11, pp. 70–75.

13 W. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-Hadschib aus Bälasagun,* pt. 1: *Der Text in Transscription* (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. li–lvi; Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān,* pp. 291–92, 295–301; B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Le régime social des Mongols,* trans. by M. Carsow (Paris, 1948); L. Krader, *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads* (The Hague, 1963), pp. 326–35; idem, "Feudalism and the Tatar Polity of the

how the institution of *nökör*-ship, as manifested in the Crimean society, was the basic social factor, frequently overriding tribal kinship ties and giving the steppe pastoralist society its "feudal" character.

In the Crimea the leader of the tribal confederation was the beg of the Shirins, the strongest tribe of the khanate who had as appanage the area from Karasu to Kerch bordering the Ottoman Sandjaḳ of Kaffa (Kefe). To ensure the support of the hereditary leaders of the Shirins, the Crimean khans established kinship ties with them by giving their daughters in marriage. During Sahib Giray's reign the leader of the Shirins was Baba (Babay), son of Mamısh (Memesh) and Meḥmed Giray I's daughter. Remmāl describes him as the most authoritative figure among the begs (L, 22). At difficult moments Sahib Giray always turned to Baba, who, with his brothers and other relatives — Shıḳmamay, Aḳmamay, Ḳara-Mirza, Ḳutlu-Sā'at, and Ḳay-Pulat Mirza — controlled the larger military forces in the khanate. It is known that the cooperation of the Shirins with the Ottomans was decisive in bringing the Crimean Khanate under Ottoman submission in 1475, and that in the subsequent period it was usually the determining factor in the succession of the khans to the Crimean throne.[14] However, at times when their own authority and interests were at stake, in particular when a proposed campaign did not promise much booty or slaves, the Shirins did not hesitate to support pretenders or khans who opposed the Ottomans. These conditions made Crimean politics very complex. In 1538 Crimean begs participated enthusiastically under Sahib Giray in the Ottoman campaign against Moldavia (Ḳara-Boghdan), hoping for abundant booty. However, the khan, following Ottoman advice, forbade the enslavement of the Moldavians during the campaign (P, 13–14), since originally they were *dhimmī* subjects of the Ottoman sultan. The Crimeans argued that many of them had incurred debts in equipping themselves to participate in the campaign, in anticipation of rich booty.[15] Thereupon the khan ordered that *čapḳul,* or booty raids, be carried out only for livestock, but not for slaves. On the other hand, when in 1547 Süleyman I (1520–1566) called the Crimeans to participate in the campaign against Iran, Sahib Giray, acting as spokes-

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Middle Ages," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* pp. 76–99. F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (Ankara, 1967), p. 387, found that in Türkmen states, the *Begler-begi,* not the khan, wielded the real political power.

[14] See H. Inalcik, "Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım Hanlığının Osmanlı tâbiliğine girmesi ve ahidnâme meselesi," *Belleten* 8: 185–229.

[15] For those impoverished Crimeans who borrowed money to participate in the booty raids, also see the translation of Bronievski by Ortaylı, *Kırım,* p. 52; cf. Collins, "Military Organization," p. 259.

man for the Crimean begs, demanded payment of five thousand *akča* or 83 gold ducats for each Crimean soldier to be employed in this distant campaign in a Muslim country. He argued that they were not paid as the Ottoman soldiery was, but depended wholly on booty for their livelihood (P, 62a). In the end, the Crimeans did not take part in the Iranian campaign, which was to be one of the main causes of the rift between the khan and the Ottomans.

In Remmāl's account (P, 4b, 55a) the Crimean tribal elite included — alongside the begs of the four ķaraču — the oghlans or *oghlan kiyun beg*s, members of the Genghiskhanid dynasty who apparently commanded their own independent forces, as did the ķaraču-begs. Organized under a leader of their own ranks, the oghlans appear to have had an important part in the process of choosing a khan.[16]

In the internal structure of the tribal units under the begs, distinction should be made between the *nökör*s, or *emeldesh,* and the ordinary rank and file. *Nökör*s or *emeldesh* (literally "comrades"), sometimes with the attribute *khāṣṣa* or *sırdash* ("personally attached" or "intimate comrade"), formed a group of devotees or bodyguards who always accompanied their master, a beg or khan, and were ready to make every sacrifice for him.[17] In one passage (L, 164) Remmāl described the nökörs of the

16 See the letter to Saadet Giray in Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée,* pp. 106–110. There two oghlans, Abdullah and Mamısh, are mentioned as agreeing to Saadet Giray's khanship.

17 For the word *nökör* or *nökür,* see J. Németh, "Wanderungen des mongolischen Wortes *Nökür,* Genosse," *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), 3 (1953): 1–23; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen,* vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 521–26; Vladimircov, *Le régime social,* pt. 1, chap. 3, showed for the first time how nökörship became a lever for Genghis Khan's creation of the army-state framework over the Mongol tribal society. Genghis Khan put the newly formed military units under his nökörs, thus bringing about a new feudal hierarchy dependent directly on his own will. Nökörship appears to have been the basic institution in the steppe for explaining not only the emergence of warbands around leaders and ultimately nomadic empires, but also the cause of internal fragmentation and struggle. Cf. E. L. Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 552. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik,* explains this fragmentation under new leaders by the natural demographic growth within the tribe itself. *Ķazaķ čıķmaķ* was just the expression of this flight into the steppes of the leader, either the Genghiskhanid prince or a clan chief with his nökörs. Usually the sons of a deceased leader became ķazaķ with his nökörs. Leadership and success depended on the leader's personal valor and boldness, his skill in mustering the *il*s (tribes) under his command, but above all on the loyalty of his nökörs. In 'Abd al-Ghaffār's *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh,* pp. 46–47, there is an interesting story about how Rektimür, the beg of the Shirins, became a nökör to Toķtamısh and his descendants. Remembering that his ancestors were nökörs of Toķtamısh's forefathers, he rescued him from a dangerous situation and agreed to become his nökör. He swore to serve him faithfully until death.

ḳaraču as "attendants who never abandoned their beg's threshold." In most cases these nökörs came from Tatar tribes which were reduced to dependency or enslaved by a powerful leader. In 1546 Sahib Giray told the captured wives of the Astrakhan begs that if their husbands submitted and became his nökörs, he would grant them each lands (L, 130). The leader, always a beg or somebody related to the Genghiskhanid dynasty, retained his following of nökörs even in defeat. Withdrawing to the steppes, an action termed *ḳazaḳ čıḳmaḳ* by the Tatars, he could wait for an opportune moment to overcome his rivals and regain power. The process of *ḳazaḳ čıḳmaḳ* seems to have been the real dynamic in the interminable fight for power and state formation in the Turco-Mongol nomadic society.[18] In fact, the Genghiskhanids themselves, along with their nökörs, actively participated in this type of power struggle during the period of the dissolution of the Golden Horde (1359–1502).

A letter apparently written by the bash-ḳaraču to the Ottoman sultan in 1533 speaks of the long period of internal struggle in the Crimea since the murder of Meḥmed Giray I by the Nogays in 1523.[19] According to the letter, the constant fighting had resulted in the elimination of all the old begs and mirzas of the Crimea, as well as the discontinuance of the raids into the Christian lands which, the letter claimed, were the main source of the Crimean people's prosperity. In response to the sultan's request for a compromise between Sahib Giray Khan and Islam Giray that would restore peace and unity in the country, the author of the letter complained that compromise was impossible because Sahib Giray had not followed his advice to reject the principal trouble makers from his court, namely, Ṣafā Giray, Selīmshāh Beg, and "Takhılday Mirza who had killed Yūnus,

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Then, the four Ḳaraču tribes — the Shirins, Barıns, Arghıns, and Ḳıpčaḳs — also agreed to become Toḳtamısh's nökörs (*'Umdat al-Tawārīkh*, p. 48). Thus, through their support, Toḳtamısh became the khan of the Golden Horde and gave his daughter to Rektimür's son Tekine (ibid., pp. 48–55). Among the Türkmens the same institution was sometimes called *yoldash* (Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 391–92). For the importance of nökörship in state formation among the Türkmens, see J. E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu* (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1975), pp. 8–12; 46–54, fn. 17; 230. A Caferoğlu, "Türk Tarihinde Nöker," in *IV T. T. Kongresi* (Ankara, 1952), pp. 251–61. Nökörship is obviously connected with the ancient Turco-Mongol institution of *and/ant, antah* or *andik*; see Abdülkadir İnan, "Eski Türklerde ve Folklorda 'Ant'," *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara), vol. 6, no. 4 (1948).

[18] Ḳazaḳ-Tatar leaders with their sizable nökör retinues often sought refuge and served as mercenaries under the rulers of Lithuania and Muscovy. G. Stökl, "Die Entstehung des Kossakentums," *Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes* (Munich), vol. 3 (1953), studied their part in the rise of Slavic Cossacks. Also see W. H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800* (Chicago and London, 1964), pp. 111–23.

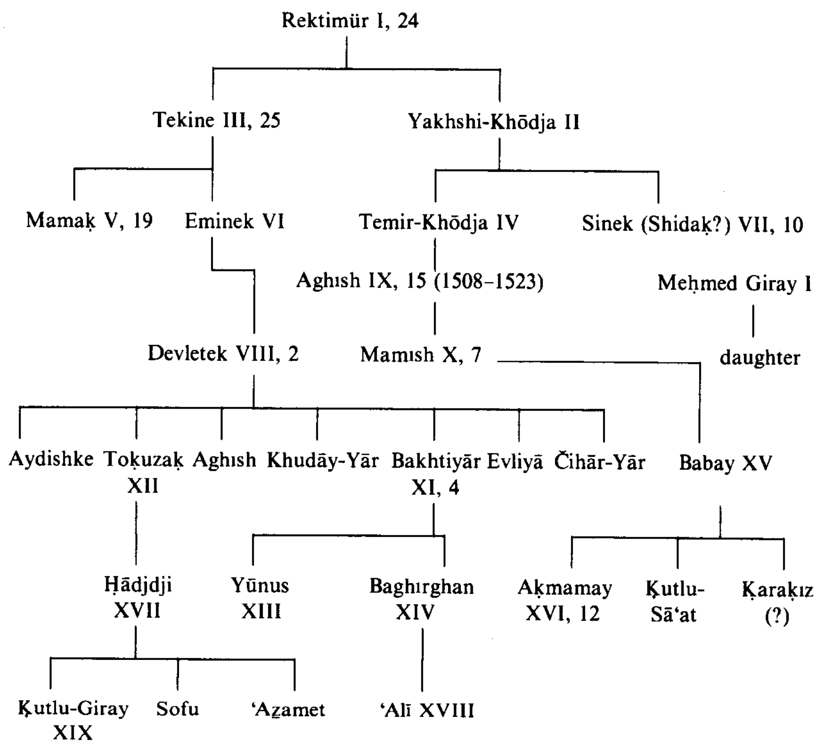
[19] Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée*, pp. 121–25. The translation of the document is not always reliable: in lines 8 and 9, the subject is not the begs, but the khan.

the beg of the Shirins." He also said that Sahib Giray, contrary to the customs of the khanate and "their age-old *töre,*" was enlisting a number of *tüfenkdji*s, or musketeers, from among "the rabble of the people." From this letter it is evident that the ḳaraču-beg considered himself the supreme spokesman of the aristocracy in the khanate. His idea of good order was to follow faithfully the old traditions of the khanate so that the raids into Christian countries could be organized and prosperity would return with the acquisition of many slaves. The author of the letter asked the sultan "in the name of the whole Crimean people" to send a new khan to achieve peace and good order in the country.

We have to look back to the reign of Saadet Giray (1524–1532) for the real background to this long struggle in the khanate. The murder of Meḥmed Giray I in 1523 was followed by a massacre of the Crimean tribal forces and a ruinous invasion of the Crimea by the Nogays.[20] In despair, the Crimeans turned for salvation to the Ottoman sultan. He sent to the Crimea as khan Saadet Giray, accompanied by 500 Janissaries with firearms, and promised him full Ottoman protection. Those favoring Ottoman influence, led by Bakhtiyār Beg of the Shirins, thought to secure power for themselves by supporting Saadet Giray.[21] It should be noted that this Ottoman faction was both pro-Muscovite and had been unsympathetic to the murdered Meḥmed Giray's ambition to revive the Golden Horde Empire under the Girays. Bakhtiyār, an irreconcilable opponent of Meḥmed Giray I who had given the office of bash-ḳaraču to Mamısh, had long been in contact with Istanbul to bring to the Crimea Himmet Giray as khan and Saadet Giray as ḳalghay. In 1524, Bakhtiyār welcomed the sultan's appointee Saadet Giray as khan. When Saadet Giray's attempt to assert his absolute authority in the khanate led to open warfare against the powerful Mamısh, Bakhtiyār sided with the new khan. Thus, the struggle was complicated by a conflict for power among the Shirins, which caused a split in the ranks of this most powerful tribe of the Crimea. Bakhtiyār replaced Mamısh as chief ḳaraču. Mamısh and the other Shirin leaders were executed when they attempted to conspire against the khan in 1528. Saadet Giray's basic policy, however, inevitably led to a rift between the new chief of the ḳaraču and the khan. Accusing Bakhtiyār and his brother Evliyā(r) Mirza of a conspiracy against his life, Saadet Giray, surrounded by his Ottoman musketeers, came to Ḳırḳ-Yer, the chief city of the Shirins, and massacred the conspirators and their

20 Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," p. 57.
21 Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," p. 58.

children.[22] The leadership of the Shirins was now given to Toḳuzaḳ (in Russian reports *Tuzak*?) Mirza and his ḳalghayship to Yūnus, which resulted in a further split among the Shirins.[23] The following genealogy gives an idea of the struggle for succession among the Shirin mirzas (Roman numerals indicate succession order and Arabic numerals, the number of years in begship, according to 'Abd al-Ghaffār).[24]



[22] Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," pp. 58–59.

[23] For this period of internal struggle, our principal source is the information supplied by the reports of the Muscovite envoys, summarized in Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj." 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh,* pp. 195–96, helps to clarify genealogical problems. Remmāl (P, 7b) tells us succinctly that "The Crimean begs were divided into two camps, between Islam Giray and the khan. Watching each other, they came to clashes three times."

[24] This genealogy is based mainly on 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh,* pp. 195, 200. The genealogy arranged by Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée,* p. 319, is based on Muscovite sources. A letter published by Bennigsen et al., ibid., p. 108 (E 6474), contains some data for making corrections in the table given here. The author of the letter (Bakhtiyār?) mentions as elder brothers Aghısh Beg and Khudāy-Yār, and as

As was true with Turkish and Mongol clans in general,[25] seniority was the basic customary rule in leadership among the Shirins. However, the begs often attempted to secure the title for their own sons. Also, it should be remembered that more energetic younger brothers, supported by nökörs, often challenged their elder brothers in leadership, since personal valor was of great functional importance in this military society. It was of vital importance for the society to come by the leader most qualified to unite and organize the tribal forces for booty raids.

As indicated in the Muscovite reports,[26] those who endeavored to assert Saadet Giray's authority in the Crimea were actually his brother Sahib Giray, the future khan, who was active in the Crimea until 1531, and the *ički-beg*s, or tribal begs in the immediate service of the khan, including Selimsha (Selīmshāh in Remmāl and document E 6474) and his brother or cousin Takhıldаy (in Remmāl Taghıltay, L, 57), who probably belonged to the Ḳıpčaḳ clan. In their desperate fight against the khan's faction, the Shirins found a leader in Islam Giray, son of Meḥmed Giray I, who sought to become, with the support only of the Crimean tribal aristocracy, a khan independent of Istanbul. Joined by most of the Crimean tribal forces, Islam Giray finally inflicted a crushing defeat on Saadet Giray in a decisive battle near Azak (Azov).[27] Saadet Giray took refuge in Istanbul. A compromise, apparently reached through the ḳara-ču-beg and the Ottoman Porte, defused the dangerous situation for both sides. In 1532, the sultan appointed Sahib Giray khan of the Crimea[28] and Islam Giray his ḳalghay, and this solution was accepted by both sides. However, as the Topkapı document (E 1308/3) mentioned above makes clear, the beg of the Shirins soon showed his disappointment at Sahib Giray's conduct in the Crimea, which proved to be too independent and

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younger brothers Evliyā Mirza, Aydishke Mirza, Toḳuzaḳ Mirza, and Čihār-Yār Mirza. But the mirzas Djiban Giray, Baghırghan, and Čaghırghan are mentioned separately, and they are not included among Bakhtiyār's brothers. Thus, according to this document, Toghurak or Toḳuzaḳ was not the son, but the brother of Bakhtiyār (Bennigsen et al., ibid., p. 109, give Toḳuzaḳ, son of Aghısh, Baghırghan, son of Evliyā, and Aydishke, son of Mamak; Aghısh, ḳaraču-beg in 1508, is another person). Bakhtiyār was bash-ḳaraču between 1526 and 1531; cf. Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," p. 59.

25 Seniority in succession appears to be a general rule among Turkish and Mongol pastoralist nomads; see Krader, *Social Organization*, pp. 129–30, 149, 182, 194–97. For succession in khanship, however, a different concept became prevalent: see Inalcik, "Osmanlılarda Saltanat Verâseti."

26 Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," p. 59; cf. doc. E 2365 in Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée*, p. 128.

27 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh*, p. 99; Riḍā, *Al-Sab' al-Sayyār*, p. 89.

28 The date in *Al-sab' al-Sayyār*, p. 89, is Rabī' I, 939/October 1532.

assertive. Like Saadet, now Sahib Giray, using Ottoman support, tried to establish the khan's authority. However, the beg of the Shirins, representing himself as the only power able to guarantee the peace and status quo in the Crimea that were the principal concerns of the Ottomans, was determined to keep his authority.

In his struggle against Islam Giray and his supporters, the Shirins, Sahib Giray appears to have relied on the cooperation of the powerful Nogay tribes in the Crimea. In addition, the Nogays located in the steppes outside the Crimea were useful as allies against Islam Giray, who stayed in the Or-Ḳapu (Perekop) isthmus area and could retreat to the steppes in times of need.

The rise of the Manghıt-Nogays' influence in Crimean politics dates back to Mengli Giray's time.[29] V. E. Syroečkovskij, using the reports of the Muscovite envoys, emphasizes their influence as being the most important factor in Crimean tribal politics, because the Shirins saw it as a challenge to their leadership over the Crimean aristocracy.[30] In 1523, the Shirins' main complaint against Saadet Giray had been his protection of the Manghıt-Nogay Tenish, or Tinish Mirza, whom they accused of being the principal conspirator in the murder of Meḥmed Giray I and in the Nogay invasion of the Crimea.[31] In dealing with Islam Giray, Sahib Giray Khan also favored the Manghıt leaders, Bāḳī Beg and his brothers Davay and Aḳ-Bibi (to whom he promised his daughter in marriage). But after the death of Islam Giray at the hands of Bāḳī, Sahib Giray found Bāḳī himself to be the most dangerous threat to his rule in the Crimea.

Remmāl gives a detailed account of the khan's struggle against Bāḳī Beg.[32] A nephew of Sahib Giray, distinguished among the Crimean elite

29 As it happened, some time in this period, Yanḳavut, leader of the Manghıts in the Crimea, enjoyed equal status with the Shirins (Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," p. 32). In 1502, when Mengli Giray conquered the *Ulugh-Orda* (Great Horde) and the tribes which composed it were dispersed, the leader of the Manghıts there, Azika or Hadjike, took refuge with Aḥmed Giray, son of Mengli in the Crimea, and apparently in time became the new leader among the Crimean begs. While a part of the Manghıts remained on the Itil River under Tevekkel, son of Temir, Mengli removed some of them to the steppes outside Or-Ḳapu (ibid., p. 33) in an attempt to establish the Crimea as the new center of a revived Golden Horde. Using the title "Ulugh-Ordanıñ ulugh khanı," the Crimean khan always claimed to be supreme over all the lands of the Golden Horde. In this plan the cooperation of the Nogays was deemed essential.

30 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh,* pp. 32–37. The important local evidence about Nogay-Manghıts in this work, apparently drawn from *Tārīkh-i Dost Sulṭān,* was not used by Syroečkovskij or, more recently, by A. Bennigsen and C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Grande Horde Nogay et le problème des communications entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'Asie Centrale en 1552–1556," *Turcica* 8, no. 2 (1976): 203–212.

31 Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed-Giraj," p. 58.

32 Bāḳī Beg was descended from the famous Edigu or Edike Beg, the ancestral beg of the Nogay tribes, and was himself the beg of the Manghıt or Mankıt, a branch of the

for his personal bravery and boldness, Bāḳī became the khan's most dreaded rival until he was killed in 1542. In his long struggle, Bāḳī Beg was always faithfully accompanied by his nökörs, whose number Remmāl gives as about two hundred. At the beginning of Sahib Giray's khanate, Bāḳī left the Crimea and for some time stayed with the Nogays, and then led a *ḳazaḳ*'s life in the steppe, always with his nökörs beside him. Eventually Bāḳī returned,[33] and in a surprise attack killed Islam Giray. At that time, his retinue numbered five or six hundred horsemen. Apparently Bāḳī claimed to be the beg of the Manghıts, one of the ḳaraču tribes in the Crimea, whose leadership Sahib Giray gave to Hodja-Tay Beg. It was Bāḳī's association with the Nogays in the steppes that made him dangerous to the khan. The danger of a Nogay invasion of the Crimea was thought to be so pressing by the khan that he felt compelled to build the Farah-Kirman fortress at Or-Ḳapu to protect the peninsula while he was away on the Moldavian campaign of 1538. Nonetheless, a force of four or five hundred Nogays under Aḳsaḳ 'Alı Mirza made a surprise attack at night on Sahib's army while it was crossing the Özü (Dnieper) River en route to Moldavia (P, 10a). Later, in the winter of 946/1539–40, Bāḳī, together with his brother Davay Mirza, pillaged the Crimean army while returning from a raid on Muscovite territories. Later, Sahib Giray made every effort to convince Bāḳī to come into the Crimea and join him on a campaign against Muscovy. He promised Bāḳī the leadership of the Manghıts and even command over all the tribal forces in the Crimea, saying that "no one could prosper in pursuing banditry in the steppes with only a handful of ḳazaḳs." At this time, "Bāḳī was together with the

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Nogays. Bāḳī was the son of Temir, *Ulugh-beg* or great emir of the Manghıts, who, like the Shirins in the Crimea, constituted the most powerful tribe in the *Ulugh-Orda*. Bāḳī's mother was Mengli Giray Han's daughter, a sister of Sahib Giray Khan. On the other hand, in 1485, Mengli Giray had married Nūr Sulṭān, daughter of Temir and widow of Ibrahim, khan of Kazan. In Tatar nomadic society, marriage ties played a crucial role in forming alliances and defining power relations. Such bonds with the khan's family determined the privileged position of one tribe vis-à-vis others, as well as secured the loyal support of a powerful tribe for the khan. As Mengli Giray, by his marriage to Nūr-Sulṭān, had planned to strengthen his influence over the tribes in the *Ulugh-Orda* on the Itil River, the Manghıt influence in the Crimea increased correspondingly. There were also marriage ties between the Nogays and Shirins (see 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh*, p. 81). For the importance of marital ties for political relations in Türkmen states, see Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, p. 105.

33 Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée*, pp. 327–28, citing Smirnov's statement based on *Al-Sab' al-Sayyār*, thought that Islam Giray wandered about for some time in the land of "Qumuks." In *Al-Sab' al-Sayyār*, p. 91, this information concerns only Bāḳī Beg. Remmāl (P, 7a–7b) makes it clear that Bāḳī Beg, who was not welcomed by Islam Giray, went away and was employed by "the rulers of Persia and Khurasan" for some time.

ḳazaḳs of Azak, who all followed him in his wanderings" (R, 27a). When he eventually came and submitted to the khan, Bāḳī was always on guard and suspicious of possible attempts on his life by Sahib. During the campaign against Muscovy in 1541, their mutual suspicions delayed their crossing of the Oka River, which gave the Muscovites a chance to organize and block their passage. After their return to the Crimea, Bāḳī soon withdrew to the steppes along the Özü with his nökörs, this time on the pretext of a hunt. Always awaiting any opportunity to eliminate his foe, the khan, with a small force having cannons and musketeers, surprised and killed Bāḳī there.

The attempt of the beg of the Manghıts to supplant the beg of the Shirins as leader of the Crimean tribal confederation appears to have been one of the underlying causes of the turmoil in the Crimea during the period 1523–1542. Bāḳī Beg, the true leader of the Manghıts, vigorously pursued the struggle for supremacy. Actually, Mengli Giray I, as well as his sons Meḥmed Giray I and Sahib Giray I, were cautious about recognizing the leadership of the Manghıt begs, because of their connections with the Nogays in the steppes. Sahib Giray, one of the most powerful exponents of the idea of a centralized khanate in the Crimea, finally chose to cooperate with the Shirins rather than with the threatening Manghıts. After Bāḳī Beg's defeat, Sahib Giray was able to establish his absolute authority in the khanate as the Shirins' hegemony over the tribal confederation continued. Baba, beg of the Shirins under Sahib Giray, always gave his full support to the khan in his struggle against Bāḳī Beg and, as Remmāl emphasizes, loyally served him in his military campaigns.

The last major confrontation between the Nogays and Sahib Giray occurred in 1546 or 1547, as the Nogays attempted to retaliate for the khan's capture of Astrakhan in 1546. Their defeat, recalled in Crimean history as *Nogay Ḳırghını* or "Massacre of the Nogays," was won by the cannons and muskets of the khan. Remmāl tells us that the sudden concentrated fire of the muskets and cannons shocked and scattered the Nogays, thus assuring a complete victory for the khan (P, 57–61; L, 133–145).

SAHIB GIRAY'S ATTEMPT TO CENTRALIZE POWER ON THE OTTOMAN MODEL

While the opposing forces in the Crimea tried to employ the Ottomans for their ends, the Ottoman government in turn exploited their rivalries to achieve its own policy goals. These goals were: (1) to have on the Crimean throne a vassal ruler from the dynasty of the Girays who would be fully

loyal to the Ottoman Empire; (2) to make use of Crimean troops as auxiliary forces in Ottoman expeditions against Moldavia, Hungary, or Iran; (3) to prevent the khanate from becoming a threat to Ottoman possessions in the Crimea. The Ottoman government was concerned that, by incorporating the heritage of the Golden Horde in the Itil region and joining with the Nogays in the steppes, the Crimean khan might form a rival empire in the north.

In the period between 1475 and 1484, the Ottomans managed to establish their control over the Crimean Khanate chiefly through the cooperation of Eminek Beg (Iminek Bik), head of the Crimean tribal elite. Eminek himself made use of his close relationship with the Ottoman sultan to choose for the Crimean throne whomever he found most amenable to the interests of the tribal elite. In 1524, it was the beg of the Shirins who cooperated with the sultan to make Saadet Giray khan. As his suzerain, the sultan conferred on him not only the usual symbols of authority — a diploma (*manshūr*), a standard, and a drum — but also a strong escort of Ottoman forces bearing firearms. Upon his appointment, Sahib Giray was also provided with a strong escort of Ottoman *ḳapu-ḳulu* forces and artillery capable of imposing his authority.

Our sources give varying figures for the Ottoman *ḳapu-ḳulu* escort, which stayed in the Crimea and participated in the khan's expeditions. As an eye-witness, Remmāl gave the following figures:

Janissaries	— in 1532, 600 (P, 4b); but in the Moldavian and second Circassian campaigns (P, 9b), only 300 (the Janissaries were equipped with muskets and swords)
artillery (*zarbuzan* or *darbuzan*, small cannons)	— 40 during the second Circassian campaign in 1543 and the expedition against the Nogays; 60 cannon-wagons during the expedition against Muscovy in 1541 and Astrakhan (Hadjı-Tarkhan) in 1546
*tüfenkdji*s or musketeers	— over 1,000 during the Moldavian and Muscovite campaigns, as well as during the expeditions into Circassia in 1543 and Astrakhan (Remmāl distinguishes three separate groups of musketeers: *Tüfenkdji-ḳullar*, Janissaries, and *Tat Tüfenkdji*s. The latter came from the mixed population of Southern Crimea which was known as *Tat-ili*.)
*araba*s or field wagons	— 200 during the Moldavian campaign (one for each five musketeers)

The escort forces assigned to Devlet Giray in 1551 at the time of his appointment as khan of the Crimea were as follows: 300 Janissaries, 300 *ḳul-ḳarındashı* (recruits from outside the corps of the Janissaries), and

400 *atlu-'ulūfelü ḳul* (mounted soldiers on the payroll of the sultan), 60 small cannons (*zarbuzan*), and an arsenal of ammunition and military equipment appropriate to a force of this size as well as funds for their payment. The forces previously assigned to the retinue of Sahib Giray must have been very similar. Remmāl usually gives the total number of musketeers in campaigns as 1,000. Remmāl reported that Sahib Giray was actively recruiting salaried musketeers (*'ulūfelü tufenkdji*) from among the Crimean populace, which is confirmed in the Topkapı document (E 1308/3 in Bennigsen, p. 122). Ottoman troops under the governors of Azak and Kaffa reinforced the khan's army only when the sultan ordered them to interfere, for instance, during Saadet Giray's fight against the anti-Ottoman Islam Giray in 1532. However, the beg of Kaffa always cooperated with the khan in his campaigns against the Circassians by providing him with ships to transport troops.

The military support rendered by the Ottomans played a decisive role in the khanate, not only in the internal power struggle as a balance to the traditional Crimean tribal forces, but also as a major component of the khan's army in campaigns. Under Sahib Giray, the use of the *ḳapu-ḳulu* forces with muskets and cannons changed traditional Crimean tactics. The details supplied by Remmāl on the military tactics used by Sahib Giray in his campaigns clearly illustrate that they were a crucial factor in the khan's military successes and were always relied on at critical moments. In all his successful Circassian campaigns, Sahib Giray was able to penetrate into mountainous country and pursue the Circassians by employing a small force of musketeers and cannons. In 1546 he stormed and easily took Astrakhan in an attack supported by simultaneous fire from his 1,000 muskets and 40 cannons. In his campaign against Muscovy in 1541 he planned to cross the Oka River under the protection of the fire of his cannons and muskets. Apart from using massive fire, Sahib Giray employed his artillery and muskets by arranging them in a *wagenburg* formation of the type used by the Hussites, Hungarians, and Ottomans, that is, the ancient Turco-Mongol tactic of the fortified circular camp made up of wagons chained to one another and known as *küren* or *küriyan, güriyen.*[34] Remmāl gave a detailed description of how the new

[34] See B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Obščestvennyj stroj Mongolov* (Leningrad, 1934), p. 37; Turkish translation, *Moğolların İçtimaî Teskilâtı*, by Abdülkadir İnan (Ankara, 1944); J. Németh, "Neuere Untersuchungen über das Wort Tabor-Lager," *Acta Linguistica* 3, nos. 3/4 (1953):431–46; Collins, "Military Organization," pp. 273–74. About the fortifications with wagons used by the Pečenegs, see O. Pritsak, "The Pečenegs: A Case of Social and Economic Change," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975):19; H.

küren of Sahib Giray was prepared (P, 69b–70a, L, 169–170). In his last Circassian campaign in 1551 he ordered that each soldier make a sharpened stake. A fence was then erected around a ditch with these stakes in three rows with their pointed ends sticking outwards. Behind the fence he positioned muskets and cannon. The *küren* was so strong, Remmāl added, that it could not be captured by an army of 100,000 men. This was the tactic to which the Ottomans owed their major victories against their rivals in Iran and Egypt. Now Sahib Giray was using it successfully against the Nogays and the Circassians.

When the army camped in the field, the *ḳapu-ḳulu* forces were deployed in the following manner: the first circle around the khan's pavilion was composed of the wagons of the artillery and arsenal chained to one another, the second circle was composed of Janissaries, the third of court dignitaries (*ički begleri*), and last came the ḳaraču-begs (*ḳaraču ulu begleri*) in order of rank. This lineup corresponded exactly to that used by the Ottoman sultans in their campaigns. On marches the artillery wagons came at the rear of the army, behind the wagons carrying cash and valuables and protected on either side by the musket-bearing soldiers (*tüfenkdji ḳullar*). The Janissaries were at the khan's side beneath the standard mounted with a gold ball, which the sultan had given Sahib Giray upon his appointment as khan to symbolize delegated power and authority. On occasion, as happened during the dangerous crossing of the steppes on their return from the Moldavian campaign (P, 14a), musket-bearing Janissaries were employed to patrol around the army. Sahib Giray's use of divisions equipped with cannon and muskets was definitely an innovation with profound implications for the khanate. However, the tribal cavalry forces remained the mainstay of the Crimean army.

The extraordinary advantages which the firearms gave the khan in overcoming his internal and external foes undoubtedly enhanced his image as a ruler. As Remmāl emphatically underlines throughout his account, Sahib Giray consciously sought to establish his absolute authority in the country over the tribal aristocracy, according to the model of the Ottoman *pādishāh*. Describing an incident during the Moldavian campaign when the khan ordered the tribal forces not to make booty raids, Remmāl said (P, 106): "No one could dare, at the risk of his life, to gainsay his order or to take one step ahead of the khan. He was such an awesome and unveering pādishāh. In sum, they were all rendered power-

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Inalcik, "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-arms in the Middle East," in *War, Technology, and Society in the Middle East*, ed. by V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp (London, 1975), pp. 197–217; Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, pp. 131, 134, 175.

less under his firm hand." In other places Remmāl refers to Sahib Giray as pādishāh, underlining his imperial stature with this title peculiar to the Ottoman sultans. In keeping with the conception of pādishāh in the Persian theory of kingship, he further interpreted the khan's authority as representing the "shadow of God on earth," or, in mystical terms, "possessing the powers of saintliness," "a pole manifesting divine power," "infallible ruler among men," and so on. Once Remmāl himself was put in charge of a cartload of 800,000 *akča* to be distributed among the Crimean ulema (P, 146). He observed that "those who saw the cart with the purses of money all kept at a distance. See then how firmly the khan has established his authority in the country." Orders were accompanied by threats of execution. During the threat of a Nogay invasion of the Crimea, the khan declared to the defenders at Or-Ḳapu that he would execute not only deserters but their whole clans, including children and relatives. Remmāl's remarks on the khan's concern about protecting the *re'āyā,* or ordinary tax-paying subjects, against injustices committed by the begs are noteworthy. Remmāl said that the khan forbade the begs and their nökörs from making tours among the *re'āyā* to collect dues, and encouraged them to make their livelihood solely from booty raids (P, 15a). On the other hand, he assigned fixed monthly salaries to his own nökörs, that is, the palace staff and his personal retinue.

The ulema formed the second most influential group in the Crimean elite. Sahib Giray sought to ensure their support by generous and respectful treatment of them as a group favoring his centralist policies. The ulema were part of the state council in the Crimea and were called upon to approve the decisions taken by the khan in consultation with the begs. Remmāl emphasized the khan's preference for the ulema and his concern for a strict observation of Islamic law (P, 16a). In addition to their regular stipends from the treasury, the ulema received a share of the booty at the conclusion of each campaign. Our source also reports that Sahib Giray met on alternate days with the ulema, shaykhs, ulu begs, his nökörs or *ishik čoraları,* and the ladies of his court for discussion of their requests and other matters (P, 16a). On Fridays, after noon prayers, he convened the state council and heard the petitions and complaints brought by the common people — a practice typical of all Middle Eastern states that adhered to the Persian tradition. In sum, Sahib Giray's chancery practices and conduct of state affairs were in accordance with what he had seen in the Ottoman capital.

Some of the reforms and innovations Sahib Giray introduced into the Crimean administration were aimed at building up a strong treasury with

extensive regular sources of revenue — a prerequisite for a centralized government. Besides the public treasury, whose revenues came from regular state and Islamic taxes and dues as well as from yearly tributes extracted from neighbors — Muscovy, Lithuania-Poland, Moldavia, and the Circassian lord Ḳansavuḳ — Sahib Giray apparently managed to accumulate a large personal fortune of slaves, horses, cattle, sheep, jewelry, and furs. According to Remmāl (L, 188), at the time of his death the khan owned 3,000 able-bodied slaves, 10,000 horses, 36,000 sheep, and 5,000 to 6,000 cattle. The khan took his share of booty (*savgha*), especially slaves and cattle, at river crossings as his army returned from a campaign. Remmāl reported that of 50,000 slaves captured during the second Circassian campaign in 1543, the khan's share was 2,000 (L, 94). When the Crimean army returned from a campaign with great numbers of slaves, notice was sent out to local merchants and, as Remmāl put it, "a great spate of transactions erupted."[35] The fortune and power of the tribal elite also depended on slaves and livestock. Slaves were sold at the slave market or used to cultivate the extensive lands assigned by the khan as fiefs to the begs.[36]

The huge herds of horses belonging to the tribes were pastured in the area between the Özü River, the Or-Ḳapu isthmus, and the Black Sea. This area was extremely important for the Crimean elite, as was later stated in Gazi Giray Khan's letter to the king of Poland.[37] The khan complains that "the Cossacks capture and drive away herds of cattle and horses on the Özü River and cause the Tatars to abandon their usual summer and winter pastureland in the area." In Sahib Giray's time, however, it was the Nogay threat that was paramount in this pasture area of the Crimean Tatars. On one occasion it was feared that Bāḳī and the Nogays might drive away 40,000 to 50,000 horses. Remmāl informs us that to protect the herds, the Tatars stood guard there year round (L, 98).

35 For the importance of the slave trade in the Crimean economy, see my "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire," to be published in *Mutual Effects of the Islamic and the Judeo-Christian Worlds*.

36 Syroečkovskij, "Muxammed Giraj," pp. 9–14; Bronievski as translated by Ortaylı, *Kırım*, pp. 12, 28; Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 7 (Istanbul, 1928), pp. 511, 601.

37 Zernov and Feyḏhān, *Materialy*, doc. 4, pp. 9–12, date Djumāda I, 1000/14 February–14 March 1592. He warned the king that the first condition for peace with Poland was the expulsion of the Cossacks from the Özü River. Bronievski, as translated by Ortaylı, *Kırım*, p. 11 (Russian translation, p. 38), points out how the Tatars in the steppes between the Özü and Or-Ḳapu were fearful of the Christian Cossacks and withdrew to their winter quarters with their herds and families after harvesting their crops. The cultivation of wheat for export to the Ottoman cities was an important economic activity of the steppe Tatars by the sixteenth century. See my forthcoming book, *The Customs Register of Caffa*.

Like his predecessors Mengli Giray I and Meḥmed Giray I, Sahib Giray was very concerned about the security of the caravan routes from Kazan, Central Asia (via Astrakhan), and Iran.[38] According to Remmāl, Sahib Giray initiated the campaigns against Astrakhan in 1546 and against the Circassians in 1551 (L, 120, 158), on the grounds that the caravans bound for the Crimea had been attacked and plundered. Remmāl noted that in 1546 the caravan from Kazan carried goods valued at over 100,000 *flori* (gold pieces), an indication of this trade's importance (L, 120). In 1551 a caravan of Persian pilgrims returning from Mecca started out from Kaffa, passed by Azak, and, while crossing the steppes north of the Caucasus, was attacked by the Circassians. The khan promised the Iranians that he would recover the stolen goods or recompensate for them from his treasury.[39]

Remmāl describes how Sahib Giray alienated the Crimean aristocracy by his harsh and despotic treatment of them, especially during the last Circassian campaign before his fall in 1551. They had always disliked Sahib's authoritarian conduct and his total reliance on musketeers and Janissaries. Finally they found their chance to overthrow the khan when Sahib's mentor, the sultan, turned against him. Remmāl makes it clear that after the capture of Astrakhan in 1546 and the victory over the Nogays, the khan refused to send an auxiliary force to the sultan's campaign in Iran. According to Remmāl, the pashas at the Porte accused the khan thus: "The khan now has a too powerful army and has become too ambitious. He thinks that he is better than you in every way. The proof of it is that he now dares to oppose your orders and to make excuses for not sending auxiliary forces. The moment you pass away he thinks he will gain possession of all the Ottoman territories in the Crimea. He does not show the slightest respect to the envoys sent from the Porte. If he unites his forces with the Nogays, no one can be a match for him and resist." The khan's treatment of the Ottoman authorities in Kaffa and disputes over jurisdiction of the lands just outside the city of Kaffa (see L, 149–53) were cited as indications of his ambitiousness. As an intimate of the khan, Remmāl assures us that he nurtured no such plans. Sahib did have designs on Kazan and Astrakhan, however: on this issue, as before,

[38] See Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Grande Horde Nogay," pp. 203–236.

[39] For the customs and market dues in the Crimean Khanate, see the *yarlıgh* of Sahib Giray I, published and analyzed by several specialists. For a bibliography of these studies, see J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan* (The Hague and Paris, 1974), p. 14, fn. 9, and pp. 59–60.

during the reign of Meḥmed Giray I, Ottoman and Muscovite interests coincided. In 1546, Shāh-'Alī, a Muscovite protégé in Kazan, overthrew Ṣafā Giray. Sahib Giray reacted by occupying Astrakhan and restoring Ṣafā Giray to the Khanate of Kazan.[40] Remmāl reported that upon Ṣafā Giray's death in March 1549, envoys from Kazan came to the Crimea (L, 155). Informing Sahib Giray of their resistance to a Muscovite army (obviously referring to Ivan IV's campaign against Kazan in 1549–1550), the envoys asked for his help and the appointment of Bukay Giray, son of Ṣafā, as khan of Kazan. But Sahib Giray had a different plan: he asked the Ottoman sultan to appoint Devlet Giray, then in Istanbul, as khan of Kazan. The Ottoman Porte, which was more concerned with the Crimean question, used this opportunity to replace Sahib on the Crimean throne with Devlet Giray, and then to form a common front of the Khanates of Crimea, Kazan, and Astrakhan, and the Nogays against Muscovy.[41]

Ostensibly Devlet Giray was appointed khan of Kazan by the sultan in Istanbul. Feigning to be on his way to Kazan, he went to Akkerman and waited there for Sahib Giray to pass through the Taman peninsula on his campaign against the Circassians. Remmāl's story suggests that Sahib Giray suspected the plot and that before he left his capital he placed an army of 15,000 to 20,000 men at the Or-Ḳapu isthmus under the ḳalghay, his son Emīn Giray. Devlet Giray's intelligence sources informed him that this force was actually designed to eliminate him, and that Sahib intended to make his own sons khans of Kazan and Astrakhan (L, 179). Sahib

40 In the first years of his khanate, Sahib Giray considered Ṣafā Giray a threat to his rule in the Crimea; see doc. E 5434 in Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée*, p. 124. This letter was sent by Sahib Giray to Süleyman I.

41 The first Ottoman envoy came to Ismā'īl, *beg* of the Great Nogay, in the spring of 1551. But already in 1449, the Ottomans, apparently on the advice of Sahib Giray, tried to lure the Nogays into the Ottoman alliance: see Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Grande Horde Nogay," pp. 213–18; at that time the Nogay leaders tried to procure cannons and muskets from Muscovy or the Ottomans (ibid., pp. 215, 220). Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay (p. 211) try to show that until the middle of the sixteenth century, "Les Turcs Ottomans ne s'étaient guère intéressés à la Basse Volga et ignoraient presque tous des Nogays." But I would suggest a different chronology. The Ottomans were concerned with the political developments in the region, since the submission of the Crimean Khanate in 1475 alerted them to the changes affecting their position in the Crimea. That this concern did not lead to a direct involvement until the mid-sixteenth century was due to the Ottoman Porte's respect for the Crimean khans' wish to remain independent in their policy towards their northern neighbors. It appears that the Crimeans themselves, realizing the urgent need for Ottoman support in their struggle with Muscovy for Kazan, chose to involve the Ottomans directly in the struggle. At any rate, the Ottoman policy toward the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan or Muscovy should be examined within general Ottoman Northern Policy, which was determined largely by conditions in the Crimea.

Giray had taken most of the tribal forces with him to Circassia, but they were uncooperative during the campaign and he reacted harshly against them.

The tribal forces that Sahib Giray had stationed at the isthmus abandoned Emīn Giray and joined Devlet Giray as soon as he captured the capital. Similarly, Sahib Giray's tribal forces abandoned him when they arrived at Taman. In the court, Sahib Giray's infant sons and grandsons were all murdered by the begs. Sahib Giray's last hope was to go to Istanbul and convince the sultan of his loyalty (L, 188). But before he could depart, the Janissaries and artillery forces also abandoned him at Taman, enabling Bölek Giray, son of Ṣafā, who had been released from prison by Devlet Giray, to find and kill him. Remmāl added that once his position on the throne was secured, Devlet Giray executed seven of the Shirin begs to avenge the blood of Sahib Giray and his sons (L, 201). The act was dictated by the vendetta rules of Turco-Mongol pastoralist society.

Following events closely, Ivan IV cleverly exploited the Crimean crisis so as to impose his ally, Shāh-'Alī, for a second time on the throne of Kazan in 1551. Then, in March 1552, he attempted, without success, to place Kazan under a Muscovite governor. That spring, the Crimean army under Devlet Giray I set out against Moscow; it was defeated before the fortress of Tula on 22 June 1552. The tsar, who had left his capital five days earlier, was en route to invade Kazan. The Muscovite army, with an artillery corps having about 150 pieces under experts from the West, captured the city of Kazan on 2 October 1552. This turn of events was undoubtedly a surprise for the Ottomans.[42]

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[42] About the fall of Kazan, see Hadi Atlasi, *Kazan Hanlıghı* (Kazan, 1920), pp. 134–54; E. Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan, 1445–1552: A Study in Steppe Politics" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1965); idem, "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks," pp. 548–58; Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*; D. C. Matuszewski, "Peresvetov and the Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972). For the Ottoman and Crimean policies toward Russia after 1552, see H. Inalcik, "The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry and the Don-Volga Canal (1569)," *Annales de l'Université d'Ankara* 1 (1947):47–110; and Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Grande Horde Nogay," p. 222.

Unfortunately, I was not able to consult B. F. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466–1532," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 3 (September 1978):282–309, which appeared after the completion of this article.

The Holy War (*jihād*) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire

GY. KÁLDY-NAGY

As far as is known, the first Muslim ruler to come from among the Turkic peoples was Qarakhānid Satuq Bughra Khan (d. 959), who adopted the Islamic name ʻAbd al-Karīm. Around 1025, the Seljuks, who had been converted to Islam at the end of the tenth century, were still in the service of the Qarakhānid rulers near Bukhara.[1] According to some historians, the conversion of the Turkic peoples to Islam, which encouraged them to launch holy wars (*jihād*s), was of considerable help in their overrunning of the Middle East.[2] However, at Dandanqan in 1040, the Seljuks, commanded by Toghrïl Beg Muhammad, defeated the army of the Ghaznavids, who were also Muslims;[3] religious motives hardly suffice to explain that turn of events.

According to the original dogmatic interpretation of the term, the *jihād* was a collective obligation of the Islamic community that was intended to ensure two things: (1) that there be a sufficient number of volunteer believers to fill the military ranks in holy wars against non-Muslims; and (2) that all believers take up arms against non-Muslims who raided Muslim territory.[4] It was the caliph's right to declare a *jihād* and to permit mobilization for it. From the time of the Fāṭimids' attempt to seize a leading role in the Islamic community (909), enforcing the decisions of the rival Sunnite and Shīʻite caliphs within divided Islam depended on the political situation. The rivalry between the Sunnite and Shīʻite caliphs is

[1] O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam* 31 (1953–54): 17–68; see also idem, "Kara-Hanlılar," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6 (Istanbul, 1955), pp. 251–73.
[2] August Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1885–87), 2: 53–54.
[3] Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden"; see also B. N. Zahoder (Zakhoder), "Dendanekan," *Belleten* 18 (1954): 581–87.
[4] On the *jihād*, see M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (London, 1955); A. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum: Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Bonn, 1966); E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade: Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968).

well illustrated by the agreement in 996 between the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz (975–996) and the emperor of Byzantium Basil II (976–1025); it stipulated that the mosque in Constantinople be restored and that al-ʿAzīz's name, rather than that of the Sunnite ʿAbbāsid caliph, be included in the *khuṭba* there every Friday.[5]

In reality, the secular power of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs had been in decline ever since their seat, Baghdad, was occupied by the Shīʿite Būyids in 945. A contemporary, al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048), wrote: "What was left in the hands of the ʿAbbāsid caliph was only a matter that concerned religion and dogmatic belief, since he was not capable of exercising any authority in the affairs of the world whatsoever."[6] Their moral prestige was reestablished by Toghrïl Beg Muḥammad, who marched into Baghdad and toppled the Būyids' 110-year-old regime in 1055. For the Seljuks, the victory brought not only territorial gains. A more significant result was that, having been liberated from the guardianship of the Shīʿite Būyids, the Sunnite caliph al-Qāʾim, with all due solemnity and in keeping with the traditional rules of the investiture, conferred upon Toghrïl Beg the title of sultan, or "King of the East and the West."[7] A few years later, in 1062, in order to strengthen his ties with the Sunnite community, Toghrïl Beg even married al-Qāʾim's daughter.[8] However, he did not allow the caliphate's secular power to grow much more than the Būyids had.

The Seljuk state founded by Toghrïl Beg and the various nomadic Turkish tribes living around it soon made several attacks on the Christian population of the Byzantine Empire, especially after the Battle of Malazgird (Manzikert) in 1071. These attacks, however, were not always explainable by a religious commitment to the *jihād,* since several of the Turkic commanders had only very loose ties, if any, with Islam. For example, the Turkic emir Artuq, with his booty-seeking army, advanced

[5] S. Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)* (Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 9–10. The agreement concluded at this time was renewed in 1027; see ibid., and F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453* [= pt. 1], and pt. 2: *Regesten von 1025–1204* (Munich and Berlin, 1925), 1: no. 824.

[6] Thomas W. Arnold and Sylvia G. Haim, *The Caliphate* (London, 1967), pp. 72–73.

[7] B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit: Politik, Kultur, Verwaltung und öffentliches Leben zwischen der arabischen und der seldschukischen Eroberung, 663 bis 1055* (Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 124–29; and H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig: Die Buyiden im Iraq (945–1055)* (Beirut, 1969), pp. 121–24 and 215–17. Shortly thereafter, at the end of the year 1058, the Buyids' chief commander captured Baghdad once more, but Toghrïl Beg retook the city in January 1060, and restored the caliph al-Qāʾim to his residence once and for all; see Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig,* pp. 125–27.

[8] See G. Makdisi, "The Marriage of Tughril Beg," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (1970): 259–75.

into the Byzantine Empire as far as Bithynia. In 1073, Michael VII (1071–78) asked for Artuq's help in arresting a rebellious Norman mercenary, Roussel of Bailleul. Artuq soon captured Roussel, but released him for ransom before the emperor's men could arrive and take him into custody.[9] "Artuq" is a Turkish, not a Muslim, name. Of Artuq's nine sons, seven — Soqman, Siyavush, Inal, Alp-Yaruq, Beg-Tash, Alatash and Artuq's successor Ilghazi — were also given Turkic names. Only one son had an Arabic name, 'Abd al-Jabbār, and another, a Persian name, Bahrām. The use of old Turkic names by members of the Artuq dynasty is remarkable because members of the Saltuq and Mengüjek dynasties, which were founded in the same period, took Muslim names immediately.[10] Another emir who had an old Turkic, i.e., non-Muslim, name was Tutaq. He, too, became known for his raids in Asia Minor, but today his name is preserved only in some Greek historical sources.[11]

Even today scholars of Seljuk and Ottoman history generally believe that members of the Turkic tribes that came over to Asia Minor were all devout Muslims, imbued with the fighting spirit of the *jihād*. Recently, this view has probably been most categorically expressed by Halil Inalcik:

> The ideal of gazâ, Holy War, was an important factor in the foundation and development of the Ottoman state. Society in the frontier principalities conformed to a particular cultural pattern, imbued with the ideal of continuous Holy War and continuous expansion of the *Dârülislâm* — the realms of Islam — until they covered the whole world.[12]

[9] S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971), p. 107; Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, trans., with introduction and annotations, by P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975), pp. 176–80.

[10] O. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk devletleri tarihi* (Istanbul, 1973); in connection with the Artuq dynasty, the author included a short chapter on religious life (pp. 224–28), but there he did not discuss either the adoption of Islam or the origin of the names at issue. Old Turkic male and female names are listed in alphabetical order by Riza Nur, *Türk tarihi*, vol. 12 (Istanbul, 1926), pp. 259–80.

[11] Bryennios, *Histoire*, pp. 186–88; Anne Comnene, *Alexiade*, trans. by Bernard Leib, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Paris, 1967), pp. 11–14. It should be noted, however, that in the French translation Leib consistently transliterated Tutaq's name as "Toutoch" — i.e., he identified it with the name "Tutush." He was probably unfamiliar with the Turkish "Tutaq," although there are several clear instances of "Toutakh" in the Greek text; the same form was used also by Nicéphore Bryennios in his *Histoire*. Leib's error has already been pointed out by Ibrahim Kafesoğlu, in his *Sultan Melikşah devrinde büyük selçuklu imparatorluğu* (Istanbul, 1953), p. 68.

[12] H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London, 1973), p. 6. The same view is expressed in another recent study by Inalcik: "In Asia as in Europe, the *ghazā* was the main factor in Ottoman expansion." See "The Emergence of the Ottomans," in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. by P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and B. Lewis, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1970), p. 291.

Though Ertughrul had a *jāmi'* (mosque) at Söğüt, its area (36 square meters)[13] was scarcely suitable for propagating the idea of *jihād* among many believers. But there are other reasons for hypothesizing that Ertughrul and his sons were only loosely attached to Islam. Ertughrul himself, his two brothers, Göndoghdu and Sunqur, and his two sons, Gündüz and Savji, had old Turkic, i.e., non-Muslim names.[14] Also, some notable research has determined that Osman's original name was "Ataman," which is also Turkic.[15] The appropriate question here, then, is: to what extent was Osman — though no longer a pagan — actually imbued with the spirit of Islam when he gave the name "Orkhan," Turkic in origin rather than Islamic, to several of his sons, including his successor to the throne? In dealing with this question, we should keep in mind that several of Osman's most prominent supporters — e.g., Qonur Alp, Aqche Qoja, and Samsa Chavush — also had Turkic rather than Islamic names.

The relevant Turkic sources of a descriptive character, which use the words *ghazā* or *jihād* in connection with nearly every battle, reflect the attitude of a later period. The later chroniclers, meditating upon religion, often saw religiousness where there was none and referred to their ancestors' military activity as "holy wars" for the faith. In contrast to the Turkic descriptive sources, the travelogue of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Brusa and Iznik at the end of 1331 (in Iznik he spent forty days) does not mention the *medrese*s founded by the Turks there,[16] although the traveler generally remarked on anything related to Islam. Paul Wittek, probably basing himself on the Turkic chroniclers but not referring to his source, wrote: "Immediately after the conquest of Brusa and Nicaea, schools of theology

[13] E. H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul mimârî çağının menşe'i: Osmanlı mimarısının ilk devri* (Istanbul, 1966), pp. 2–3; G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), pp. 15–16.

[14] This has already been pointed out by F. Babinger, "Der Islam in Kleinasien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76 (1922): 126–52. Especially noteworthy in this connection is what Faruk Demirtaş wrote: "Eğer ilk Osmanlı'lar, bir Avrupalı alimin iddia ettiği gibi, gaziler'den müteşekkil bir zümre olsalardı, ekseriyetle taşıdıkları milli adlar yerine koyu müslüman isimleri almaları laz'im gelecekti." See his "Osmanlı devrinde Anadolu'da Kayılar," *Belleten* 12 (1948): 602.

[15] Gy. Moravcsik, "Türk tarihin bakımından Bizans kaynaklarının ehemmiyeti," in *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: İstanbul 20–25 Eylül 1937* (Istanbul, 1943), pp. 483–98. The idea that Osman's name could be identical with the Turkic name "Azman" had been raised earlier but was rejected by Friedrich Giese; see "Das Problem der Entstehung des osmanischen Reiches," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 2 (1924): 241. Both studies were dealt with, but without any definitive stand being taken, by H. A. Erzi, "Osmanlı Devletinin kurucusunun ismi meselesi," *Türkiyât Mecmuası* 7–8 (1940–42): 323–26.

[16] H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325–1354,* vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 451–54.

(*medreses*) were erected in these towns. This proves that the *ulema* had already acquired a strong position in the Ottoman state."[17] Of course, it is possible that the *medreses* did exist at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit, but that they were not significant enough for him to mention them.

'Ashïqpashazāde is a characteristic representative of the religious attitudes of the fifteenth-century chronicler in that, when describing the many *ghazās* in connection with Bayezid I's conquests, he questioned whether Bayezid Khan occupied the countries by force or by right. The fact is that the countries just then conquered, such as Menteshe and Sarukhan, were Muslim states. Of course the answer of a subject of the sultan to such a question could be none other than that the conquest was rightful because the overthrown rulers of those countries oppressed the people.[18]

The Turks attacked non-Muslims and Muslims alike. Yet, when warring against Muslim states, they occasionally needed more help from the Islamic community in influencing the masses of their subjects than when warring against Christian states. Thus, for instance, when Selim I wanted to launch his first military campaign against Persia and sought to justify his attack, he demanded a legal opinion (*fetva*) from the *sheykhülislām* and the *ulema* (doctors of Muslim canon law), whom he summoned to discuss the issue. They, however, did not dare actually to set it down in writing. In the end the sultan had the *fetva* written by a member of the *ulema* called Hamza, who declared that the *qïzïlbashes* — i.e., Shī'ite Muslims — were infidels (*kāfirler*) who could be killed without sin. When Selim I turned against Egypt, he also had a *fetva* prepared, this time by the effendi Zenbili 'Alī Jemāl, to justify the decision to his subjects.[19] This was especially important because the head of the Sunnite community at that time, the caliph Mutawakkil, had his seat at the court of the Mameluke sultan in Cairo.

In both cases the sultan's only purpose in obtaining the *fetvas* from the *ulema* was to convince the Muslim believers of the righteousness of the wars he began. No *fetva* was needed for a war against Christians. Not even a *jihād* had to be declared, probably because it had no significance for the people. For example, no trace of a declaration of *jihād* can be found in the several letters, summoning their recipients to war, that Süleyman wrote in the autumn of 1565, when he was preparing to move

17 P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire,* 2nd ed. (London, 1958), p. 42.
18 *'Ashiqpāshāzāde tāriḫi* (Istanbul, 1332/1914), pp. 66–67.
19 S. Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim* (Ankara, 1969), pp. 34–36, 120.

against Hungary.[20] After occupying Cairo, Selim I had the caliph Mutawakkil taken to Istanbul, but neither he nor his successors were able to use the caliph's spiritual and secular power for their own political purposes.

We have few data concerning Ottoman religiousness. But we do know, from the account of Georgius de Hungaria, who was held captive in Turkey for twenty years (1438–58), that irreligiosity was occasionally punished:

> The Turks have judges as well, who declare infamous all those persons who have been denounced to them for neglect of prayers. Such persons are taken round the town with a tablet hanging from their necks and fox-tails hanging from the tablet, and are fined, especially if they have neglected praying in a period of fasting.[21]

According to archival sources, in 1566 the *dizdār* of a castle was dismissed and sent to Istanbul under armed guard for swearing.[22]

In the Ottoman Empire a great number of pious foundations (*vaqif*s) were established in connection with the church — e.g., *jāmi'*s, *medrese*s, *zaviye*s — from which it might be concluded that the number of orthodox Muslims was indeed large. However, Ömer Lûtfi Barkan has already pointed out that such acts of piety were often motivated by personal considerations rather than by religious feelings.[23] In establishing the foundations, many people stipulated that they would not give up possession of their bequested property during their lifetime, and, often, that even their descendants should have a fixed percentage of the profits thereof. This was a way to save at least part of one's goods from the sultan's frequent confiscation of private property, though even the pious foundations were sometimes not spared.

When the sultans called their troops to a *jihād,* so many people lacked the religious commitment and sense of duty necessary to undertake the holy war that severe punishment had to be threatened against those who did not participate. This was especially true of timar-holders, who were often reluctant to leave their peaceful homes for the uncertain hope of booty. For these reasons a muster-roll (*yoklama defteri*) was made of the persons who took part in each campaign. As for the have-nots and paid soldiers, it was primarily the prospect of booty, and not their commitment to the cause of the holy war, that made them participate.

20 See Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defterleri, no. 5.

21 Georgius de Hungaria, *Tractatus de moribus, condicionibus et nequicia turcorum* (Rome, 1480).

22 See the sultan's instruction to the sanjakbegi of Požega in January 1566, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defterleri no. 5.

23 Ö. L. Barkan, "Şer'î miras hukuku ve evlatlık vakıflar," *Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası* 6, no. 1 (1940): 165–81.

The goal of the Turkic military campaigns — whether *jihād*s or *ghazā*s — was not everyone's conversion to Islam. If this had really happened in the occupied countries, no one would have been eligible for the *jizya*-tax, which could be levied only on non-Muslims and which amounted to nearly one-fifth of the total income of the empire in 1525.[24] Besides, the child-tithes (*devshirme*), which constituted the basis for the bringing up new generations of janissaries, could be levied only upon conquered nations that had not been converted to Islam. The Christian children collected for this purpose were forcibly converted to Islam. Otherwise, as Georgius de Hungaria put it: "The Turks do not compel anyone to renounce his faith, do not try hard to persuade anyone, and do not have a great opinion of renegades."[25]

It seems, then, that the picture drawn by later generations of the ideological struggle between European Christendom and the Muslim Ottoman world is far-fetched.[26] In the course of investigating such matters it has often been forgotten that Christian countries sought to ally themselves with the Muslim Persians against the Ottomans, or that Christian France entered into alliance with the Muslim Ottomans against the Christian Habsburgs. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the Turks' attacks upon Europe as stemming from a hatred of Christianity fanned by the spirit of Islam.

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24 Ö. L. Barkan, "H. 933–934 (M. 1527–1528) Malî yılına ait bir bütçe örneği," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953–1954): 286; on the date of this treasury account, cf. "Suleimans Angriff auf Europa," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 18 (1974): 170–71.

25 de Hungaria, *Tractatus*.

26 Of the many studies dealing with the ideological struggle between Islam and Christianity, two that are thoughtful and unusual deserve special attention: H. J. Kissling, "Türkenfurcht und Türkenhoffnung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Zur Geschichte eines 'Komplexes,'" *Südost-Forschung* 23 (1964): 1–18; and C. Göllner, "Zur Problematik der Kreuzzüge und der Türkenkriege im 16. Jahrhundert," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 13 (1975): 93–115.

Ivan Ohienko (Metropolitan Ilarion) as Bookman and Book Collector: The Years in the Western Ukraine and Poland*

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Between 1918 and 1939 a number of intellectuals in Poland and Galicia were concerned with the history and development of the Ukrainian printed book.[1] The most prominent of these men were Evhen Iu. Pelens'kyi (1908–1956), editor of *Ukrains'ka knyha* (1937–43), Ilarion Sventsits'kyi (1876–1956), director of the National Museum in Lviv, the bibliographical theorist Lev Bykovs'kyi (b. 1895), and the bibliographer and librarian Volodymyr Doroshenko (1879–1952).[2] However, they addressed themselves to specific aspects of the subject, and none was able to synthesize the long history of the Ukrainian printed book. Only Ivan Ohienko (1882–1971), learned philologist, teacher, statesman, bookman, and bibliophile, was successful in this endeavor.[3] His major contribution to

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1 Petro Zlenko, "Ohliad knyhoznavchykh doslidiv," *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva,* vol. I (Munich and New York, 1949), pp. 1006–1008.

2 See especially Joanna Grabowska, *Leona Bykowskiego koncepcjia ksiegoznawstwa i bibliotekoznawstwa,* 2nd ed. (Wrocław, 1974); and Stepan Mykyta, *Volodymyr Doroshenko: Z nahody 75-richchia vyznachnoho vchenoho i hromadianyna* (Philadelphia, 1955).

3 Ohienko was born to a peasant family in the town of Brusyliv, Radomyshl' district, Kiev province. In the spring of 1904, Ohienko completed his studies at the historical-philological section of the university, submitting a thesis on the rhetorics of Galiatovs'kyi. At this time he was also a contributor to the *Zapysky* of the Ukrainian Scholarly Society in Kiev (*Ukrains'ke naukove tovarstvo v Kyievi*). He began his pedagogical career at the Kiev Commercial Secondary School shortly thereafter. In the following years, he taught at the Kiev gymnasium (1914), the Kiev Higher Pedagogical Institute (1910–1912), Kiev University (1915), the Kam"ianets'-Podil's'kyi Ukrainian State University (1918–1920), and the Orthodox Theological Faculty of Warsaw University (1926–1932).

Ukrainian book studies, *Istoriia ukrains'koho drukarstva* (Lviv, 1925), and his extraordinary library, which he bequeathed to St. Andrew's College of the University of Manitoba, are the focus of this brief essay.[4]

Ivan Ohienko was well trained for his work. Awarded a diploma (*matura*) from the Ostrih Gymnasium in May 1903, he enrolled at Kiev University to study Slavic philology under the direction of academician Volodymyr Peretts (1870–1935). The Peretts seminar was then justifiably famous as a major center for the study of the literature of old Rus' and Muscovy. Especially noteworthy was its emphasis on archaeography, paleography, and textology.[5] Influenced by Peretts and the other members of

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During the short period of Ukrainian statehood, Ohienko served as both minister of education (1918–1919) and minister of confessions (1919–1924). In Poland he played an important role in the life of the Orthodox community. On the eve of World War II, he headed the Orthodox Church Council, which included Metropolitan Paladii (Vydybida-Rudenko, 1891–1971), M. Sadovs'kyi (1887–1967), A. Nesterenko, V. Ditel', Iurii Lypa (1900–1944), and S. Sim"iantsiv.

On 19 May 1937, Ohienko's wife of more than thirty years, Dominika Lytvynchukova (b. 1882), died after a prolonged illness. In spring 1940 Protopresbyter Ivan Levchuk, acting on behalf of the Kholm (Chełm)-Podlachian Consistory, invited Ohienko to become bishop. Other appointments followed in rapid succession. In early October he was ordained a monk and was elevated to archimandrite (assuming the name of Ilarion) by Metropolitan Dionysii (Valedyns'kyi, 1876–1960) and later that month, he was named a bishop. Finally, on 16 March 1944, he became metropolitan. The Soviet occupation forced Ilarion to leave his diocese; on 18 July 1944, he was evacuated along with the other administrators. By 30 April 1945, after a long and dangerous hegira, he arrived in Lausanne, Switzerland, where he remained until 1947. In September of that year he went to Winnipeg, there becoming metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox church of Canada and dean of the Faculty of Theology at St. Andrew's College.

The most recent biographical studies of Ohienko are A. Nesterenko, *Mytropolyt Ilarion, sluzhytel' Bohovi i narodovi: Biohrafichna monohrafiia* (Winnipeg, 1958), and *Iuvileina knyha na poshanu Mytropolyta Ilariona u 75-littia ioho zhyttia i pratsi, 1882–1957* (Winnipeg, 1958). Other collections in honor of Ohienko were published in 1925, 1937, 1950, and 1952. Bibliographically most complete is the work by Ivan Korovyts'kyi, *Naukovyi zbirnyk v 30 richnytsiu naukovoi pratsi Prof. D-ra Ivana Ohienka* (Warsaw, 1937); it lists the more than twenty-five titles that Ohienko published on bibliographical themes.

4 *Istoriia ukrains'koho drukarstva*, vol. 1: *Istorychno-bibliohrafichnyi ohliad ukrains'koho drukarstva XV-XVIII vv.* (= *Zbirnyk Filolohichnoi sektsii Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka,* vols. 19, 20, 21) (Lviv, 1925); hereafter cited as *Istoriia.* The afterword contained a prospectus for the volumes which were to follow. Volume two was to be devoted to the Ukrainian book during the fifteenth to eighteenth century; volumes three and four were to contain a description of all books printed on Ukrainian territory, with prefaces and bibliographies; volumes five and six were to contain historical documents about the Ukrainian book; volume seven was to be an album with illustrations.

5 The findings of the Peretts seminar between 1903 and 1914 were published in the Kiev *Universitetskie izvestiia* under the rubric *Otchet ob èkskursii seminara russkoi filologii.* See also *Seminarii russkoi filologii pri imp. Universitete sv. Vladimira pod*

the seminar — Oleksandr A. Nazarevs'kyi (b. 1887), Mykola K. Hudzii (1887–1965), and Igor P. Eremin (1904–1963) — Ohienko devoted his earliest studies to the printing and textology of works by Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi (d. 1688).[6]

Ohienko's study of the Ukrainian book was also influenced by other activities in the years immediately preceding World War I. He taught Ukrainian at several Kiev institutions of higher learning, and he became exceedingly interested in the history of the Ukrainian literary language and in the Ukrainian vernacular. His *Ukrains'ka kul'tura* (Kiev, 1918) was one of the first books to be published during the period of Ukrainian statehood. He was also involved in the revitalization of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, one of whose basic tenets was the use of the Ukrainian vernacular in the liturgy.

Ohienko's strong philological and paleographical training, as well as his specific knowledge of the development of the Ukrainian literary language and of ecclesiastical life, served him well when he undertook to write a history of the old Ukrainian book. These books were predominantly religious in nature.[7] His specialized book collections and his libraries in Kiev and in Kam"ianets'-Podil's'kyi aided and enriched his research.[8] These libraries, unfortunately, do not survive.

In 1924 Ohienko went to Lviv to accept a teaching position at the Seminary of the Basilian Sisters. It was a significant year in the history of Ukrainian book printing — the 350th anniversary of the appearance of the first dated book in the Ukraine, the Lviv *Apostol* of 1574. Ukrainian scholars in Galicia marked the occasion by devoting several issues of the journal *Stara Ukraina* (1924–25) to the pioneer printer Ivan Fedorovych

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rukovodstvom professora V. N. Perettsa: Pervoe piatiletie (Kiev, 1912); and *Seminarii russkoi filologii akademika V. N. Perettsa: Uchastniki seminariia — svoemu rukovoditeliu* (Leningrad, 1929).

6 *Izdaniia "Neba novogo" Ioannikiia Galiatovskogo, iuzhnorusskogo propovednika XVII veka: Iz istorii staropechatnykh knig* (Kiev, 1912); one version appeared previously in *Iskusstvo, zhivopis', grafika, khudozhestvennaia pechat'*, no. 11 (Kiev, 1911), pp. 449–61; also cf. Ohienko's "Stikhotvoreniia I. Galiatovskogo 'Nebo Novoe' i 'Zvezda Presvetlaia'," in *Otchet ob èkspeditsii seminara russkoi filologii v S.-Peterburge 13–18 fevralia 1911 goda* (Kiev, 1912), pp. 37–38.

7 For a discussion of some problems of the old Ukrainian book, see E. Kasinec, "Jaroslav Isajevyč as Historian of the Ukrainian Book," *Recenzija* 5, no. 1 (Fall–Winter 1974): 12–24.

8 These are alluded to in Fedir Onufriichuk, *Knyhozbirnia Mytropolyta Ilariona* (Winnipeg, 1963).

(1525–1583); they also staged exhibitions and published a volume entitled *Pochatky knyhopechatannia na zemliakh Ukrainy* (Lviv, 1924).[9]

The anniversary was important to Ohienko, but it was only one factor among those that led to the publication of his *Istoriia*. By that time he had acquired considerable knowledge about the old Ukrainian printed book. He was at a point in his career when a synthesizing work on the subject was intellectually and professionally appropriate. Moreover, for a man of Ohienko's strong national feelings, the political importance of such a work was obvious. The history he published in 1925 was not only the first attempt at a complete synthesis of what was known about the subject, but also the first departure from a Russo-centered interpretation of the history of East Slavic book printing. It preceded the efforts of Belorussian scholars who undertook a similar effort in 1926 and provided a counterbalance to Soviet Ukrainian works.[10] Ohienko later published many shorter studies on the old Ukrainian printed book, but these reflected the data and ideas set forth in the *Istoriia*.[11]

The *Istoriia* begins with Ohienko's announcement that he intends to use the history of Ukrainian book printing as an example of the important Ukrainian contribution to the development of East Slavic culture.[12] In the difficult political circumstances in which Ukrainians then found themselves this message was especially welcome, and his narrative is at times

[9] Ohienko contributed the following bibliographical articles to *Stara Ukraina*: "Dovkola namohyl'noho kaminia Ivana Khvedorovycha," pts. 1–2 (1925), pp. 29–30; "Ivan Khvedorovych u naukovi literaturi (1704–1924): Bibliohrafichnyi narys," pts. 2–5 (1924), pp. 62–74; "Ivan Khvedorovych, fundator postiinoho drukarstva na Ukraini: Zhyttia i diial'nist'," pts. 2–5 (1924), pp. 21–34; "Spomyny kn. K. K. Ostrizhs'koho pro vydannia Biblii 1581 r.: Vaha peredmov do nashykh starodrukiv," pts. 9–10 (1924), pp. 132–34.

[10] *Chatyrokhsotletetstse Belaruskaha druku (1525–1925)* (Minsk, 1926). Scholars of the Ukrainian Scholarly Institute of Bibliology in Kiev celebrated this event by devoting an entire issue of their *Bibliolohichni visty* (1923–1930) to the old Ukrainian printed book. In addition, a major exhibit was mounted under the direction of Ohienko's critic Serhii Maslov, and several other publications on the subject appeared, by Maslov, Pavlo Popov, and Olena Maslova. E. Kasinec, "Iu. O. Ivaniv-Mezhenko (1892–1969) as a Bibliographer during his Years in Kiev, 1919–1933," *Journal of Library History* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 1–20.

[11] For example, "Pochatok drukarstva v Unevi," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 141–143 (1926): 1–20. Other articles were published in the following rare serial publications: *Dukhovnaia besida* (Warsaw, 1924–1935), *Litopys'* (Berlin, 1923–1924), and *Nash svit* (Warsaw, 1925; Luc'k, 1931–1936).

[12] "[Such a history] would display and indicate the ecumenical strength and importance of our old culture, which was so clearly made manifest precisely in our printing." *Istoriia*, p. 3.

actually romantic in its personification of the Ukraine.[13] The work contains nine major chapters, each of which deals chronologically with the development of printing in areas of the Ukraine, including Galicia, Volhynia, and the Eastern Ukraine. Within each chapter printers are treated chronologically, first in a short narrative, and then with a listing of secondary literature. At times Ohienko departs from the narrative-bibliographical approach and simply publishes documents dealing with a particular printer, as he does with Fedorovych.[14] In this respect the *Istoriia* clearly anticipates recent Soviet Ukrainian collections.[15]

The museums and libraries of Lviv provided Ohienko ample material for studying both the monuments of early Ukrainian printing and the descriptive secondary literature. The *Istoriia* is a mine of bibliographical information on the old Ukrainian book. The libraries and archives of the Ossolineum, the Monastery of St. Onufrii, and the Stauropegial Institute were used extensively by the author.[16]

As a result of his training in Slavic philology, Ohienko sometimes provided his readers with penetrating insights. He is probably correct in stating, for example, that the sixteenth-century man saw Fedorovych as an ecumenical figure in the history of East Slavic printing, a figure in the tradition of Schweifolt Veyl and Frantishek Skaryna.[17] The author also gives us a good sense of the modest size of the early East Slavic publishing houses.[18] Old and rare literary texts he described with great thoroughness.[19] He also dealt with many of the lesser known figures in the history of Ukrainian and Belorussian printing, among them Gedeon Balaban, Iosyf Shumlians'kyi, and Mykhailo Rohoza.[20]

The *Istoriia* reflects the unsettled circumstances in which it was written and published. Some of Ohienko's statements concerning the relationship between the manuscript and the printed book cannot be proved.[21] In

[13] "Old Ukraine, having brought to itself book printing, quickly became convinced of its great educative role. . . ." *Istoriia*, p. 2.
[14] *Istoriia*, pp. 38–55.
[15] Many of these, however, neglect to cite Ohienko's work. For a discussion, see E. Kasinec, "Recent Ukrainian Bibliological Publications: A Brief Survey of Monographs and Archaeographic Collections," *Recenzija* 7, no. 2 (Spring–Summer 1977): 29–38.
[16] In addition, Ohienko cites the Baworowski collection in Lviv, the archives of the Derman' monastery, and many published sources not easily available in the West. *Istoriia*, pp. 71, 190, 255, 373.
[17] *Istoriia*, p. 76.
[18] *Istoriia*, p. 84.
[19] *Istoriia*, p. 212.
[20] *Istoriia*, pp. 113–15.
[21] For example, he states, without adducing any evidence, that "until the eighteenth-century the manuscript book was less expensive than the printed. Trust of a well-written book was greater." *Istoriia*, p. 33.

certain cases his logic is questionable: he attempts, for example, to draw an analogy between Veyl in Cracow and Skaryna in Vilnius and thereby to show the ancient lineage of Ukrainian book printing.[22] He occasionally overemphasizes — ironically, for a man who was later to become a bishop — the importance of secularized printing and culture.[23]

Furthermore, Ohienko was certainly indiscriminate in his selection of bibliographical references. Material solely of historical interest is listed along with works of scholarly importance.[24] The editing and typography of the work are faulty,[25] but this may be indicative of the diminishing resources of the Shevchenko Scientific Society after World War I.

Although Ohienko's other works on the old Ukrainian book fall short of the *Istoriia,* they, too, played a positive role in the furthering of Ukrainian book studies. Ohienko was responsible for uncovering over one hundred copies of the so-called Luts'kyi Synod (1638) in the Warsaw Public Library. According to him, this text was a reprint of an earlier version which had appeared in Niesviazh (Slutsk county, Minsk district).[26] Ohienko was also first to describe the Krekhiv *Apostol,* which had been discovered by another scholar.[27] Finally, in his methodological writings on old Ukrainian books and manuscripts, Ohienko not only raised important issues, but also enriched the Ukrainian scholarly vocabulary in this field by writing in his native language.[28]

Ohienko's contribution to Ukrainian book culture went beyond his bibliographical writings. Along with his younger contemporaries Iurii Mezhenko, Olexander Bilets'kyi, Mykhailo Bazansky, and Bohdan Kraw-

22 *Istoriia,* p. 2; also cf. p. 360, where Ohienko reverses his view and states that Veyl was a resident of Neustadt.

23 *Istoriia,* p. 2. This is perhaps because of his interest in the vernacular language of secular imprints.

24 *Istoriia,* pp. 7, 63, 64, where he lists popular articles from the Prosvita calendars, encyclopaedia articles, and general histories.

25 *Istoriia,* pp. 12–14, 18, 22–24, 26, 57, 65, and 279, which contain repetitions, incomplete citations, and typographical errors. Ohienko also transliterated Russian surnames as though they were Ukrainian (pp. 63, 215).

26 "Zahublenyi krem"ianets'kyi starodruk 'Synod luts'kyi 1638 r.,'" *Elpis* 5 (1931): 86–95.

27 "Les épitres des Apôtres de Krechiv datant de la 7-iême décade du XVI-e siècle," in *Sborník prací I. Sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze, 1929* pt. 2: *Přednášky* (Prague, 1932), pp. 897–99.

28 "Prohram opysu kyrylivs'kykh starodrukiv," *Knyholiub* 1–2 (1932): 11–31; *Prohram opysu kyrylivs'kykh starodrukiv: Dlia vzhytku paleohrafichnoho seminara* (Warsaw, 1931); "Iak opysuvaty rukopysy: Metodolohichno-krytychni uvahy," *Byzantinoslavica* 4 (1932): 190–94; "Naholos iako metod oznachennia mistsia vykhodu starodrukovanykh knyzhok: Zamitky z istorii naholosu na posluhakh paleotypii," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 136–137 (1925): 197–224; "Zahal'nyi kataloh kyrylivs'kykh rukopisiv," *Byzantinoslavica* 4 (1932): 210–11.

ciw, Ohienko was one of the outstanding Ukrainian bibliophiles of this century. Fortunately for the researcher, a significant part of the library he collected in Warsaw and Kholm survived his emigration from Europe and was shipped to Canada with the assistance of the British and Foreign Bible Society.[29] Today it constitutes almost 60 percent of the collections of St. Andrew's College.[30] Unfortunately, the Ohienko library is as yet uncatalogued. The sole general guide to it is a small pamphlet published in 1963 by Fedir Onufriichuk;[31] more recently, Iraida Gerus-Tarnawecky has described its old manuscript and printed books.[32] Onufriichuk's work takes a shortsighted view of the relationship of the Ohienko library to other Slavica collections in North America. Thus, admittedly valuable but not necessarily rare serials such as *Arkhiv Russkoi revoliutsii, Izvestiia Imperatorskoi akademii nauk,* and *Bogoslovskii glasnik* are mentioned prominently, whereas rarer Ukrainian publications are ignored. The rapid growth of Ukrainian studies in recent years and the concomitant need for sources make it imperative that funding be obtained for a full inventory and catalogue of the library. Here, it is possible only to indicate the general strengths of the collection and to point out some of its most striking titles.

According to Onufriichuk, before the collection was transferred to St. Andrew's it was organized into the following categories: (1) rare books and manuscripts, (2) history, (3) literature (world, European, modern Ukrainian), (4) linguistics, philosophy, and economics, (5) the Bible and liturgical works, (6) reference works, (7) Ukrainian church history and canon law, and (8) book studies. The collection still retains these general contours. Today the Ohienko collection numbers approximately 22,050, excluding the approximately 2,500 volumes not yet unpacked. Many items are also bound as pamphlets, and titles by Drahomaniv, Hrushevs'kyi and Vyshnia exist in multiple copies.

As one might expect, Ohienko's collection mirrors his career. Among its rarest items is the *Vistnyk* of the Ministry of Confessions of the Ukrainian National Republic (Kiev, 1920). There are also copies of Ohienko's works on religion and bibliography published in Tarnów,

[29] I am grateful to Professor Mulyk-Lutsyk for this information.
[30] For a recent discussion of the collection as a whole, see B. Budurowycz, "St. Andrew's College," in *Slavic and East European Resources in Canadian Academic and Research Libraries* (Ottawa, 1976), pp. 117–20.
[31] Onufriichuk, *Knyhozbirnia Mytropolyta Ilariona.*
[32] Iraida Gerus-Tarnawecky, "Cyrillica Canadiana: Cyrillic Manuscripts in Canada," in O. Baran, O. V. Gerus, and Ia. Rozumnyi, eds., *Iuvileinyi zbirnyk Ukrains'koi vil'noi akademii nauk v Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1976), pp. 588–621.

Warsaw, and Kholm. The serial holdings were undoubtedly built, at least in part, on exchanges of the journals Ohienko edited — *Nasha kul'tura* (1935–1937) and *Ridna mova* (1933–1939) — with those of other publishing houses. Ohienko's prominent reputation as a bibliophile, scholar, and religious leader probably induced many of his well-wishers to send him gifts of books and serial publications. Since Ohienko displayed a catholic interest in all aspects of Ukrainian culture, both religious and secular, it is not surprising that West Ukrainian and émigré imprints on religious and political affairs dominate the collection. Soviet Ukrainian works, on the other hand, are poorly represented.

Undoubtedly the rarest serial title is *Osnova* (St. Petersburg, 1861–1862), of which there is a virtually complete file.[33] Among other serials in the collection are *Nauka* (Lviv, 1906); *Nasha shkola* (Lviv, 1909–1911, 1914); *Nedilia* (Lviv, 1911); the Greek Catholic Consistory's *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosty* (Lviv, 1896–1907, 1909–1911); Prosvita's *Pys'mo* (Lviv, 1910–1914) and *Svit* (Lviv, 1910–1912, 1929); *Ekonomist* (Lviv, 1910, 1913); Ivan Kryp"iakevych's popular *Iliustrovana Ukraina* (Lviv, 1913–1914); and *Uchytel'ske slovo* (Lviv, 1913–1914). Other prewar titles include *Prapor* (Peremyshl', 1897–1898), an organ of the Greek Catholic clergy; *Dukhovnaia besida* (Pavoloch, 1910); and *Nova hromada* (Kiev, 1906).

Among interwar Galician publications there are the temperance movement's *Vidrodzhennia* (Lviv, 1935–1938); the publications of the Ukrainian Evangelical-Reform Church, *Vira i nauka* (Kolomyia, 1928) and *Ukrains'ka reformatsiia* (Lviv, 1929); *Pokuts'ke slovo* (Kolomyia, 1930–31, 1933–34, 1937) and *Nova khata* (Lviv, 1934–1935); the National Unity Front's *Peremoha* (Lviv, 1936); *Ukrains'kyi emigrant* (Lviv, 1927–1929); *Shliakh natsii* (Lviv, 1935–1936); *Ukrains'kyi kupets'* (Lviv, 1929); *Tserkva i narid* (Krem"ianets', 1935–1937); *Ukrains'kyi inzhener* (Lviv, 1932); *Ukrains'kyi beskyd* (Peremyshl', 1937–1938); and *Nash svit* (Luts'k, 1935). Clearly, Ohienko's collection of Galician Ukrainian serials, albeit in fragmentary files, reflects the complex and highly diversified society of interwar Galicia.

The serial publications from the interwar centers of the Ukrainian emigration (Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania) are less well repre-

33 I am indebted to the seminarians of St. Andrew's College for their assistance in surveying these materials. Unfortunately, many serial files are incomplete.
The archives and unpublished manuscripts of Metropolitan Ilarion, as well as the old printed books and manuscripts and Ucrainica of Canadian provenance in his collection, require a separate study.

sented. They include nationalist publications such as *Natsiia v pokhodi* (Berlin, 1940–1941); *Ukrains'kyi vistnyk* (Prague–Poděbrady, 1925); *Ukrains'kyi skytalets'* (Kalisz, 1922); *Tabor* (Kalisz–Warsaw, 1923–24, 1928); *Samostiina dumka* (Chernivtsi, 1935–1936); and *Litopys* (Berlin, 1923–1924). The collection also holds a small number of calendars: *Tovarysh-malyi kalendar* (Lviv,1927); *Ukrains'kyi natsional'nyi kalendar* (Peremyshl', 1928) and the *Iliustrovannyi kalendar* of the Kachkovs'kyi Society (Lviv, 1920).

Soviet Ukrainian publications include Hrushevs'kyi's *Ukraina* (Kiev, 1927–28); rare issues of the *Eparkhial'nyi visnyk* (later *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*; Kiev, 1950–1954, 1960–1961) and the organ of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, *Tserkva i zhyttia* (Kiev, 1927–1928). Single issues of the *Visnyk chervonoho khresta* (Kiev, 1928) and *Vukospilka: Biuleten'* (Kharkiv, 1926); *Hart* (Kharkiv, 1927–1928) and *Pluh* (Kharkiv, 1928) can also be found.

Books cover the fields of canon law, ecclesiastical archaeology, church history, missiology, dogmatics and reports of pilgrimages published in the Eastern Ukraine before the Revolution. In the area of literature there are stories by the prominent writers Panas Myrnyi (Kiev, 1904; Poltava, 1906), Marko Vovchok (Kiev, 1910), Panteleimon Kulish (St. Petersburg, 1901); Mykola Plevako's study of Borys Hrinchenko (Kharkiv, 1911); a collection of poetry entitled *Ridni struny* (1908); and Drahomaniv's *Chudats'ki dumky* (Kiev, 1913; third edition). Also represented are Galician pamphlets by the Kachkovs'kyi and Prosvita societies as well as publications of the Stauropegial Institute, including Ivan Zanevych's *Znesenie panshchyny u Halychyni* (1895) and *Vopros o fonetytsi* (1892).

Among early twentieth-century works are a study by the historian Mykola Chubatyi (1921); a political pamphlet by Petro Pevnyi (Stanyslaviv, 1920); Mykhailo Halushchyns'kyi's works on Drahomaniv (1921) and on national educational policy (1920); works by Ksenofont Sosenko on the religious world view (1923); Adrian Kopystians'kyi's illustrated study of the Maniavs'kyi hermitage (1927); and Oleksandr Bachyns'kyi's treatise on the concordat between the papacy and the Polish Republic (Lviv, 1925).

The Ukrainian imprints published during the 1920s in Vinnytsia and the two military internment camps of Kalisz and Tarnów are exceptionally rare because they were printed in very small editions. Ohienko's Kalisz imprints include the literary almanac *Ozymyna* (1923), works of literary criticism by Leonid Bilets'kyi (1923), and the stories of Vasyl Koroliv-Staryi (1923). The library also holds the historical studies of Vasyl'

Bidnov (1921) and Ivan Zubenko (1923), published in Tarnów, and the memoirs of Mykola Ievshan (1920), published in Vinnytsia.

The more important Prague imprints comprise Vasyl Koroliv's study of Petliura (Kiev–Prague, 1919), Serhii V. Zavads'kyi's biography of Masaryk (1925); the stories of Vasyl Liashchenko [n.d.]; a memorial pamphlet devoted to Viktor Domanyts'kyi (Poděbrady, 1925); the lecture course of the legal historian Rostyslav Liashchenko (1923); the poems of Oles' Babii (1927); pamphlets dealing with education in the Kuban area (1927); a commemorative volume of the Ukrainian Free University (1931); and Ievhen Konovalets's *Prychynky do istorii Ukrains'koi revoliutsii* (1928). The more notable works published in Berlin include titles by Panteleimon Kovaliv on Ukrainian mythology (1944), Viktor Zelins'kyi's *Synozhupannyky* (1938), and the collected works of Bohdan Lepkyi (1924). The Warsaw imprints include stories by the Volhynian writer Volodymyr Ostrovs'kyi (1926), Oleksander Lotots'kyi's biography of Petliura (1936), and the religious publications of the Warsaw Synod.

Although the number of early Soviet imprints in the Ohienko collection is not great, they include several unusual titles, among them Oleksandra Iefymenko's Ukrainian history (Kharkiv, 1922), Otto Eikhel'man's project for a Ukrainian constitution (with a title page, undoubtedly false, dated Kiev, 1921), and the fifth edition of Olena Kurylo's grammar, part 1. The proceedings of the church council of 14/30 October 1921 (second edition; Kiev, 1927) and the *Okhtai* (Kiev, 1923) are important items for the early history of the autocephalous Orthodox church.

In assessing his contributions to the study and preservation of Ukrainian culture, Ohienko's biographers legitimately stress his philological writings and his role as an Orthodox religious leader. His bibliographical writings and related work as a book collector and bibliophile have received relatively little attention. This is ironic, since Ohienko himself was so strongly committed to book studies. As the centenary of Ivan Ohienko's birth approaches, it is especially appropriate to hope that a thorough study of his achievements in that field will be undertaken.

Harvard University

Kazan' — "The Bend"

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"The yere of o^{r} Lorde mccccxxxvi I beganne my voiage towardes Tana, wheare for the most parte I contynewed the space of xvi yeres, and have compassed all those cuntreys as well by sea as by lande not only wth diligence, but in manner curiousely."[1]

Thus, in the sixteenth-century translation of William Thomas, begins the body of Giosafat Barbaro's account of his travels in the Crimea, the territories of the Golden Horde, and Persia. Since Barbaro is elsewhere rather vague about dates, it is difficult to speak with confidence about the chronology of his adventures, but it does appear that he was, around 1450, the first to record the *Volksetymologie* of the place-name Kazan': "... a towne called Cassan (which in o^{r} tonge signifieth a cawldron)...."[2] One can assume with equal confidence that Barbaro obtained this "curious" information, through an interpreter, from a Turkic-speaking resident of the Crimea.

This superficially satisfying etymology (*kazan* does indeed mean "kettle" in many Turkic languages, including Volga Tatar [*qazan*]) has demonstrated an extraordinary resistance to the assaults of specialists; the cautious Vasmer includes it in his etymology of the Russian form of the name, *Kazan'*.[3] In the half-millennium that intervened between Barbaro's voyage and Vasmer's *Wörterbuch,* the same explanation was repeated by Sigmund von Herberstein (1557), by the unknown author of the late Muscovite *Kazanskaia istoriia* (ca. 1600?), and by innumerable other writers — indeed, it would appear, by anyone, aside from a few learned

1 *Travels to Tana and Persia,* by Josafat Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, trans. from the Italian by William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI, and by S. A. Roy, Esq., and edited, with an Introduction, by Lord Stanley of Alderley (London, for the Hakluyt Society, 1873), p. 4.

2 "... una terra, chiamata Cassan, che in nostra lẹngua vol dire caldiera...." *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii: K istorii italo-russkikh sviazei v XV v.*, ed. and trans. by E. Ch. Skrzhinskaia (Leningrad, 1971), p. 133.

3 M. Fasmer (Vasmer), *Ètimologicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka,* vol. 2 (Moscow, 1967), p. 159: "from the Tatar *kazan* 'kettle'."

Finno-Ugrists (on whom see below), who chose to mention the subject at all.[4]

Hoary and intuitively plausible as it may be, however, the accepted etymology — whether one is dealing with the Russian *Kazan'* or with the "original" Turkic identification of *qazan* and "kettle" — is based upon a series of highly questionable assumptions, and does not withstand scrutiny in the light of modern historical and linguistic scholarship. For if we are to credit this explanation, we must accept, as well, the assumptions that: (1) the Russian word *Kazan'* was borrowed from the Volga-Tatar *Qazan*; (2) the city on the Volga was originally named by the Tatars; (3) these Tatars named their capital "Kettle."

The first of these assumptions is questionable on both phonological and historical grounds. Phonological parallels in the case of toponymical borrowings are not always convincing, and Russian place-names ending in [-an'] remain mysterious,[5] but in the present case it would seem clear that the final palatalization argues against direct borrowing from Turkic in the Golden Horde period. Russians, after all, borrowed numerous terms ending in [-an] at this time (*khan, tarkhan, ulan, kurgan,* etc.) without palatalizing the final [-n]. By contrast, borrowings that develop a palatalized [-n'] in Russian usually reflect an original palato-velar [ŋ̣] or a final [-n] in the presence of a front vowel [-än, -ön].[6] Finally, one should note a fact that has apparently escaped the notice of etymologists of *Kazan'*: Russians (and Ukrainians) *did* borrow the Tatar word *qazan* = "kettle" — but without palatalization, as *kazan.*[7]

General historical considerations reinforce the phonological evidence in suggesting that Slavs borrowed their name for Kazan' not from Volga Tatars, but from some other neighboring population in the Upper Volga region — from the Bulgars (ancestors of today's Chuvash), the Mordva, the Cheremis (Mari), or (considering the activities of the Novgorodian

[4] Herberstein, who combined considerable powers of observation and some knowledge of the "Wendish" tongue with careful reading, probably got the information from Barbaro's account. The author of the *Kazanskaia istoriia,* who was probably repeating what was, by his time, common knowledge among Muscovites with some interest in such matters, has "*Kazan', po russkomu zhe iazyku kotel.*" G. N. Moiseeva, ed., *Kazanskaia istoriia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1954), p. 74.

[5] For a recent discussion, see S. Rospond, "Struktura i stratigrafiia drevnerusskikh toponimov," in *Vostochno-slavianskaia onomastika* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 29–30.

[6] E.g., *sarven'* from Dutch *serving* (Vasmer, *Ètimologicheskii slovar',* 3:561); *elan',* cf. various Turkic dialect forms *jälän* (ibid., 1:12); *kuren',* cf. Chagatai *kürän* (ibid., 2:425), etc.

[7] Vasmer, *Ètimologicheskii slovar',* 2:159 and, for additional information, E. N. Shipova, *Slovar' tiurkizmov v russkom iazyke* (Alma-Ata, 1976), pp. 149–50.

ushkuiniki) the Votyaks (Udmurts). In some of these languages, as we shall see in greater detail below, the name of Kazan' does have a palatal [-n'] or palato-velar [-ŋ] ending, and since Russians had considerable contact with these languages long before the advent of Volga Tatars, it may be assumed that the Russian form appeared as a result of such intercourse.[8]

Such a conclusion about the first assumption upon which the traditional etymology is based anticipates, to some extent, our examination of the second. If the Slavs obtained the name of Kazan' before the Tatars came to dominate the area around the bend of the Volga, it is unlikely that the latter should have named Kazan' itself. Before concluding that they did not, however, we should examine the history of the name in Chuvash and the Finno-Ugric languages of the area, and the relationships of these names to the Tatar form of the name.

Those who have most carefully studied borrowings among the languages of the Upper Volga region have concluded that the various forms of the name Kazan' cannot have entered the Finno-Ugric languages from Tatar, but must rather have been borrowings from Chuvash. Early in this century Yrjö Wichmann pointed out that the Votyak (Udmurt) name for Kazan', *Kuzon*, could not be a borrowing from Tatar *Qazan*, which would regularly produce * *Kazan* in Votyak, but must instead reflect the Chuvash *Xosan*/*Xusan*. Wichmann also dealt with the "kettle" problem, pointing out that the Volga Bulgars (i.e., the ancestors of the Chuvash) could not have called the town "Kettle" because, according to the well-known rules of Turkic historical phonology (Common Turkic [-z-] corresponds to [-r-] in Chuvash), the Chuvash word for "kettle" is *xoran*/*xuren*.[9] On general historical grounds, however, Wichmann allowed that

[8] Documentary evidence on the early contacts of Slavs with the Mordva and Bulgars is conveniently gathered in A. Gerasimov, *Materialy po istorii Mordvy* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1931); N. L. Rubinshtein, ed., *Istoriia Tatarii* (Moscow, 1937); and S. M. Shpilevskii, *Drevnie goroda i drugie bulgarsko-tatarskie pamiatniki v Kazanskoi gubernii* (Kazan', 1877) (also as *Prilozhenie k Uchenym zapiskam Imperatorskogo kazanskogo universiteta*, 1877).

[9] For Chuvash I employ the simplified transcription of J. Krueger, *Chuvash Manual*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 7 (Bloomington, 1961); on the dialectal alternation of [u] and [o], see p. 73. A more detailed description of modern Chuvash can be found in Johannes Benzing, "Das Tschuwaschische," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1955); for this change, see especially p. 717. For a thorough discussion of problems of the poorly-attested language of the Bulgars in the Danube and Volga regions, see O. Pritsak, *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*, Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1955). For different views, see F. S. Khakimzianov, *Iazyk èpitafii volzhskikh bolgar* (Moscow, 1978); the chronology of the change $a > o \sim u$ is discussed on p. 47.

the Chuvash *Xusan* might have arisen under the "influence" of the Tatar *Qazan* — perhaps not as "kettle" but as a proper name — and he left open the possibility ("nicht als eine unmöglichkeit") that Chuvash *Xusan* and *xuren* were what he called "wechselformen."[10]

Paasonen extended Wichmann's phonological argument while rejecting his historical conclusion, which had been developed somewhat by Munkácsi.[11] Paasonen pointed out that, like the Votyak (Udmurt) *Kuzon*, the Cheremis (Mari) *Ozan* must have come from Chuvash, and could not have come from Tatar. He further indicated that the East Cheremis (Ufa region) dialect term *ozaŋ-süjąs* (i.e., literally "Kazan'-Chuvash") was pertinent here; this was the local designation of urban Tatars of Kazan', while in the same Cheremis dialect, Tatars in general were called *totar*. (Closer to Kazan', Tatars in general were called *süjąs*, i.e., "Chuvash.") The form *Ozaŋ* was of particular interest to Paasonen, and led him to conclude that the older Cheremis form (the Eastern dialects being in some respects archaic in Cheremis) must have come from an otherwise unattested Old Chuvash (i.e., Volga Bulgar) form **Xosaŋ*. Paasonen concluded further that since the Common-Turkic [-ŋ] became [-n] in modern Chuvash, the form *Ozaŋ* must have been borrowed early in the history of Chuvash-Cheremis contacts, while the languages that have [-n] in their names for Kazan', *including* Volga Tatar, borrowed the word from Chuvash at a later date, after the change [-ŋ → -n] had occurred.[12]

To the evidence provided by the Finno-Ugrists one should add the observation that Bashkir, a Turkic language closely related to Tatar but historically influenced by Chuvash as well, has *Qazan* for "Kazan'," but *qaðan*, whose medial [-ð-] (= English voiced -th-) is a regular reflex of the same phoneme that produced [-r-] in Chuvash and [-z-] in Tatar, for "kettle."[13] The existence of this minimal pair indicates that the Bashkir name for Kazan' is a borrowing that was *not* confused with "kettle," and was probably not borrowed from Tatar. Thus the study of historical phonology, as it has been developed by numerous scholars with respect to the languages of the region, leads to the important conclusions that: (1) there is *no* language of the Upper Volga whose name for Kazan' can be shown to have been borrowed from Kazan' Tatar; (2) the name seems to

[10] Yrjö Wichmann, "Etymologisches aus den permischen Sprachen," *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 1 (1901): 104–108.
[11] See Bernát Munkácsi's review of Wichmann in *Keleti Szemle* (Budapest), 2 (1901): 315–17.
[12] H. Paasonen, "Der Name der Stadt Kazan," *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 4 (1906): 111–14.
[13] *Bashkirso-russkii slovar'* (Moscow, 1961), s.v. "gaðan."

have come into all of the languages of the area, probably including Tatar itself, from an original Old Chuvash (Volga Bulgar) name, **Xosaŋ*.

The foregoing makes supererogatory, for the most part, any discussion of the third proposition that underlies the traditional etymology — i.e., that the Tatars named their capital "Kettle." There is, however, one observation that should be made about the Turkic *Volksetymologie,* namely, that the Turkic-speakers who invented it by associating the name of the town at the bend of the Volga with the homonym that in their language meant "kettle" *did not know* the meaning or origin of the name *Qazan.* Moreover, since Tatar-Chuvash cultural contact and bilingualism must have been common from the time of the appearance of the Tatars in the Upper Volga region — as they are today — one should probably assume that the Bulgars, too, knew the name of Kazan' only as a non-etymologized toponym.

If such was the case — and there appears to be no plausible etymology for * *Xosaŋ* in the context of Chuvash — what was the source of the name in that language?

The modern Persian adjective *kaǰ* (*kaž*) = "crooked, bent," has many cognates in other Iranian languages, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western. Consider, *inter alia,* the following:

Persian:[14] *kaǰ* (كج) = "crooked, curved, bent," etc.
kaǰa (كجه) = "thing crooked at the extremity, a hook on which meat is hung"
kaǰ bāz (كج باز) = "an unfair player, fraudulent"
Tadzhik:[15] *kaǰ* = Russ. *krivoi, izognutyi, kosoi,* etc.
kaǰak = Russ. *zavitok, lokon*
kaǰdast = (literally "crooked hand") Russ. *melkii vorishka*
kaǰī = Russ. *iskrivlenie, izluchina, luka*
Middle Parthian:[16] *kž* = "crooked"
Ossetian:[17] *k'ædz, kæz* = Russ. *krivoi, izvilina, izgib, kriuk*
xadzonæg, k'adzonæg, "hook"
Pashto:[18] *kož* = Russ. *krivo, krivoi*
kažleč = Russ. *izvilina*
kažlečaj = Russ. *izgib*

[14] F. Steingess, *Persian-English Dictionary,* reprint ed. (Beirut, 1970), pp. 1016–17.
[15] *Tadshiksko-russkii slovar',* ed. by M. V. Rakhimi (Rahimi) and L. V. Uspenskaia (Moscow, 1954), pp. 185–86.
[16] H. W. Bailey, "Asica," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London), 1944–45, p. 30.
[17] *K'ædz*: V. I. Abaev, *Russko-osetinskii slovar'* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 226, 188, 189, 228; and idem, *Istoriko-ètimologicheskii slovar' osetinskogo iazyka,* vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958), p. 622.
[18] K. A. Lebedev, Ia. S. Iatesevich, Z. M. Kalinina, comps. *Russko-afganskii slovar'* (Moscow, 1973), p. 233. The sign ž̧ here represents a sound that is heard as [ž], with varying degrees of palatalization, in some dialects, and as [g] in others.

The Eastern Iranian languages of the Pamirs:
kaž = Russ. *krivoi*
kaži = Russ. *krivizna*[19]
kaǰ̌ = Russ. *krivoi*
kaǰ̌ak = Russ. *kolechko, zavitok, izgib, krivizna*[20]
kuzi = Russ. *krivo otrezannaia materiia*[21]
kiδ = Russ. *krivoi*
kiδmankiδ = Russ. *vriv'i vkos', zigzagami*[22]

This listing, which could be extended considerably, indicates several things about the common Iranian root: it is widespread; it serves to designate all manner of "not-straight-ness"; and its final consonant is rather unstable, providing a broad range of reflexes ([-ǰ-, -ž-, -ẓ̌-, -dz-, γ̌-, -z-]) across the range of Iranian dialects. In some languages, moreover, presumably as a result of borrowing from near neighbors, one finds two or even three of these reflexes side by side, as, e.g., in Tadzhik, where alongside the forms in *kaǰ-* mentioned above, one finds compounds like *každum* = ("crooked back," i.e., "scorpion") and *kazzob* = ("crooked tongue," i.e., "liar"; compare *kaǰdil,* same compound but with a different reflex of the final consonant of the first root and a Turkic second element, i.e., "crooked" = Russ. *verolomnyi*).[23]

Within this maze of cognates, there are several attestations that are of relevance to our investigation. One, recorded ca. 1300 somewhere in Polovtsian territory by the Italian author of the tri-lingual steppe phrase-book *Codex Cumanicus,* is of interest primarily as an indication that our vocabule (in the transcription *chaygh* = [*kaǰ*]) was in circulation in whatever "Persian" dialect was in use in the formerly Scythian and Alanian regions, now dominated by Turkic speakers.[24]

More important, however, are several words recorded by students of Ossetian, the only Eastern Iranian language still spoken west of the Caspian, whose dialects (especially the Iron dialect), according to the

[19] T. N. Pakhalina, *Vakhanskii iazyk* (Moscow, 1975), p. 211.
[20] I. I. Zarubin, *Shugnanskie teksty i slovar'* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), p. 159.
[21] T. N. Pakhalina, *Ishkashimskii iazyk* (Moscow, 1959), p. 210.
[22] D. I. Èdel'man, *Iazguliamsko-russkii slovar'* (Moscow, 1971), p. 133.
[23] *Tadzhiksko-russkii slovar'* (see fn. 15), pp. 175, 186.
[24] A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian Vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus* (Budapest, 1971), p. 154. The Latin transcription of the *Codex Cumanicus* presents many problems with regard to the phonetics of the languages it records. In general, Bodrogligeti's analysis of the graphic practices of the scribe appears more thorough and convincing than that of Davoud Monchi-Zadeh, who reads *chaygh* as "*qayq*" = "left, sinister." (*Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Indoeuropaea Upsaliensa,* vol. 1 (Uppsala, 1969), p. 125.) Bodrogligeti's reading is supported, *inter alia,* by the Latin (*tortus*) and Turkic (*burmys*) equivalents given in the original.

common view of experts, preserve features of the Iranian dialects that were, until the first millennium of our era, the mother-tongues of a succession of dominant military groups (Scythians, Alans, Ās, etc.).[25]

Ossetian has preserved, *inter alia,* the following words derived from **kaǰ/kaž/kaz* and formed with the suffix *-on,* which is used to form nouns or adjectives from nouns, adverbs, or verbs:

k'ædzon = Russ. *krivoi, zapiataia*; Germ. *Krumm, Komma*
k'ædzon-mædzon = Russ. *izvilistyi*; Germ. *Krumm, sich schlängelnd*
xadzonæg, k'adzonæg = hook[26]

It appears most likely that an analogous "Old Ossetian" (As) word having the hypothetical form **qadzån,* was the source of Old Chuvash **xusaŋ/xosaŋ* and thus ultimately of our *kazan'.*

To be sure, the paucity of data about historical dialectology in this region, and the still primitive state of our analysis of such data as we do possess, render highly speculative any detailed etymological proofs — especially insofar as historical phonology is concerned. At the same time, one must acknowledge that such a borrowing into some stage or dialect of Old Chuvash/Volga Bulgar from some East Iranian dialect appears highly likely, from both phonological and general historical points of view.

To consider the phonological evidence first, the relationship of the consonants in the hypothetical borrowing and borrowed words seems quite regular in the context of what is known about Old Chuvash consonantism and borrowings: [q-] in non-Chuvash words regularly yields [x-] in borrowings; the [-dz-], a voiced [-c-] (neither is present in Chuvash) can be expected to produce intervocalic, "semi-voiced" [-S-]; the final [-n] is either unchanged, or, if we accept Paasonen's [-ŋ], analogous to other cases.[27]

[25] On the history of the Ossetes, see (with caution) V. I. Abaev, *Osetinskii iazyk i fol'klor* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949).

[26] The first two examples are from V. S. Miller, *Osetinsko-russko-nemetskii slovar',* ed. by A. A. Fraiman, vol. 2 (I-S) (Leningrad, 1929), p. 720; the last is from Bailey, "Asica," p. 30. On the suffixes *-on* and *-æg* in Ossetian, see G. S. Akhvlediani, ed., *Iron ævadzhy grammatikæ: Grammatika osetinskogo iazyka,* vol. 1 (Ordzhonikidze, 1963), pp. 136–37 and 103–104. On [x-] and [k'-] for [k-] in Ossetian, see Bailey, "Asica."

[27] On Chuvash phonology in general, see Benzing, "Das Tschuwaschische," and Kreuger, *Chuvash Manual*; for older phenomena, see Pritsak, *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste,* pp. 72–74. One should also note that the final [-ŋ] posited by Paasonen (see above) may well have been the result of the Old Chuvash reflex to the back vowel + [-n] in the final syllable of the source-word; the vowel, as indicated above, may have been a back slightly rounded [-å-], rather more like modern Persian [-ā-] than Ossetian [-a-]. The same combination produced a palatalized [-n'] in other Upper Volga borrowings from Iranian, e.g., Cheremis *n'an'* from Iranian *nān.*

The vocalism, as is so often the case, is more problematic, since it is difficult to be confident of the quality of the vowels in the presumed source. There is evidence, however, that in borrowings (as opposed to native words) the [-u/o-] of the first syllable is a possible reflex to a range of back vowels (e.g., Chuvash *xus'a* from Iranian *xoǰa*; Chuvash *xus'* from Iranian *xaǰ*).

Indeed, the "fit" of our presumed source and the ultimate borrowing is close enough to permit us to speculate that the borrowing occurred after the change [k-] to [q-] in Ossetian, and from an Iranian form that had [-dz-] in the medial position rather than, e.g., [-ǰ-], which would normally produce the peculiar palatal Chuvash [-s'-], as in the examples cited just above.

Further, the semantics of such a source for the name of Kazan' are appropriate: the town is located on a striking right-angle bend, the most significant turn in the region's most important river, at the point where, after flowing generally eastward, it begins its southward journey out of the forest and into the steppe. As seen from the Iranian south, the point is even more significant: after following the Volga north through the steppe, Iranians encountered, at the great bend, the forest, in which they were not at home, Finno-Ugric peoples, who were alien to them, and, for practical purposes, the outer limit of their influence.[28]

It remains only to add a few general historical remarks to our examination of the historical-phonological and topographical-semantic evidence. When, sometime in the seventh or the eighth century, the Bulgars moved from the region of the Kuban' and Azov to the area of the Volga "Bend," they probably brought with them the Iranian term, which they had obtained from their collaborators, the Ās (probably the Burtās = Fyrt-Ās, i.e., "River Ās"), who were bearers of an Eastern Iranian dialect, closely related to Ossetian. The term was already probably phonetically distinct in Volga-Bulgar from the word for "kettle," which was apparently pronounced with a medial [-r-].[29] During the long period of Bulgar hegemony in the region — which lasted, notwithstanding the Mongol invasion, until the middle of the fourteenth century[30] — Old Chuvash/Bulgar

[28] On Bulgary as the "outer limit" from the point of view of Islamic Volga traders, see the remarks collected in B. N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiiskii svod svedenii o Vostochnoi Evrope*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1962, 1967), 2:23–46.

[29] Margit K. Palló, "Hungaro-Tschuwaschica," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 31 (1959): 238–58, especially 247–58. On the Fyrt-Ās (Burtās) and the general historical situation at the time, see Omeljan Pritsak, "The Khazar Kingdom's Conversion to Judaism," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1978):261–81, especially 263–64.

[30] The latest Volga-Bulgar grave-inscription found so far is dated 1357/1358: Omeljan Pritsak, "Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 31 (1959):308.

became the "official" language of the region, and the neighboring Finno-Ugric populations acquired the term from the Bulgars, some in the earlier form **Xosaŋ*, which is reflected in today's East Cheremis, others in the form **xosan*. Slavs, as they pressed eastward and southward from Vladimir-Suzdal' and the Novgorodian hinterland territories, acquired the term either from the Bulgars or through Finno-Ugric mediation. The Tatars, last of the groups to come to the area, acquired the term, which they later identified with their word for "kettle," from the Bulgars at a very late stage, when neither group had any record of its origin and long after the disappearance of representatives of the Ās from the area.

The general historical patterns of the Bulgar period thus conform to our earlier findings, and reinforce the conclusion that "Kazan'" was an early, Bulgar / Old Chuvash toponym of Iranian origin, a word that had little to do with Tatars and even less to do with "kettle."

There really appears to remain only a single basis for argument against such a proposition, namely, the peculiar absence of the name *Kazan'* from known narrative historical sources written before roughly 1445, when the Tatar khan Ulu-Magmet established the Khanate of Kazan'. There are several points that should be made about this peculiarity of our evidence, which is commonly used as an argument in favor of the Tatar etymology.

First, while in certain forms of investigation the pursuit of lines of logical deduction of the type "why did the dog not bark" can be fruitful, it is probably a mistake for the historian who must deal with the very fragmentary types of information here considered to attempt to wrest from his scant positive evidence explanations for the absence of other evidence he had expected to find.

Second, it should be noted that the proposed etymology indicates that "Kazan'" was originally the name of a location or region — "the Bend" — and not necessarily that of a town. We should recall, in this connection, that Barbaro spoke of a "land" (*terra*) called Kazan', although his translators and commentators have assumed that he meant "town."[31] And in general, the identification of specific townsites in the Upper Volga region is rendered difficult by the tendency of all sources, whether European or Oriental, to speak of the regions in rather general terms ("Būlghār," "v Bulgary") rather than to identify specific towns. It may well have been

[31] Thus, e.g., Skrzhinskaia, *Barbaro i Kontarini*, p. 184, fn. 144. While Barbaro, familiar with the city-state of Italy, was occasionally imprecise in this regard, he does use *citade* to indicate "fortress, walled town, city proper," and, of course, *terra* as "land." The case of Kazan' remains ambiguous in his text.

this conventional lack of specificity that permitted later editors of Muscovite chronicles to replace "Bulgary" with "Kazan'" when they "modernized" older texts.[32]

Finally, before assigning particular significance to the apparent absence of "Kazan'" from our meager handful of pre-fifteenth-century sources, we should bear in mind several indications in the sources that the name existed before its first recorded appearance around 1450. The first of such indications is the apparent familiarity of our earliest sources with the name: neither the voluminous Muscovite diplomatic correspondence nor the travelogue of the Tverite merchant Afanasii Nikitin associates the name with "Bulgary," nor do they indicate that the name or the town is in any way "new."[33]

The city on the present site of Kazan' *was* "new" for later Russian writers, such as the author of the *Kazanskaia istoriia,* however; Ulu Magmet, he says, "built himself a strong wooden town in a new place, better fortified than the old one, not far from old Kazan', which had been destroyed by Muscovite troops."[34] This and related accounts seem to be supported by local Tatar tradition, which has assigned the name "Old Kazan'" (*Iski Qazan*) to a site some forty kilometers up the Kazanka River from Kazan'. Local legend, preserved in a number of Tatar manuscripts of unknown provenance, has it that Iski Qazan served as the local center for roughly a century before the move to the present site, which allegedly occurred in A.H. 804 (A.D. 1402). Garbled and interdependent as these legends may be,[35] they are at one in indicating that there was a Kazan' before the rise of the present town around 1450, and thus that the name was in use long before it appears in our sources. It is possible, finally, that the name "Kazan'," in a slightly different form, does in fact appear in our sources earlier than has heretofore been acknowledged. Long ago Shpilevskii pointed out that the account s.a. 1391 in the *Voskresenskaia letopis'* describes a raid by Novgorodian *ushkuiniki* on

32 On the problems of identifying archeological sites with the names mentioned in the written record, see Shpilevskii, *Drevnie goroda,* passim, and A. P. Smirnov, *Volzhskie Bulgary* (Moscow, 1951). The substitution of "Kazan'" for "Bulgary" is discussed at length in Jaroslaw Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438-1560s)* (The Hague and Paris, 1974), pp. 93-103, 139-54.

33 The relevant diplomatic correspondence (1474–) is published in volumes 41 and 95 of the *Sbornik Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1884, 1895). Nikitin mentions Kazan' only in passing, in *Khozhenie za tri moria Afanasiia Nikitina, 1466-1472* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958), p. 11.

34 Moiseeva edition (see fn. 4), p. 53.

35 Shpilevskii, *Drevnie goroda,* devotes several pages (34-42) to these legendary accounts; they do not appear to have been studied by other modern scholars.

"Zhukotin and Kazan'," from which it is clear that the raid took place along the Kama River, not the Volga, and thus that the mention of Kazan' is somehow in error.[36] Shpilevskii further noted that in some copies of the same chronicle, one finds "Kazn'," instead of "Kazan'," and he suggested that what was originally meant was the town of Koshan or Kashan, which was located near Zhukotin on the Kama. The same Kashan is mentioned in a sixteenth-century account attributed to a Tatar historian, Ḥüsām ad-Dīn al-Bulghārī.[37] While the history of the city of Kashan is quite obscure, its name appears to be still another local form of the Iranian work that lies behind the form "Kazan'." In this case, the term is disguised by the absence of a standard graphic tradition in Arabic script for the sound [-ž-] — that is, [*Kašan*] can represent a form **XaŠan* (with the usual medial semi-voiced consonant) that may for a time have coexisted in Chuvash as the rendering of Iranian **qaǰan,* until displaced by the more "regular" **xosan* from [**qadzån*].

Juxtaposition of Kashan with Kazan' — at the phonological level, not in terms of site — finds a rather unexpected support in the source with which we began our investigation, that is, Barbaro's *Viaggio*. In the second part, which deals with his journey to Persia, the word *Cassan* appears a second time, here, however, as Barbaro's Italian rendering of the name of the Persian town Kashan.[38] One should not, of course, draw any final conclusions from Barbaro's somewhat ambiguous renderings of unfamiliar terms, but the possibility that Barbaro's first use of *Cassan* represented a word for Kazan' that he heard as [*kašan*] is, at least, worth noting.

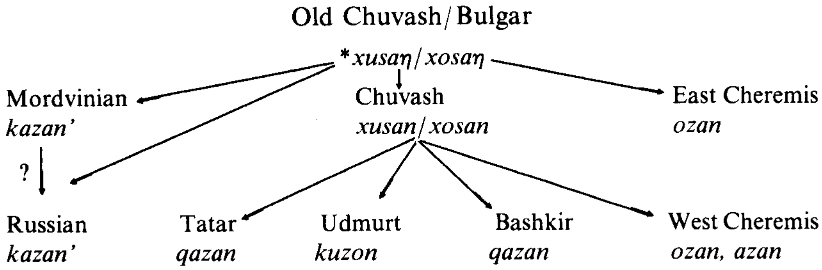
Given the nature of the evidence, this final suggestion must be only speculative, but it nonetheless is in accord with the immediately foregoing discussion. This leads to our last conclusion: since the term that became the name of Kazan' was at first the name of the "bend" or turn or fork in the Volga at the confluence of the Kazanka and the Kama, there probably were, over some period of time, several settlements that bore variants of the same name: "New" Kazan', "Old Kazan'," Kashan, and perhaps others.

To summarize:

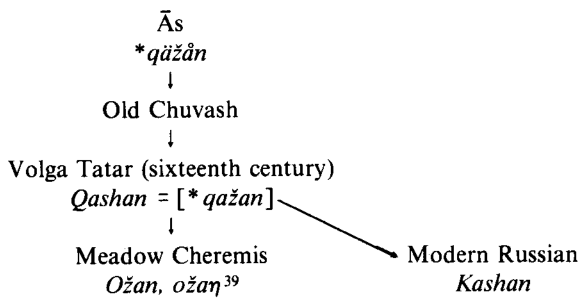
1. Russian *Kazan',* together with *all* forms of that toponym in the lan-

[36] Shpilevskii, *Drevnie goroda,* p. 176.
[37] The relevant passage is translated in *Istoriia Tatarii* (fn. 8, above), p. 43. On Kashan, see P. A. Ponomarov, *Bulgarskii gorod Kashan* (Kazan', 1893).
[38] Thomas translation (see fn. 1), p. 72.

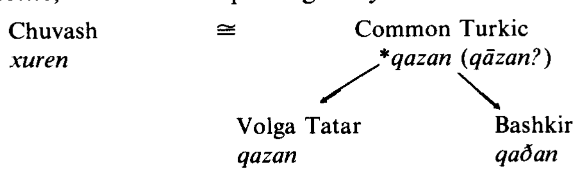
guages of the Upper Volga region, derives from the Old Chuvash form **Xusaŋ/Xosaŋ* according to the following scheme:



2. The source of the Old Chuvash/Bulgar form (or forms: see below) was an East Iranian (Ās) word **gädzån* (var. **qäžån*), meaning "bend, hook, crook," originally applied by Iranians to the bend in the Volga near what became the center of the Bulgar, and later Volga Tatar, state.
3. Kazan' is but the last of a succession of towns in the area that took their name from their proximity to the great bend in the Volga. One of these, Kashan, represents a parallel and/or archaic development of the same Iranian original, as follows:



4. The word Kazan', the five-hundred-year-old *Volksetymologie* to the contrary notwithstanding, has no etymological connection to the Turkic words for "kettle," which developed regularly:



[39] For this and other dialectal forms, see Martti Räsänen, *Die Tschuwasischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen*, Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. 48 (Helsinki, 1920), pp. 43, 173.

Alongside other toponyms of the region,[40] the name of the major city on the Volga bears witness to the activities of Iranian merchant adventurers, and to the complexity of the region's cultural history.

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40 See my "An Iranian Culture-Term on the Upper Volga: **Kantha-Kitez, Kideksa,* and *Kitaj-Gorod,*" in *Studies in Honor of Horace G. Lunt on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday, September 12, 1978,* published as *Folio Slavica* 2, no. 3 (1978): 153–78.